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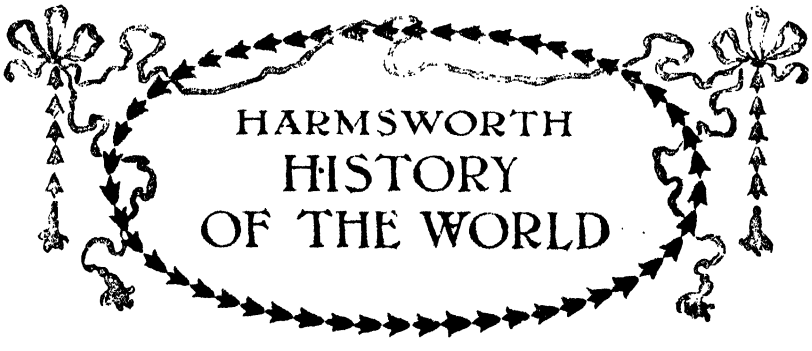
HARMSWORTH
HISTORY
OF THE WORLD

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A SUB-CHIEF OF THE UTES

AN OJIBWA CHIEF

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A CHIEF OF THE APACHES

INDIAN TYPES OF NORTH AMERICA

FROM PHOTOGRAPHS BY DETROIT PHOTOGRAPHIC C

FRONTISPIECE VOL. XIV.

HARMSWORTH HISTORY OF THE WORLD

WRITTEN BY THE FOREMOST HISTORIANS
OF OUR TIME AND ILLUSTRATED WITH
UPWARDS OF 8,000 PICTURES

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NEW AND REVISED EDITION
IN FIFTEEN VOLUMES

VOLUME XIV.

THE ATLANTIC OCEAN
AMERICA BEFORE COLUMBUS
:: SPANISH AMERICA ::

LONDON
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THE ATLANTIC OCEAN

... AND ...

ITS PLACE IN HISTORY

THE ATLANTIC OCEAN, SHOWING THE ROUTES FOLLOWED BY EARLY VOYAGERS

Separating the Old World from the New, and extending from one Polar circle to the other, the Atlantic Ocean has, since the sixteenth century, been the chief commercial highway of the world; but even earlier than that period, hardy voyagers were bold enough to venture on its waters in their quest for lands unknown. In the above map the routes taken by the various discoverers are distinctly shown, while the dates of their famous voyages are also given.

THE ATLANTIC OCEAN AND ITS PLACE IN HISTORY

By Dr. Karl Weule

THE ATLANTIC BEFORE COLUMBUS

THE Atlantic may be regarded as a long canal which winds, in the form of a letter S, and preserving an almost uniform breadth, between the Old World and the New. It extends from one Polar circle to the other. Such a configuration, when once it became known to mankind, was bound to favour international communications. The narrowness of the Atlantic has had momentous results for the history both of states and of civilisation. But it was long before the shape of the Atlantic was realised, and this for two reasons. First, the Atlantic has few islands, and this is particularly true of the zone which was the first to be attempted by navigators, the zone lying opposite the mouth of the Mediterranean. Secondly, the Mediterranean was a poor school for explorers. The broken coasts and the numerous islands of that sea make navigation too easy. The Mediterranean peoples did not, therefore, obtain that experience which would have fitted them for the crossing of the outer ocean.

Difficulties in the Way of Navigation

Their explorations were never extended more than a moderate distance from the Pillars of Hercules, either in the Greco-Roman period or in more recent times. Almost the same obstacles existed to the navigation of the northern zone of the Atlantic. The North Sea and Baltic are not easily navigated; they presented difficulties so great that for a long time they discouraged the inhabitants of their littorals from taking to the sea. The dolmen builders, indeed, showed some aptitude for maritime enterprise; and much later we find that the men of the Hanse towns and their rivals in Western Europe made some use of the sea for trade. But maritime enterprise on a great scale was not attempted by these peoples. In the days before Columbus, only the inhabitants of Western Norway made serious attempts to explore the ocean. They were specially favoured by Nature. A chain of islands, the Faroes, Iceland, and Greenland, served them as stepping-stones. But the voyage from Norway to the Faroes is one of more than 400 miles over a dangerous ocean; and this was a much more difficult feat than the voyage of the ancients from Gades to the Isles of the Blest, if indeed that voyage was ever made. The evidence for it is by no means of the best.

Features of the Atlantic

The Atlantic is not merely remarkable for its narrowness and dearth of islands, but also for the great indentations which are to be found in its coasts on either side. These have exercised a great and a beneficial influence on the climate of the Atlantic seaboard. Those of the American coast-line balance those of the Old World to a remarkable degree. It is true that the eastern coast of South America bends inward with a sweep less pronounced than that of the west coast of Africa.

But there is a striking parallelism; and the same phenomenon strikes us when we study the shores of the North and Central Atlantic, in spite of the fact that broken and indented coast-lines make it difficult to perceive the broad similarities at the first glance. Thus the Mediterranean corresponds to the immense gulf which separates North and South America.

The part which the Mediterranean of the Old World has played in history is so important that it has demanded special treatment in a previous chapter. The Mediterranean of America has no such claim upon the attention of the historian. It facilitated the conquest and settlement of the Spanish colonies. It has favoured the development of those motley communities which fringe its shores from Cuba and Florida on the north to the Cape of San Roque on the south. But when we have said this we have exhausted the subject of its historical importance. More important it doubtless will be in the future. Even at the present time it affords the sole outlet for the Central and Southern States of the American Union; and when the Panama Canal is completed, this sea will become the natural high-road between the Atlantic and the Pacific—a great factor in political and economic history. It will be what the Eastern Mediterranean was in the early days of the Old World. But we are concerned with history and not with prophecy.

Linking the Atlantic with the Pacific

North of the latitude of Gibraltar the two shores of the Atlantic present a remarkable symmetry. In shape the Gulf of St. Lawrence and Hudson's Bay resemble the North Sea and the Baltic. Labrador, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and Cape Breton Island may be compared with North-western Europe. The chief difference between the two coast-lines is one of scale. Hudson's Bay, for example, is considerably larger than the North Sea and the Baltic put together. This does not detract from the importance of the symmetry which we have pointed out. It is all the more important because it is most striking on those lines of latitude which have been most important in the history of mankind.

The Northern Atlantic Ocean has influenced the development of our general civilisation in two directions—namely, by those physical characteristics which originate from its configuration, and by its situation with reference to the other countries on the globe. The extensive fishing grounds which it affords have been a source of wealth to European populations. Even when we take into account the colossal proportions of modern international trade, deep-sea fishing is none the less an industry of note, and makes a very important difference in the profit and loss accounts of many a northern country. Three hundred, and even two hundred, years ago the fishing fleets of the Northern Sea, which were then numerous though clumsy, gathered, no doubt, a harvest in no degree greater than do the steam fishing-boats of the present day; but at that time the profits made a much more appreciable difference to the national wealth, and the safety of the national food supply was more largely dependent upon their efforts.

The Ocean's Influence on Civilisation

Much more important, from a historical point of view, is the influence on character of this trading in the difficult northern seas; for the Teutonic nations of North-west Europe and for the French, it was the best of all possible schools of seamanship, and largely contributed to the fact that these nations were able to play a leading part in the general annexation of the habitable globe which has taken place during the last three centuries.

The fisheries are here in closest communication with that other attempt, which, historically at least, exercised influence no less enduring, to find a passage round North America or round Northern Europe and Asia to the east shore of Asia. Nothing did so much to promote the maritime efficiency of the British nation as the repeated attempts that were made to find the North-west and North-east passages, which began with the voyage of the elder Cabot, and continued to the middle of the nineteenth century. To the Atlantic as a whole belongs the high service of having led the civilised peoples of the Old World out to the open sea from the confines of the Mediterranean and other land-locked waters; from the time of Columbus it has been a school of technical skill and self-reliance. However, its most northern part, storm-lashed and ice-bound as it is, is in no way inferior to the whole, in this respect at least, that it gave to one sole nation not otherwise particularly strong, to the English, the supremacy over the seas of the world within a short three centuries.

England's Supremacy of the Seas

The Atlantic Ocean may be regarded as a broad gulf dividing the western and eastern shores of the habitable world, conceived as a huge band of territory extending from Cape Horn to Smith Sound; this implies a limitation of our ideas regarding the age of the human race. Its share in universal history does not begin before the moment when the keel of the first Norse boat touched the shore

of Greenland or Helluland. Thus, this sea, so important in the development of the general civilisation of modern times, is, historically speaking, young, and its significance in the history of racial intercourse is not to be compared with that of the Pacific or the Indian Ocean.

When compared with those ages during which these two giants, together with our Mediterranean, our Baltic and North Seas, made their influence felt upon the course of history, traditional or written, the thousand years during which the Atlantic has influenced history become of minor importance. The investigator, indeed, who is inclined to regard as "historical" only those cases in which the literary or architectural remains of former races have left us information upon their deeds and exploits will naturally be inclined to leave the Atlantic Ocean in possession of its historical youth. He, however, who is prepared to follow out the ideas upon which this work has been based, and to give due weight to all demonstrable movements and meetings of peoples, which form the first visible sign of historical activity upon the lower planes of human existence, will consider the importance of the Atlantic Ocean as extending backwards to a very remote antiquity. Our views of historical development, in so far as they regard mankind as the last product of a special branch of evolution within the organic world, have recently undergone a considerable change; the most modern school of anthropologists conceives it possible to demonstrate, with the help of comparative anatomy, that the differentiation of mankind from other organisms was a process which began, not with the anthropoid apes—that is to say, at a period comparatively late both in the history of evolution and geologically—but at a much earlier point within the development of the mammals.

Beginnings of Mankind

From a geological and palæontological point of view, however, this conclusion carries us far beyond the lowest limits previously stated as the beginnings of mankind. We reach the Tertiary Age, a lengthy period, interesting both for the changes which took place within organic life and for the extensive alterations that appeared upon the surface of the earth. The nature and extent of these changes must, in so far as the new theory is correct, have been of decisive importance for the earliest distribution of existing humanity. If the theory be true that during the Tertiary Age two broad isthmuses extended from the western shore of the modern Old World to modern America, then from the point of view of historical development there can be no difficulty in conceiving these isthmuses as inhabited by primeval settlers. That point of the globe over which at the present day the deep waters of the Atlantic Ocean heave would then, in fact, have been not only the earliest but also the most important scene of activity for the fate of mankind.

The Atlantic as a Gulf of Division

As regards the later importance of the Atlantic Ocean, the collapse of these two isthmuses marks the beginning of a period which is of itself of such great geological length that those first conditions which influenced the fate of our race appear to its most recent representatives as lost in the mists of remote antiquity. After the Atlantic Ocean appeared in its present form, the inhabitants of the Old World had not the slightest communication with the dwellers upon the other shore. The Atlantic Ocean then became in fact a gulf dividing the habitable world.

In all times and places mystery and obscurity have exercised an attraction upon mankind, and thus, too, the Atlantic Ocean, bounding as it did the civilisation gathered round the Mediterranean, attracted the inhabitants of those countries from an early period. As early as the second millennium before the birth of Christ we find the Phœnicians on its shores, and soon afterwards their western branch, the Carthaginians.

The inducement to venture out upon its waves was the need of tin, the demand for which increased with the growing use of bronze; and the rarity of this metal induced them to brave the dangers of the unknown outer sea. However, these two branches of the great commercial nations of Western Asia did not attain to any great knowledge of the Atlantic Ocean. We are reminded of the reluctance of the towns and republics of Italy to pass through the Straits of Gibraltar, though the high seas had long been sailed by the Portuguese and Spaniards, or the cowardice of the Hanseatics, who hardly dared to approach the actual gates of the ocean, when we find these two peoples who ruled for so many centuries over the Mediterranean, which

Italy's Dread of the Sea

is itself of no small extent, unable to advance any material distance beyond the Pillars of Hercules. Even as regards the tin trade, the chief labour was probably undertaken by the seafaring coast-dwellers of separate parts of Western Europe. How small in reality were the achievements of both nations upon the Atlantic is shown by the amount of praise lavished upon the coasting voyage of Hanno, which, however important for geographical science, was no great achievement of seamanship. It is a characteristic feature of all landlocked seas to limit not only the view, but also the enterprise of the maritime peoples upon their shores.

The Days of Greek Civilisation

In Greek civilisation the Atlantic Ocean, as such, is only of theoretical importance. A few explorers did, indeed, advance from the Mediterranean northwards and southwards into the Atlantic. Such were Pytheas of Massilia (about 300 B.C.), who journeyed beyond Britain to the fabulous land of Thule; his compatriot and contemporary, Euthymenes, followed by Eudoxos of Cyzicus (about 150 B.C.) and the historian Polybius (about 205–123 B.C.) succeeded in reaching different points upon the west coast of Africa; but none of these undertakings led to any practical result. The reason for this fact is to be found in the length of a voyage from the coast of Greece, which was a far more difficult undertaking for the sailors of those days than it now appears. Especially important, moreover, is the fact that the Greeks, although they were the general heirs of the Phœnician colonial policy, never attempted to overthrow the supremacy of the Carthaginians in the western half of the Mediterranean Sea.

For them, therefore, the great western ocean remained permanently wrapped in the obscurity of distance, a fact which enabled them to people its illimitable breadth with creations of fancy, such as the "Atlantis" of Plato; but distance was too important an obstacle to be successfully overcome by their instinct for colonisation and discovery. The Atlantic Ocean came into the purview of the Romans at the moment when their struggles with Carthage for the Iberian Peninsula ended definitely in their favour (210 B.C.); it was not until then that this rapidly developing Power in the west of the Mediterranean was able to advance from the east coast of Spain to the interior of the country and thence to its western coast. Notwithstanding the activity of Rome in colonisation, her supremacy in Iberia led to no enterprises by sea; nor were any such undertaken by the Romans until they had established themselves in Gaul, and had thus gained possession of a considerable seaboard upon the Atlantic Ocean.

Rome's Struggles With Carthage

It was in 54 and 55 B.C. that Julius Cæsar made his voyages to Britain; a few decades later came the advance of Drusus and of Germanicus into the North Sea. The nature of these conquests precluded adventure upon the open sea. The Romans were attempting only to secure their natural frontier against the threatened encroachments of the Germanic tribes, and confined their explorations to the southern portion of the North Sea.

During the first thousand years after the birth of Christ the North Sea is the only part of the Atlantic Ocean which can be demonstrated to have had any enduring influence upon the history of Western Europe. The Veneti, and other tribes inhabiting the western coast of Spain, Gaul, and Germany, certainly adventured their vessels upon the open sea southward in continuation of the primeval trade in tin and amber; even the Romans, before indefinitely retiring from Britain, made one further advance during the expedition which Cn. Julius Agricola (84 A.D.) undertook in the seas and bays surrounding Great Britain. Of other nations, however, we hear nothing during this age which would lead us to conclude that they carried on communication by means of the ocean to any important extent.

Atlantic Ocean in Legend

The age preceding the tenth century A.D. is entirely wanting in maritime exploits, with the exception of the expedition of the Norsemen, but is, on the other hand, rich in legends, the locality of which is the Atlantic Ocean. These are important to the history of civilisation by reason of their number; they are the most striking proof of that general interest which was excited, even during the "darkest" century of the Middle Ages, by the great and mysterious ocean upon the west. Historically, too, they are of importance for the influence which their supposed substratum of geographical fact has exercised upon the course of discovery. This interest appears, comparatively weak at first, in the "Atlantis" legend. The

legend, together with many other elements forming the geographical lore of classical Greece, was adopted by the Middle Ages, but cannot be retraced earlier than the sixth century. For nearly one thousand years it disappears, with Cosmas Indicopleustes, that extraordinary traveller and student in whose works the attempt to bring all human discovery into harmony with the Bible, an attempt characteristic of patristic literature, reaches its highest point. In the "Atlantis" of Plato, Cosmas apparently sees a confirmation of the teachings of Moses, which had there placed the habitation of the first men; it was not until the time of the Deluge that these men were marvellously translated to our own continent. The ten kings of Atlantis were the ten generations, from Adam to Noah.

The power of legend as a purely theoretical force continued after the first millennium A.D. only in the north-eastern borders of the Atlantic Ocean. The Baltic, owing to its Mediterranean situation, was at that period the theatre of so much human activity and progress that it has already received special treatment. The North Sea, regarded as a land-locked ocean, was not so greatly benefited by its position as it has been in the later ages of inter-oceanic communication; at the same time, the coincidence of advantages, small in themselves, but considerable in the aggregate, have made it more important than any other part of the Atlantic Ocean as an area of traffic. These advantages included one of immeasurable importance to early navigation—namely, a supply of islands which, as formerly in the Mediterranean, conducted the navigator from point to point; a further advantage was the character of its inhabitants, who were far too energetic to be contented with a country which was by no means one of those most blessed by nature.

The Vikings in the North Sea

Hence we need feel no surprise at the fact that the North Sea was navigated in all directions as early as the eighth century by the Vikings; their excursions to Iceland, Greenland, and to that part of North America which here projects farthest into the ocean, are fully intelligible when we consider the training which the stormy North-eastern Atlantic Ocean offered to a nation naturally adventurous.

The example of the Norsemen was not generally imitated in Europe at that time. Charles the Great launched, it is true, a fleet upon the North Sea to repulse their attacks, and this was the first step made by the German people in the maritime profession; though we also see the merchants of Cologne from the year 1000 sending their vessels down the Rhine and over the straits to London, the commercial rivalry of Flanders and Northern France following them in the thirteenth century, and about the same time the fleets of the Easterlings visiting the great harbour on the Thames. For the immediate estimation of existing transmarine relations on the Atlantic side of Europe, these expeditions are useful starting-points; they have, however, nothing to do with the Atlantic Ocean as a highway between the Eastern and Western Hemispheres. The navigators who opened up the Atlantic for this purpose started from the point which past history and the commercial policy of civilised peoples indicated as the most suitable; that is, from the Mediterranean.

Opening up the Atlantic

The sudden expansion of the Mohammedan religion and the Arabian power over a great portion of the Mediterranean gave a monopoly of the whole of the trade passing from east to west to the masters of Egypt and of the Syrian ports; a considerable alteration took place in those conditions under which for more than a century commercial exchange had quietly proceeded between the Far East and the West—an alteration, too, greatly for the worse. Commercial intercourse became so difficult that the chief carrying peoples of the Mediterranean, the commercial city-states, began to consider the possibility of circumventing the obstacles presented by the Moslem Power, which not even the Crusaders had been able to shatter.

From the year 1317 the traders of Venice and Genoa regularly passed the Straits of Gibraltar to secure their share of that extensive trade in England and Flanders which had everywhere sprung into prosperity north of the Alps, owing to the great economic advance made by North-west Europe. Almost a generation earlier they had advanced from Gibraltar southwards in the direction which should have brought them into direct communication with India, according to the geographical knowledge of that day. This idea is the leading motive in the history of discovery during the fourteenth and fifteenth

Traders of the Fourteenth Century

centuries, so far as the history was worked out upon the sea. We see it realised in the voyage of the brothers Vadino and Guido de Vivaldi of Genoa in 1281, and that of Ugolino Vivaldi, who in 1291 sailed down the west coast of Africa in a ship of Teodosio Doria with the object of discovering the sea route to India; it is an idea apparent in the voyages made by the Italians to Madeira, to the Canaries, and to the Azores, enterprises both of nautical daring and of geographical importance. Mention must also be made at this point of the several advances upon the west coast of Africa made by Henry the Navigator; this series of attempts occupied the whole life of that remarkable prince.

Arabs as the Teachers of the West

It is true that the Portuguese of the fifteenth century, like the Italians before them, proposed to use the Atlantic Ocean as a means of communication only up to that point where an imaginary western mouth of the Nile came forth from the Dark Continent. Not in vain were the Arabs the teachers of the West, both in what they did and in what they did not understand; their additions to the knowledge of river systems are even more superficial than those made by European geographers of the Dark Ages. The mistake of the Arabs most fruitful in consequences was their division of the Upper Nile into three arms—one flowing into the Mediterranean from Egypt, one flowing into the Red Sea on the coast of Abyssinia, and one flowing into the Atlantic Ocean on the coast of North-west Africa. This hydrographical myth, of which a hint had been given long before by Ptolemy, was transmitted to the West immediately by the Arabs.

It is to the influence of this strange theory we must ascribe the attempts made by the Italians and also by Prince Henry; they hoped to find a short cut to the realm of Prester John and the Elysium of Southern Asia. A common feature in all the theories of the time about the Atlantic Ocean is the tendency to consider it as the illimitable western boundary of the habitable world. In the history of discovery, this mental attitude continues until the time of Columbus, whose westward voyage cannot for that very reason be compared with any similar undertaking, because it was based upon the conception of the world as a closely united band of earth. However, in the scientific treatment of the great sea upon the west, views and conceptions of the world as a united whole had made their influence felt almost two centuries earlier. The fact that elephants are to be found both in Eastern India and Western Africa had led Aristotle to suppose that the two countries were separated by no great expanse of ocean.

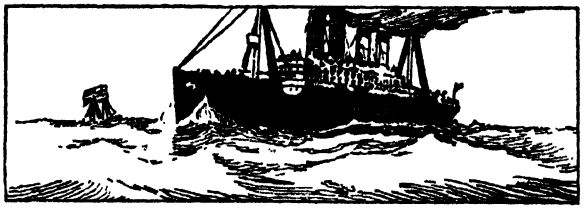
The Atlantic Regarded as Illimitable

After the Patristic Age, the theory was revived by scholasticism upon the basis of Asiatic and Greek geography. As transmitted by the Arabs, this theory respecting the configuration of the ocean assumed that form which was bequeathed by Marinus of Tyre about 100 A.D. and by Ptolemy to the Caliphs. The Western Ocean, upon this theory, was not reduced to the narrow canal which Seneca had conceived; but, compared with the length of the continent which formed its shores, it yet remained so narrow that a man with the enterprise of Columbus might very well have entertained the plan of finding the eastern world by crossing its waters westwards. Ptolemy had given the extent of the continent between the west coast of Iberia and the east coast of Asia as 180° of longitude; thus one-half of the circumference of the globe was left for the ocean lying between. He had thus considerably reduced the estimate of his informant Marinus, who had assigned 225° longitude for the whole extent of land, thus leaving only 135° for the ocean.

The Coming of Columbus

Columbus was more inclined to rely upon Marinus, as Paolo Toscanelli had estimated the extent of land at very nearly the same number of degrees as the Tyrian. Relying upon the stupendous journeys of Marco Polo and the travelling monks of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, he observed that Marinus had estimated his 225° of longitude only for that part of Eastern Asia which was known to him; whereas the fact was that this continent extended far beyond the eastern boundary assumed by Marinus, and should therefore be much nearer the Cape Verde Islands than was supposed. This view strengthened Columbus in that tenacity and endurance which enabled him to continue working for his voyage during ten years full of disappointments, and it gave him that prudent confidence which is the most distinguishing feature of his character.

THE ATLANTIC OCEAN II



BY DR. KARL WEULE

THE AGE AFTER COLUMBUS

THE INFLUENCE OF THE ATLANTIC ON THE WORLD'S COMMERCE DURING FOUR CENTURIES

ONE of the most remarkable facts in the history of geographical discovery is the failure of the discoverer of the New World to recognise it in its true character as an independent portion of the earth's surface; Columbus died in the belief that he had sailed on four occasions to the eastern and southern shores of Asia, and to his last breath remained faithful to that picture of the globe which has already been described.

His contemporaries were under the same delusion. This adherence to old beliefs regarding the hydrography of the globe has produced the characteristic circumstance that, in political history and in the history of exploration, the Pacific and Atlantic are closely linked, until the year 1513, when Nuñez de Balboa descended from the heights of Darien to the shore of the southern sea. The Pacific and Atlantic Oceans were considered as forming one sea, which lay between the western and eastern shores of an enormous continental island, the Indian Ocean being nothing more than an indentation facilitating communication to the western shore. It was not until the return of the Victoria from the voyage of circumnavigation undertaken by Magalhaes that Europe learnt that between the western and eastern shores of their own world there lay, not the narrow sea they had expected to find, but two independent oceans, divided by a double continent, narrower and running more nearly north than south, and possessing all the characteristics of an independent quarter of the globe.

Epoch-Making Voyage of the Victoria

An entirely new picture of the world then arose before the civilisation of the age—new in the influence it was to exert upon the further development of the history of mankind, which had hitherto run an almost purely continental course. In every age, from that of the early Accadians to that of Hanseatic ascendancy in the Baltic, the sea has ever been used as a means of communication. Before the year 1500 A.D. we see the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean with all their branches, as well as the North Sea and the Baltic, in constant use by mankind, and during that long period we know of a whole series of powers founded upon purely maritime supremacy. But the political and economic history even of those peoples whose power was apparently founded upon pure maritime supremacy has been everywhere and invariably conditioned by changes and displacements in their respective hinterlands; even sea powers so entirely maritime as the Phœnician and Punic mediæval Mediterranean powers and the Hanseatics have been invariably obliged to accommodate themselves to the overwhelming influence of the Old World.

The Power of Maritime Nations

To those peoples their seas appeared, no doubt, as mighty centres of conflict; but to us, who are accustomed to remember the unity underlying individual geographical phenomena, these centres of historical action give an impression of narrow bays, even of ponds. On and around them a vigorous period of organic action may certainly have developed at times, but their importance to the geographical distribution of human life surpasses very little their spatial dimensions.

After the age of the great discoveries history loses its continental character, and the main theatre of historical events is gradually transferred to the sea. At the same time, the co-existence of separate historical centres of civilisation comes gradually to a close, and history becomes world-wide. The leap, however, which the population of Europe was then forced to make from its own convenient landlocked seas to the unconfined ocean was too great to be taken without some previous training. This training the Atlantic Ocean provided in full; in fact,

The Atlantic as an Agency of Education

during the sixteenth century its historical importance begins and ends with the task of educating European nations to capacity for world supremacy. No other sea upon the surface of the globe has exercised such an influence, nor was any sea so entirely suited as a training ground by configuration or position. The Pacific Ocean lies entirely apart from this question: From 1513 the task naturally placed before the white races was that of learning to sail this sea, the greatest of all oceans, and apparently the richest in prospects. Its importance is chiefly as a battlefield; it has nothing to do with military training.

The Pacific Greatest of all Oceans

In this respect the Indian Ocean can also be omitted particularly for geographical reasons, though at the same time the chief obstacle to its extensive use by European nations is its lack of some natural communication with the Mediterranean. Compared with these hindrances, the political obstacles, varying in strength but never wholly absent, raised by the Moslem powers of Syria and Egypt are of very secondary importance. How important the first obstacle has ever been is shown by the results of the piercing of it in modern times by an artificial waterway, which is kept open by treaty to the ships of every nation.

Speaking from the standpoint of universal history, we may say that the Mediterranean has exercised a retrograde influence upon humanity, even more so than the Baltic. Both seas conferred great benefits upon the inhabitants of their shores, and indeed the Mediterranean gave so much that we may speak of a Mediterranean civilisation which had lasted for thousands of years, and did not end until the growing economic, political, and intellectual strength of Northern and Southern Europe transferred the historical centre of gravity from this inlet of the Atlantic Ocean to the Atlantic Ocean itself. But neither of these two seas enabled the inhabitants on its shores to take the lead upon the ocean, when the fulness of time appeared with the westward voyage of Columbus, the eastward voyage of Vasco da Gama, and the circumnavigation of the globe by Magalhaes. These seas renounced the claims which they preferred before that great decade, if not to be regarded as the transmitters of civilisation and history, yet to be considered as a history and as a civilisation. We do not see either Venice or Genoa crossing the Straits of Gibraltar, or the Hanseatics crossing the Skagerrack or the Straits of Dover, with the object of taking their share in the struggle that was beginning for maritime supremacy. Those powers were sufficiently skilled in seamanship to maintain their supremacy within their own narrow circles, but their experience was insufficient to enable them to venture upon the open seas surrounding the globe.

Influence of the Mediterranean on Humanity

A strict and thorough maritime education has been from the age of discovery the fundamental condition for the attainment of the position of a modern civilised power in the hard struggle between races and peoples. Of the nations whose voices are heard with respect in the councils of peoples, there is none which does not consider itself permanently equipped and armed for the wide and mighty political and economic struggle upon the stage of the world; for of the original combatants on the scene those who have obviously remained victorious were forced to gain their early experience in the hard school of maritime struggle. These original combatants were Spain and Portugal upon one hand, Holland, England, and France upon the other, and the scene of struggle was the Atlantic Ocean. As regards Spain and Portugal, it is a remarkable fact that this sea concerned them only temporarily and within definite limits, thanks to the Papal edict of May 6th, 1493, which divided the world between the two Romance powers at the outset of their career of colonisation on conditions which placed their boundaries within the Atlantic Ocean itself.

The Atlantic as a Battlefield

This line of demarcation was to run from north to south at a distance of 100 leagues from the Cape Verde Islands, extended to 370 by the Treaty of Tordesillas of June 7th, 1494. Thus, as soon appeared, the main portion of the New World fell within the Spanish half, and only the east of South America was given to the Portuguese. The importance of their American possessions was naturally overshadowed by the far more important tasks which fell to the share of the little Portuguese nation in the Indian Ocean during the next 150 years. Brazil served primarily as a base for the further voyage to India and the Cape of Good Hope. It was impossible to make it a point of departure for further

Portuguese acquisitions, as the Spaniards opposed every step in this direction on the basis of the treaties of partition.

During the first half of the sixteenth century other European powers besides England and Holland crowded into the north of the Atlantic Ocean in pursuit of the same objects; we find not only French explorers and fishermen, but also Spaniards and Portuguese, in the Polar waters of the American Atlantic. However, none of the other nations pursued their main object with such tenacity as the two first-named peoples, above all, the English; the period between 1576 and 1632 belongs entirely to them, and was occupied without interruption by their constant endeavours to discover the north-west passage.

The reward, however, which the English people gained from their stern school of experience in the northern seas was one of high importance. England then was unimportant from a geographical point of view, and a nonentity in the commercial relations of the world at large; but it was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that clear evidence was forthcoming that the communication by water between Baffin Bay and the Bering Straits, though existing, was of no use for navigation. But the high nautical skill, the consciousness of strength, and the resolve to confront any task by sea with adequate science and skill—in short, the unseen advantages which the English nation gained from these great Arctic expeditions, and from their slighter efforts in the first half of the sixteenth century, proved of far higher importance than the tangible results achieved. It was these long decades of struggle against the unparalleled hostilities of natural obstacles that made the English mariners masters on every other sea, and taught the English nation what a vast reserve of strength they had within themselves.

England's Great Power on the Sea

In considering the historical career of this extraordinary island-people from the sixteenth century onwards, we are forced to regard modern history as a whole from the standpoint of national Arctic exploration, although this is far too confined for our purposes as compared with the sum total of forces operative throughout the world. During the age when maritime skill was represented by the city republics in the Mediterranean and the Northmen in the North Sea and the Northern Atlantic Ocean, the Spaniards and Portuguese were already fully occupied with their own domestic affairs, the Moorish domination. Their first advance in the direction of nautical skill was not made until a considerable time after the liberation of Lisbon from the Moorish yoke (1147), when the magnificent harbour at the mouth of the Tagus had become more and more a centre for Flemish and Mediterranean trade; even then it was found necessary to call in all kinds of Italian teachers of the nautical art. It was only slowly and at the cost of great effort that Spain and Portugal became maritime peoples; and their subjects were never seafarers in the sense in which the term is applied to the English and Dutch of the present day, to the Norwegians, or even to the Malays.

Decadence of Spain and Portugal

Indeed, the period of their greatness gives us rather the impression of an age of ecstasy, a kind of obsession which can seize upon a whole nation and inspire them to brilliant exploits for a century, but which results in an even greater reaction so soon as serious obstacles to their activity make themselves felt. Only thus can we explain the fact that these two peoples, once of world-wide power, disappeared with such extraordinary rapidity and so entirely from the world-wide ocean. The last Spanish fleet worthy of consideration was destroyed off the Downs by the Dutch lieutenant-admiral, Marten Harpertzoon Tromp, in 1639; about the same period the Portuguese were also considered the worst sailors in Europe.

The Dutch and the French held their ground more tenaciously. In both cases Arctic training ran a somewhat different course than in the case of the English. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries they certainly took part in the attempt to discover the north-west and north-east passages; with a tenacity highly praiseworthy they applied themselves to the more practical end of Arctic deep-sea fisheries and sealing. That such occupations could provide a good school of maritime training is proved by the energy with which the Dutch, and afterwards the English and the French, made the great step from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean; further evidence is also to be seen in the unusually strong resistance which the two colonial powers in the seventeenth

The Age of Maritime Enterprise

and eighteenth centuries were able to offer to their most dangerous rival, the rapidly growing power of Great Britain.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century the historical character of the Atlantic Ocean undergoes a fundamental change. From the beginning of the period of great discoveries its special destiny had been to provide a maritime training for the nations of North-west Europe, and to make these nations sufficiently strong for successful resistance to the two powers of Spain and Portugal, for whom the supremacy of the world seemed reserved by their geographical position, the world-wide activity of their discoverers, and the pronouncements of the Pope. Maritime capacity they had attained by their bold ventures in the Arctic and Antarctic waters of the Atlantic Ocean; the struggle was fought out by these nations independently or in common in the seas to the south either of their own continent or of the West Indies.

A Period of Licensed Piracy

We refer to the great epoch of the English and Dutch wars against the "invincible" fleets of Philip II.; it was a period, too, of that licensed piracy, almost equally fruitful in political consequences, which was carried on in the waters of East America by representatives of all the three northern powers. The North Sea, the Baltic, and the Mediterranean have all been scourged by pirates at one time and another; and in all three cases the robbers plied their trade so vigorously and for so long a time that the historian must take account of them.

This older form of piracy was undertaken by ruffians beyond the pale of law, who were every man's enemy and no man's friend, and plundered all alike as opportunity occurred, it being everybody's duty to crush and extirpate them when possible. But towards the end of the sixteenth century a different state of affairs prevailed on the Atlantic Ocean. After the discovery of America as an independent continent, it became a question of life and death for the North-west European powers, which had grown to strength in the last century, to find an exit from the Atlantic Ocean to the riches of the eastern countries of the Old World. It was possible that this exit was to be found only in the south, in view of the constant ill-success of expeditions towards the Pole; and to secure the possession of it in that quarter was only possible by the destruction of the two powers that held it. This attempt was undertaken and carried through in part by open war, in part by piracy, which was not only secretly tolerated but openly supported by governments and rulers.

Powers Seeking a New Route

No stronger evidence is forthcoming for the value attached to these weapons and the free use of them during the last ten years of Elizabeth's reign than the honourable positions of Sir Thomas Cavendish, Sir Francis Drake, Sir John Hawkins, and Sir Walter Raleigh. On April 4th, 1581, the maiden queen went on board Drake's ship, concerning which the Spanish ambassador had lodged a complaint of piracy on its return from the circumnavigation of the globe, and dubbed him knight.

This irrepressible advance on the part of the North-west powers towards the east of the Old World is closely connected with the fact that the struggle for maritime supremacy was confined to the Atlantic Ocean only for a short period; no sooner had England and Holland become conscious of their strength than we find both powers in the East Indies, and on the west coast of America; in short, wherever it was possible to deprive the two older powers of the choicest products of their first and most valuable colonies. So early as 1595 Cornelis de Houtman sailed with four Dutch ships to Java and the neighbouring islands; he was followed shortly afterwards by the English and Danes.

Scenes of the Nations' Conflicts

When the North-west European powers began to extend their encroachments beyond the limits of the Atlantic Ocean, this latter naturally ceased to be what it had been for a century past—the main theatre of the naval war; not that it became any more peaceful during the next two centuries. On the contrary, the struggles which broke out amongst the victorious adversaries after the expulsion of the Portuguese and Spaniards from their dominant position were even more violent and enduring than those of earlier days. This conflict, too, was largely fought out in the Indian Ocean, but it was waged with no less ferocity on the Atlantic.

The great length of the two coast lines which confine the Atlantic Ocean, and the general strength and growing capacity of the states of North-west Europe, led to the result that, during the course of the last three centuries, repeated changes

have taken place both in the locality and vigour of the struggle for the supremacy of this ocean, and also in the personality of the combatants. Among these latter we find Portugal and Spain long represented after their rapid decadence. In the first decades of the seventeenth century the Portuguese colonies on the coast of Upper Guinea fell quickly one after the other into the hands of the Dutch; Elima was conquered in 1537; in 1642 Brazil fell into the hands of Holland, after eighteen years' struggle, though nineteen years later it was restored to Portugal for an indemnity of £800,000; in 1651 the Dutch seized and held for 115 years the important position of the Cape of Good Hope.

In the West Indies the division of the Spanish possessions began from 1621 with the foundation of the Dutch West Indian Company, "that band of pirates on the look-out for shares." In the course of the next ten years the majority of the Lesser Antilles were taken from their old Spanish owners. In 1655 Cromwell took possession of Jamaica. The rest of the Greater Antilles remained Spanish for a considerably longer period; Hayti held out its eastern part until 1821, and Cuba and Porto Rico remained Spanish until 1898.

Fight for the Supremacy of the Seas

The combatants in North-west Europe are divided into groups, according to their respective importance; on the one hand, the three powers of England, Holland, and France, each of which has made enormous efforts to secure the supremacy of the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, and, on the other hand, Denmark, Sweden, and Prussia, which pursued objects primarily commercial and on a smaller scale. Their efforts on the African coast are marks of the rising importance then generally attached to trans-oceanic enterprise, and form points of departure of more or less importance in the histories of the states concerned; but in the history of the Atlantic Ocean all of these are events of but temporary importance compared with the huge struggle between the other three powers.

The beginnings of this struggle, as far as England and Holland are concerned, go back to the foundation of the English East India Company; the first serious outbreak took place upon the promulgation of the Navigation Act by the commonwealth on October 9th, 1651. Henceforward English history is largely the tale of repeated efforts to destroy the Dutch supremacy, at first in home waters, afterwards upon the Atlantic, lastly on the Indian Ocean. This policy produced the three great naval wars of 1652–1654, 1664–1667, and 1672–1674, which, without resulting in decisive victory for the English, left them free to proceed with the second portion of their task, the overthrow of French sea power and the acquisition of predominance in the commerce of the world. Judged by the prize at stake, this struggle must rank amongst the greatest of modern times. It began in 1688, when Louis XIV. opened his third war of aggression; it continued, with some cessations of hostilities, until the Congress of Vienna (1814–1815).

England's Wars on Land and Sea

The struggle was carried on at many points. A land war in India (1740–1760) decided the future of the Indian Ocean. The contest to secure communications with that ocean was fought out in Egypt (1798–1801) and at the Cape (1806); but the main conflicts were waged on the seaboard of the Atlantic or on its waters. Supremacy in the Atlantic meant supremacy in the world until the age of steam began and the Suez Canal opened a new route to the Farther East.

Some events which are otherwise of secondary importance deserve notice because they prove how much the current estimate of the Atlantic's importance changed in the course of the struggle. Tangier came into the hands of England in 1662 as the dowry of Catharine of Braganza, the queen of Charles II.; it was given up in 1684 on the ground that it cost more than it brought in. Twenty years later English opinion as to the value of Tangier had been materially modified; and Gibraltar, on the opposite shore, was seized in 1704. Since then England has never relaxed her hold upon this fortress; it has been repeatedly strengthened and defended under the greatest difficulties. Were Tangier an English possession to-day, English it would certainly remain, even though it were to cost infinitely more than the yearly vote of £40,000 which England has expended on Gibraltar for the last two centuries. Equally significant is the attitude of England towards the solitary isle of St. Helena. The Portuguese, by whom it was discovered in 1502, were content to found a little church on the island; the Dutch noticed St. Helena so far as to destroy the church in 1600. But

Gibraltar's Value to Britain

the East India Company, upon acquiring it in 1650, recognised its importance by establishing upon it the fort of St. James. The island, however, was not appreciated at its full value until the English supremacy in the Indian Ocean and until Australia had been founded; that is, not before the beginning of the eighteenth century.

St. Helena a British Possession

The taking over of St. Helena by the English Government in 1815 was the logical sequel to the occupation of the Cape. Both of these new possessions were intended to serve as calling stations on the main line of ocean traffic. It was not until the opening of the Suez Canal that this line declined in importance. The main route now runs from Gibraltar, by Malta and Cyprus, to Egypt, Perim, and Aden.

The eastern part of the Atlantic has served, like the Indian Ocean, as an anteroom to the Pacific. The first explorers of the Atlantic, and those powers which first seized strategic points in it, had the Pacific for their ultimate object. The opening of the Suez Canal has taken away this characteristic of the Atlantic, which is now important for its own sake alone.

The political history of the Atlantic begins upon its western seaboard, though not so early as the history of exploration might lead us to expect. In the Spanish and Portuguese colonies of South and Central America a vicious system of government acted as a bar to political and economic development. In the French and English colonies of North America progress was slow, owing to the existence of physical obstacles. Independent development began in the American continent with the Declaration of Independence.

The American War of Independence marks from yet another point of view a turning-point in the history of the Atlantic Ocean. After the Convention of Tordesillas, in 1494, Spain had ruled supreme in the Atlantic, and had almost put her

France's Shattered Navy

authority in a position above the possibility of challenge when she attempted to use Holland as a base for attacking England, the second of her rivals as an instrument for the destruction of the first. The Treaty of Paris (1763) gave England a similar position of predominance in the North Atlantic, since it definitely excluded the French from North America and left their navy in a shattered condition. The treaty created a *mare clausum* on a great scale, and for the last time; under it England for the first time realised the object towards which her policy had been directed for the last two hundred years. This situation, the most remarkable which the Atlantic had witnessed since the days of Columbus, lasted for over thirteen years. It was not at once destroyed by the Declaration of Independence (1776), but the growth of the United States introduced a change into the existing conditions.

England's position was altered for the worse; and the North Atlantic began to play a new part in the history of the world. Hitherto there had been a movement from east to west; this was now reversed by slow degrees. Europe had acted upon America; America began at the open ng of the nineteenth century to react upon Europe; and now, at the beginning of the twentieth century, America has become a factor, sometimes a disturbing and unwelcome factor, in European complications.

The American War of Independence was a chapter in the conflict for colonial and commercial power between England and

Brilliant Era in British History

France. The United States were largely indebted to French support for their victory. The desire to obliterate the humiliation of the Treaty of Paris and to avenge the loss of vast tracts of territory in America and India had proved too much for the French. Their interference was repaid with interest by the British; for a long period the French marine was swept from the seas; for a considerable portion of the nineteenth century Britain monopolised the seas of the whole world. Next to the period of Atlantic supremacy, from 1763 to 1776, that which followed the Peace of 1815 is the most brilliant in the "rough island story" of the British. Geographical conditions were favourable to them. But they also showed a quality which few nations have possessed—the power of not only recognising, but also of securing, their true interests.

With the two conventions of peace concluded at Paris on May 30th, 1814, and November 20th, or with the closing act of the Vienna Congress on June 9th, 1815, the Atlantic Ocean begins a new period of its historical importance. In those conventions Britain had certainly condescended to return to her former masters some portion of the colonial prizes that she had gained during the last twenty

years. These concessions were, however, of very little importance compared with the extent and the economic and strategical value of that increase to which the island kingdom could point upon the Atlantic Ocean alone. Even at that time these concessions were more than counterbalanced by Britain's retention of the Cape, and the claims which such a position implied to the whole of South Africa.

Tobago and Santa Lucia in the West Indies, and Guiana in South America were to be considered, under these circumstances, as accessions all the more welcome to Britain. These possessions could not compensate for the irrevocable loss of the North American colonies, but they implied an increase in the area of operations from which she could contentedly behold the development of the strong and independent life in the New World. The rocky island of Heligoland, which had been united to Britain in 1814 for seventy-six years, narrow as it was, was only too well placed to dominate commercially and strategically both the Skagerrack and particularly the mouths of the Weser and Elbe; it gave England the position, so to speak, of guardian over the slow growth of Germany and the no less slow recovery of Denmark. Britain's maritime predominance after the conclusion of the great European wars was so strong, and the transmarine relations into which she had entered in the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were also so numerous, that this energetic nation could not fail to draw the fullest possible advantage in every quarter of the world from the position which she occupied at the moment.

Britain Predominant on the Ocean

The period of England's unlimited predominance in the Atlantic Ocean, which she had gained at some cost to her own strength by the wars against France (1755–1763), had been too short for the completion of those transmarine objects which she had in view; but after 1815 she alone of all the powers not only found herself at the height of her strength, but had also the additional advantage of being able to avail herself of a longer period of time to strengthen her position in other respects precisely as she pleased. Then it was that Britain extended her Indian colonial empire in every direction, founded an equally valuable sphere of rule in Australia, and established herself in South Africa and on the most important points along the Indian Ocean. In view of these undertakings, which claimed the whole of her attention, Britain had but little energy to spare during this period for the Atlantic Ocean. The occupation of the Falkland Islands to secure the passage of the Straits of Magellan, in 1833, the occupation of Lagos as the obvious exit from the Sudan district of Central Africa in the year 1861, and finally the beginning of the further development of a limited trade on several other points on the West Coast of Africa—these were at that time the only manifestations of British activity on the Atlantic shores.

The Rapid Growth of Steam Power

The increase in the value of the Atlantic Ocean to the nations of the world at large only began with the coincidence of a large number of new events. Of these the earliest is the surprisingly rapid growth of steam power for the purpose of trans-Atlantic navigation. Not only were the two shores of the ocean brought considerably nearer for the purpose of commercial exchange than was ever possible with the old sailing-vessels, but passenger traffic was increased; emigration from Europe to the New World on the scale on which it has been carried out since 1840 was only possible with the help of steam traffic.

The European Powers of the last two-thirds of the nineteenth century have not yet fully realised the importance, either from an economic or political point of view, of the emigration to the United States, a phenomenon remarkable not only for its extent, but for the unanimity of its object; yet the states thereby chiefly affected had already drawn general attention to the fact. This process of emigration and its results only forced themselves upon the general notice upon either side of the ocean after the youthful constitution of the United States of North America had coalesced into a permanent body politic and had developed a new race, by a fusion, unique in the history of humanity, of that growing population which streamed to it from every country of the world; and, finally, when this new nation had applied its energies to the exploitation of the enormous wealth of natural riches in its broad territory.

A New Race Developed in America

This highly important point was reached considerably earlier than any human foresight could have supposed, owing to the unexampled rapidity of the development

of the United States; and its importance holds good not only for the Atlantic Ocean but for the habitable globe. So early as 1812 the United States, when scarcely out of its childhood, had declared war upon the mighty maritime power of Britain, for reasons of commercial politics. In consequence, the United States seceded, somewhat ingloriously, and paid for its first attempt at trans-oceanic aggression by confining itself to its own internal affairs for a long period; in particular, the proclamation of the Monroe doctrine on September 2nd, 1823, is to be considered as a political act materially affecting the Atlantic Ocean.

The United States Secede from Britain

As a matter of fact, the doctrine still remains in force, notwithstanding the selfish demands of France upon Mexico in 1861, and certain views apparently entertained by Britain and Germany with regard to South America, as the American Press affirmed, during the disturbances concerning Venezuela. To this sense of their own military and naval insufficiency is chiefly to be ascribed the fact that the transmarine efforts of the United States were applied first of all to the Pacific Ocean, which is turned away from Europe, although the European side still forms their historical coast. Between 1870 and 1880 America secured her influence in Hawaii, while at the same time she succeeded in establishing herself in Samoa. It was not until she advanced to the position of a leading state in respect of population and resources that she ventured any similar steps upon the Atlantic side, and even then her attacks were directed only against the Spaniards, who had grown old and weak.

The war of 1898 was the first great transmarine effort on the part of the United States. By their action at that time they openly broke with their former tradition of self-confinement to their own territory; for that reason, above all others, the United States have become a factor in the politics of the rest of the world, not on account of the military capacity which they then displayed: any European power could have done as much either by land or sea. Far more important to European civilisation than their military development is the economic development of North America, which has advanced almost in geometrical progression. The immediate consequence of that development has been that home production not only suffices for the personal needs of the United States, but has introduced a formidable and increasing competition with European wares in Asia, Africa, and the South Seas, or has even beaten them on their own ground; moreover, the abundance of economic advantages has transformed the previous character of trans-Atlantic navigation materially to the advantage of the United States.

America a Factor in World Politics

It is hardly likely that the bewildering number of trans-Atlantic lines of steam and sailing ships will in any way diminish in the face of the North American trust, which was carried out in 1902. But American control over British trans-Atlantic lines and certain Continental lines most certainly implies a weakening of European predominance. Henceforward the Atlantic Ocean loses its old character and becomes a great Mediterranean sea. The teaching of history shows us that its further development is likely to proceed in this direction; so much is plain from the development of circumstances on either side of the Atlantic. Our European Mediterranean and Baltic are not, perhaps, entirely parallel cases, owing to their comparatively smaller area; yet the history which has been worked out upon their respective shores is in its main features nearly identical. Whether we consider the Phœnicians and Carthaginians, the Ionic Greeks, or the modern French on the shores of the Mediterranean, or turn our attention to the Hanse towns or the Swedes upon the Baltic, the result is the same. First of all, we find tentative efforts at occupation of the opposite shores. Phœnicia occupies Carthage; Greece colonises Asia Minor; France, Algiers and Tunis; and Sweden, Finland and Esthonia. In this way permanent lines of communication are slowly developed, though the mother country for a long period remains the only base.

The Atlantic's Future Development

Independent commercial and individual life on the part of the colony only appears as a third step. Both the Carthaginians and the Greeks of Asia Minor surpassed their mother countries not only in the extent and organisation of their economic development but also by the boldness with which they carried it out. Applying these conclusions to the Atlantic Ocean, the prospects before the Old

World seem somewhat doubtful; even to-day, many an individual might find good reason for characterising the once boundless ocean as a future *mare clausum*, access to which is to depend upon American favour. In any case, the times when the European Powers could rightly regard the Atlantic Ocean as their special domain by right of inheritance are past for ever. Probably, after the opening of the Central American Canal, the Pacific Ocean and the countries upon its shores will become more prominent than hitherto; however, the general direction of American life will remain as before, directed towards Europe and the Atlantic Ocean.

The reasons for this are both historical and geographical. Historically speaking, the closest national and political relations conjoin both shores of the Atlantic Ocean. It is true that, when viewed in the light of the rapid growth of modern life, the dates of the foundation of the South and North American colonies appear considerably remote. None the less, Brazil at the present day considers herself a daughter of Portugal, and the united provinces of Canada recognise their origin upon the other side of the Atlantic. These old ties of relationship tend to reappear with renewed force. In the financial year 1890–1891 2·4 per cent. of the United States imports went through New Orleans, 6 per cent. through San Francisco, but no less than 81·5 per cent. through the great harbours of the Atlantic coast. Moreover, notwithstanding the rapid development of the West, the most populous and the most commercially powerful colonies and states of North America are to be found on the Atlantic coast; the great towns, the most important centres of political and intellectual life, are also situated upon the shores that look towards Europe.

Prosperous States of North America

The indissoluble character of these historical relations is reflected almost identically in the geographical conditions. To a modern steamship even the great breadth of the Pacific is but a comparative trifle, and this means of rapid communication is proportionately a more powerful influence in the narrower seas. It was not until steam navigation had been developed that the full extent of the Indian and Pacific Oceans was explored. In the case of the Atlantic the date of exploration is much more remote, but this ocean has profited to an infinitely greater extent than the two former by the new means of communication. The advantage of friendly shores lying beyond its harbours favoured extensive sailing voyages ever since 1492, and this advantage naturally exists in increased extent for steam navigation. The general shortness of the lines of passage is more than a mere geographical phenomenon. Politically and economically, it brings the countries and continents into closer relation. Britain and North America are not only more closely related anthropologically and ethnographically, but at the present day they carry on a larger interchange of commercial products than any other two countries. Improved communication between the harbours of these two countries is certainly not the ultimate cause of the two phenomena above mentioned.

Relations of the Old and New Worlds

Upon the west of the Atlantic Ocean the achievements of technical skill in steam navigation, together with the political and economic advance of the United States, has increased the importance of this sea to an unforeseen extent; so, too, upon the east the achievement of connecting the Mediterranean and Red Sea, and the political progress implied in the rise of the German Empire, have led to the same result. To the southern part of the ocean as a whole the opening of the Suez Canal implied at first some loss; since 1870 the old lines of steamship traffic from Europe to India and the Pacific, by way of the Cape, have been deserted; sailing lines carrying heavy cargo to the south and eastern shores of Asia and the steamship lines bringing Europe into direct communication with the west coast of Africa have remained.

Notwithstanding the rise of a commercial movement from west to east and a consequent lessening of the importance of the eastern ocean, the Suez Canal may in a certain sense be regarded as the primary cause of the greater value which has been recently attached to the eastern Atlantic Ocean and its shores. The opening of this canal—of no use to sailing-ships—through the old isthmus at the end of the Red Sea was certainly not the first and only cause of the remarkable sudden rise in oceanic communication, which is a feature as distinctive of the years 1870 to 1880 as is the decay in communication by sail that then began; this

Suez Canal's Commercial Importance

advance in trans-oceanic communication is much rather to be ascribed to progress in the art of naval construction. The fact, however, remains that since that period the Indian and Pacific Oceans, which had formerly been unknown to the maritime nations of Europe, with the exception of peoples like the English and Dutch who had sailed on them for nearly three centuries, have now been thrown open to the maritime world at large; these powers required but a very mild stimulus to become aspirants for colonial possessions instead of desiring merely commercial activity.

The Modern Empire of Germany

This impulse is now visible as an influence affecting every district of the world that still awaits division, and it was Germany that performed the historical service of giving it; we refer, not to the old "geographical idea," but to the modern united empire of Germany, which has realised the necessity of making strenuous efforts if it is not to go unprovided for in the general division of the world. All the old and new colonial powers at once gathered to share in the process of division, so far as it affected the islands and surrounding countries of the two eastern oceans—a fact that proves the importance of the new line of communication which had immediately given an increased value to the districts in question.

These attractions were nowhere existent in the case of the west coast of the Dark Continent, which has only recently been opened, and perhaps not yet entirely, to commerce; they would, no doubt, have remained unperceived even yet had it not been for the surprising rapidity with which Germany established herself on different points of the long shore, and thereby attracted the attention of others to that locality. So quickly did the value of the continent rise that in the short space of a year not a foot of the sandy shore remained unclaimed. Since that date, almost the whole of the interior of Africa, which had remained untouched for four centuries, has been divided among the representatives of modern world policy. Owing to the massive configuration and primeval character of the district, the greater portion of its history has so far been worked out within the continent itself behind its sand-hills and mangrove forests; at the same time, this discovery of modern politics, which in our own day implies an immediate commercial development, has again made the adjoining area of the Atlantic Ocean a prominent factor in the great struggle for the commerce of the world, more prominent, indeed, than could have been imagined two decades previously.

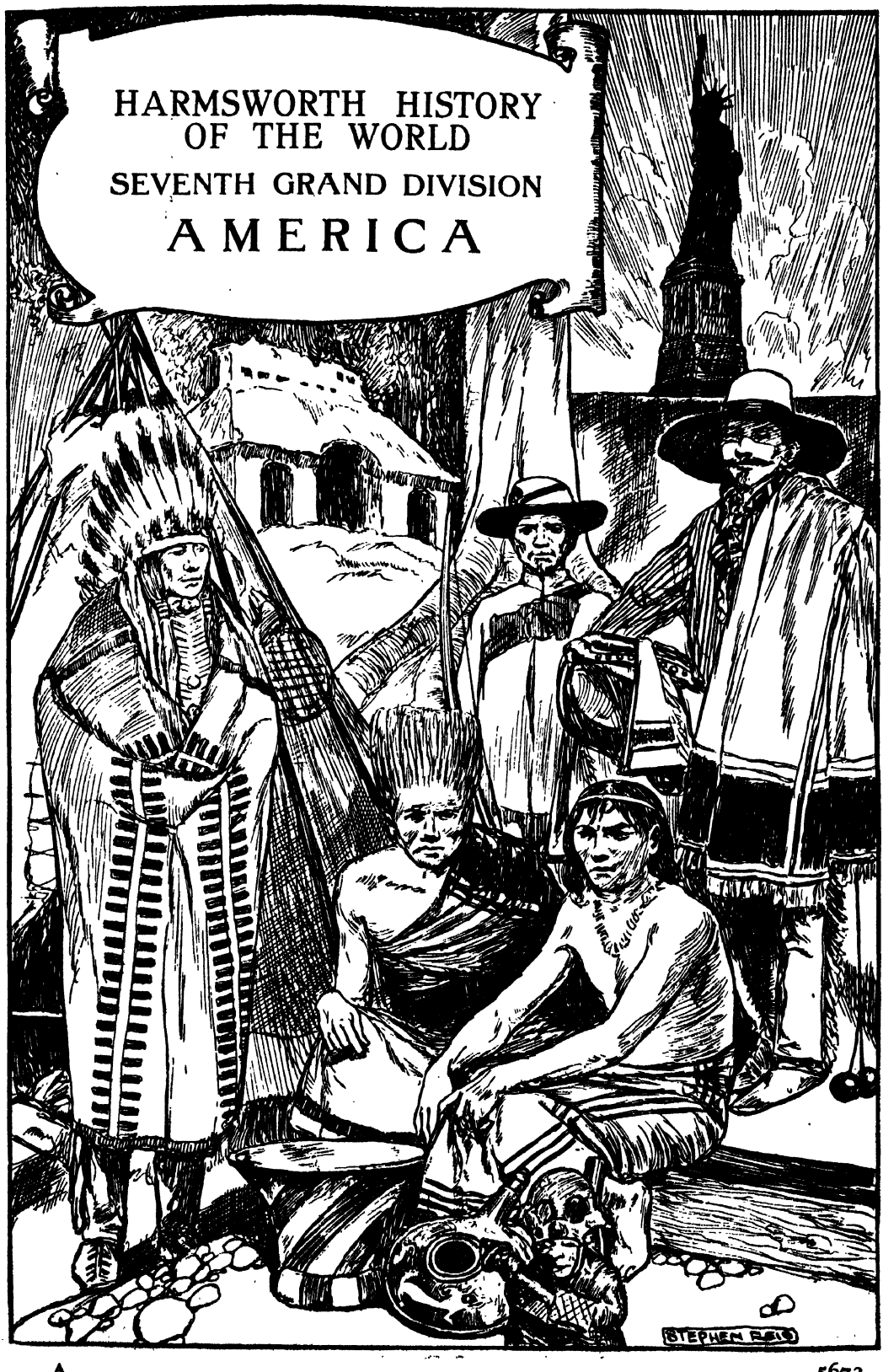
Partition of Africa's Interior

The conquest of the ocean was successfully carried out for the first time at a point where geographical configuration favoured the passage, while also demanding that maritime capacity which can only be acquired in a hard school of training. Such a school was provided for nearly a century by the Northern Atlantic Ocean for those nations who were forced to stand aside—even after the discovery of the New World, and the clear delineation of its hydrographical conditions, by two enthusiastic and highly favoured nations of the south had greatly increased the sphere of influence of the white races.

In the event, neither enthusiasm nor good fortune proved for success in this labour; the honour due to the final conquerors of the Atlantic Ocean and the sea in general belongs chiefly to the English nation after its training in the Arctic school. The Atlantic Ocean has lost its Old World character as a boundary sea or oceanus; at the present day it is a Mediterranean dividing the two worlds. In the Old World, the narrow area of the European-African Mediterranean once gathered the material and intellectual wealth of antiquity upon its shores, and became the nurse of widely differentiated civilisations; so at the present day the Atlantic Ocean, especially on its northern shores, has become the intermediary of our civilisation, which embraces the world.

Destiny of the Atlantic

This ocean is now the permanent means of communication between the two great centres of civilisation, and the promoter of every advance in culture. We ask whether this is to be permanent? The value of the Indian and Pacific Oceans, of the Baltic and Mediterranean, to humanity in the past can be traced without difficulty, while their value at the present is clearly apparent, but what their influence will be upon humanity hereafter, how their relations may be adjusted with the Atlantic Ocean, their latest and most successful rival, only time can show. KARL WEULE


HARMSWORTH HISTORY
OF THE WORLD
SEVENTH GRAND DIVISION
AMERICA
STEPHEN REID

SEVENTH GRAND DIVISION
AMERICA

We have now arrived at the last grand geographical division in the world's history; a division which, as far as land is concerned, includes a hemisphere. But its written history covers little more than a period of four centuries, and the monumental records are meagre and vague.

In some regions a civilisation far from despicable existed perhaps for some centuries before Columbus; but when we compare this with the three thousand years of written records in the Eastern Hemisphere, and the monumental records which may have survived for ten thousand years, it becomes obvious that American history forms but a small part in the history of the world.

In it, however, we include what anthropological inquiry can tell us of the primitive races which peopled two continents, and what is known of the civilisations which came into being during our European "Middle Ages."

But the main part of our story deals with the expansion of the dominion of one European people in the southern and central portion of the two continents, the expansion and rivalry of two other European peoples in the northern portion, the supremacy achieved by the British race, and the development of the twin Powers of that race partly under the Union Jack and partly under the Stars and Stripes.

To this is added the study of the world around the Poles, which completes our survey of the Oceans as well as of the Continents of the globe; and thence we pass finally to touch in closing on some of those inquiries which are suggested by the story we have told.

PLAN

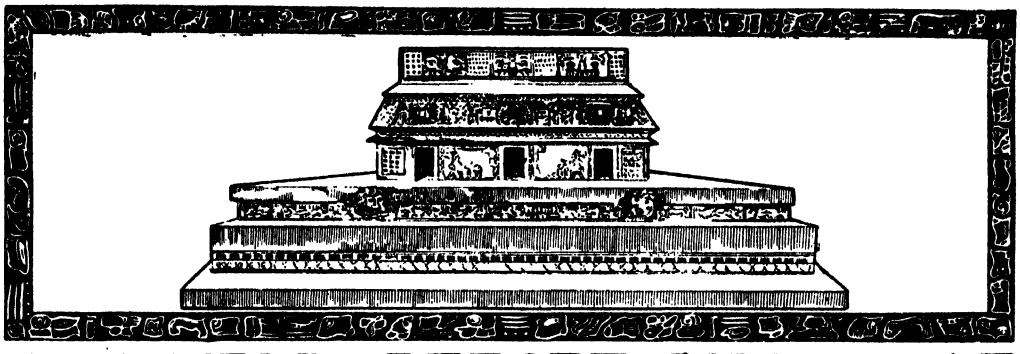
AMERICA BEFORE COLUMBUS
By Professor Konrad Haebler

THE COLONISATION OF THE CONTINENT AND THE AMERICAN NATION
By A. G. Bradley, Dr. H. F. Helmolt, W. H. Woodward, and Prof. Haebler

SOCIAL CONDITIONS AND THE SOCIAL FUTURE IN THE UNITED STATES
By H. G. Wells

THE WORLD AROUND THE POLES
By George Sandeman, M.A.

For full contents and page numbers see index



AMERICA BEFORE COLUMBUS

PRIMITIVE RACES OF THE CONTINENT

By Professor Konrad Haebler

WHERE DID AMERICAN MAN COME FROM?

THE problem how the first men may have come to America has always given much food for reflection to both learned and unlearned. Many could not imagine that a continent should exist with countless different races for whom no place could be found in the genealogy of Genesis, and for want of a better way out of the difficulty they assumed that the inhabitants of America were the descendants of the ten lost tribes of Israel. This naïve assumption did direct service to science itself by offering occasion to some intelligent observers to go thoroughly into the manners and customs of the American Indians, in the hope of discovering analogies which might serve them as proofs.

A second hypothesis regarding the origin of the Americans has received a far more scientific colouring. The fabulous island-world of the Western ocean, the oldest evidence of which is the mythical Atlantis of Plato's Timæus, exercised an indirect influence on the discovery of the New World, in so far as even Columbus was under the spell of belief in it. Whether it was based on any historic or prehistoric fact has not hitherto been proved. But men of science are not wanting who answer this question in the affirmative, and who see in a land-bridge over the Atlantic Ocean the way by which the first men came to the American continent.

Was there a Land-bridge over the Atlantic?

Modern research no longer takes up so naïve a position on this question as the old Spaniard who therewith attributed to the Indians a Keltiberian origin. The sinking of a continent between Europe and America in an age when our part of the earth was inhabited by peoples whose traces are still to be found must in any case have left some signs which could not have escaped the advanced investigation of the earth's surface. The attempt to trace the outlines of this continent from the cliffs and shoals of the Atlantic Ocean is also worthless trifling. On the other hand, geologists of note believe that they can prove that the northern part of the Atlantic Ocean was not always covered by water, and they think it was by this way that man came from the Old World to the New, in times when the climatic conditions of our part of the globe were still considerably different from those of history.

The First Route to America

Finally, still a third hypothesis exists for the population of America. It would be the simplest of all did not the same science which admits the possibility of a North Atlantic land-bridge having existed dispute the same possibility for this. Nowhere do the continents of the Old and New World approach nearer to one another than in North-west America, where Bering Strait separates them by only a narrow arm of water, and the Aleutian Islands also make it possible for a navigator provided with but the most primitive appliances to cross from one to the other.

At all times vessels of the inhabitants of the Asiatic coasts have occasionally been tossed by wind and weather as far as the shores of Alaska, and that an immigration took place in this direction even in historic

times is almost a certainty. The resemblance of the American aborigines to Mongolian peoples and the similarity of certain ethnological peculiarities in races of the Pacific states of America to those of the civilised nations of Asia have long brought this hypothesis many adherents. Some, indeed, would find direct proof of intercourse between the Chinese and America in the accounts of the land of Fu-schan, and on the strength of this would boldly claim the Aztec civilisation to have been an offshoot of the Chinese. Such inferences, however, have not been able to stand the test of strict examination.

America's Earliest Inhabitants

In the ages which we can connect with even the earliest Chinese epochs America was certainly not populated by this means; and if the geologists are right who assert that the far north-west did not rise from the waves of the Pacific Ocean—which once flowed with a boundless expanse to the North Pole—until after the Glacial Period, then the first inhabitants of America certainly did not get there in this way, for by this time the bones of many generations were already bleaching on the soil of the New World.

Since it has been proved that the human race on American soil can be traced back to the same periods of the earth's history as in the Old World, the question whence the first men came there has lost much of its importance. It is true that the cradle of the human race can hardly have been in America; to cite one objection, the anthropoid apes, which are indispensable to the theory of evolution as the connecting link between the animal world and man, have at no time been native there, any more than they are now, as the fossil finds in all American excavations have proved.

But, however, if the first men came over during periods in which the distribution of land and water on the earth's surface was still quite different from that shown by history, then geology will one day, at least, be able to give an answer to our question. Yet even this negative result is of unqualified scientific importance, for it puts all those in the wrong who pretend to see in the customs of the savage and civilised races of America the influences of certain ethnographic units familiar to our ideas. If the first man made his home in America at the time when his fellow in the Old World still vied with the beasts in gnawing the bones of the game he had killed, and if a hollow in the hills was the only shelter he knew, the dispute as to whether the civilisations of America are to be traced to Aryan or Semitic influences may be given up as idle. For this much at least is irrefutably proved by the palæontology and history of the New World—that its development from the times of the mammoth to its discovery by Christopher Columbus was continuous and was not influenced from without.

Problem of America's First Man

America is also highly interesting to the student of the early history of the human race as well as to the geologist, in that it preserved the witnesses of a past of which we find in the Old World only scanty and often obliterated traces until a later time. This later time did not, it is true, possess such a developed method of research as the present day, but in its accounts, and in the memorials that it handed down to posterity, it has consigned to us far richer material for research than has the Old World, and has given us information of events and conditions in the early history of man which we should otherwise seek in vain. Even the most highly civilised races of America were only at the beginning of the Copper Age when they were discovered, while most of the inhabitants of the New World still lived entirely in the Age of Stone.

The Stone Age in America

Americans once asserted that they had dug human bones out of strata of the Tertiary Period; but, like those who had made similar assertions regarding finds in the Old World, they failed to give scientific proof. On the other hand, human relics have come to light there, as they have here, that belong to the Interglacial Period; nor are such relics, although naturally not very numerous, limited to a small area, but are found both in the mountainous regions of California and in the vast plains of the Argentine pampas. In America, too, man was the contemporary of the mammoth and other ancient gigantic species of animals, and at a later but still prehistoric period the New World even had a population which in places was fairly considerable.

That this was the case is evident from the considerable number and unusual size of the refuse accumulations of prehistoric man that are known by the name of "kitchen-middens." These refuse mounds exist in North and South America, on the shores of the ocean, on the inland seas,

and on the banks of the great rivers, and, besides their scientific name, are called "shell-mounds" in the North and "sambaquis" in the South. They consist of accumulations of the inedible parts of fish and other aquatic animals, especially shell-fish, and naturally contain among this refuse fragments of objects that were used by the men who inhabited their sites. That these objects belong chiefly to the earliest human culture, the Palæolithic, was to be anticipated, but it must not be forgotten that refuse mounds are also met with, especially in South America, which belong not only to the Neolithic Period, beyond which the wild Indian of Eastern South America has never advanced, but even with certainty to historic times.

History from the Ancient Shell-mounds

What number of people and what time it may have taken to throw up these mounds, which are often hundreds of feet long, and of considerable height, we have as yet no reliable means of determining. But it can scarcely be assumed that they were formed very slowly, for otherwise the action of the elements, especially on the sea-coasts, would scarcely ever have allowed accumulations to be made which have stood the test of thousands of years. We are, therefore, undoubtedly justified in concluding, from the large extent and wide distribution of these mounds, that large areas of the continent were thickly populated even in prehistoric times.

This fact must especially be kept in view, in order to estimate at their proper value the hypotheses regarding the civilising influences of the peoples of the Old World on those of the New; for if in times when even Asia and Europe still possessed an exclusively uncivilised population America was already inhabited by man in exactly the same manner, then, considering the geographical conditions of the continent, foreign influences can only be called in to account for culture phenomena when the supposition of independent development is insufficiently strong.

If we now view the American continent in its entirety on its appearance in historic times, it affords us surprising confirmation of the extraordinary influence of geographical position on the development of human culture. The comparatively narrow strip of coast which accompanies the mountain-chain of the Cordilleras—the backbone of America, as it has been significantly called—at its western foot, with the terraces in which these mountains rapidly rise to considerable height, was almost in its whole extent, from Alaska down to Chili, the seat of civilised and half-civilised races; at any rate, their degree of civilisation was far above the level of that of the population of the vast plains and extensive lowland through which, east of the Cordilleras, the mightiest rivers of the earth roll their waters to the sea. Here lay the two great centres of civilisation of Peru and Mexico, the latter of which, it is true, spanned the American continent from ocean to ocean near its narrowest part.

Primitive North Americans

In the regions east of the Cordilleras, which probably form three-fourths of the whole area of the continent, man was still, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, in a primitive stage of civilisation. North America showed him then at best as beginning to rise from his state of "natural man"; whereas in the southern continent no traces of this are to be discovered. The clever paradox that hunger is the father of all progress, because it forces man to fight with his surroundings, has probably nowhere been more strikingly confirmed than in South America. The Peruvian of the mountains, for example, on a soil from which he wrung his living by energetic toil, created one of the most ingeniously organised of bodies politic in the world's history, while his eastern neighbour, revelling in the luxuriant wealth of tropical Nature, roved about in a condition which did not even bring before his mind the principal difference between man and beast.

It is true that Nature held the Indian back, keeping him at the lowest possible stage of civilisation, not only through its bounteous gifts, but also by reason of other and less beneficent influences. On the vast plains which accompany the great rivers far along their upper courses Nature denied to man even a permanent abode, one of the most necessary conditions for the development of progress in culture. The floods which recurred periodically, placing areas of many square miles under water for weeks and months, compelled the Indian—who had to build his hut close to the banks of the rivers on account of the fish that gave him food—regularly to abandon his dwelling and leave it to destruction. It is no wonder that he became an indefatigable swimmer, an

Nature's Influence on Man

excellent boatman, and an expert fisherman; but his mind became as little associated as his body with the soil he lived on, and the water that washed away his light hut effaced also from his mind any remembrance of his past history. Historical research was for a long time helpless as regards these primitive races.

Features of the Aborigines

Attempts were first made to pick out from the endless mass of races and tribes the groups that were more or less closely related to one another; but even these attempts encountered the greatest obstacles. The outward appearance of the aborigines, their complexion, and the form of their skulls and bodies, were first tried as distinctive marks. It proved that races of different complexions exhibited signs of relationship, whereas the same complexion and figure were repeated in races that were not related at all; and the skull measurements often gave every gradation from the dolichocephalic to the brachycephalic among the individuals of a single small tribe.

The only guide that has hitherto proved at all trustworthy is the linguistic one. On the bases that we obtain with its aid is founded, almost exclusively as regards South America, the little we know of the history of these races, or rather the little we know in the way of facts. The uncivilised Indian knows nothing of the history of his tribe. He rarely knows more than the names—and perhaps, in the country not subject to floods, the dwellings—of his father and grandfather. After a few generations the knowledge of long migrations fades away into a dim tradition, and in his legends the overgrowth of mythological fantasies completely stifles clear historical recollection.

This also explains how the Indians so easily changed under the influence of new surroundings. Language alone followed this process of transformation

The Mixed Languages of the Indians

comparatively slowly, and contained elements of persistency which asserted themselves more lastingly amid all change. But far more importance must be attached to the influence exercised by mixture on the languages of the Indians. It will seldom have resulted from peaceable intercourse. The Indian in his natural state, while looking on the beasts of the forest almost as his equals, considered every strange man, on the other hand, much as game, and every man was strange to him who was not of his clan. This explains the war of "all against all" that existed among most of the Indian tribes.

Whether we have to regard this same conception as accounting for the anthropophagy which seems at times to have existed throughout the whole American continent, from one end to the other, may perhaps be disputed. In any case the Indian pursued his human enemy with the same unmercifulness as he pursued his worst enemies in the animal world, and his war was, as far as the male portion of the hostile tribe was concerned, a war of annihilation. But he behaved otherwise towards the women. In the restless life of the nomadic Indian a great share of the daily toil and care fell to the female sex, and the Indian knew well how to appreciate the faithful services of his women.

Thus, when he succeeded in capturing the women of a hostile tribe in battle, it was only rarely that he wreaked his wrath on them; far oftener he saw in them a welcome addition to the hands that provided for his bodily well-being. It is

How New Tribes were Formed

clear that these strange women who were adopted into the tribe must also have exercised an influence for change upon it under certain circumstances, especially if such adoptions happened repeatedly. It must often have come to pass that a tribe, whose outward circumstances were favourable rapidly increased, so that at last all its members could no longer find room within its circle. It was then naturally the youngest members—those in the first stage of manhood—whom the uneasy pressure first affected, and whom must have first migrated. Only a few women, or none at all, would have followed them on their journey into the unknown, for their diligent hands could far less be spared at home than the surplus warriors.

So that, in order to establish a home, these warriors would have to resort to the abduction of women. The nearest village would then be attacked; the men that could not escape would be slaughtered; but with the women the band of warriors would combine to form a new tribe, which must naturally show in every respect the mixture of different elements. This formation of new tribes is not only logically quite admissible, but it is also verified by historical instances among the many races of South America.

PREHISTORIC SOUTH AMERICA

THE EARLY PEOPLES & THEIR CIVILISATIONS

FROM the few historical facts that we are able to glean with the help of the sciences of language, ethnology, and anthropology, we are still only able to ascertain in rough outline the past of the chief races of South America. Of those that we can still recognise the Tapuyas are considered to be the oldest. "Tapuya" is really not a name at all, but the term in the Tupi language for all "strangers," or "enemies." Karl von den Steinen, an authority to be frequently cited, calls this group that of the Ges tribes; others follow the example of some of their Indian neighbours and call them the Crens, meaning the "old" or "ancient ones."

Prehistoric Tapuyas of Brazil

They have become most popular under the name of Botocudos, from the lip-peg (botoque), which, however, is worn as an ornament of distinction not only by them but also by most of the other primitive races of South America; even the warriors of the Chibchas, who must be unconditionally reckoned among the civilised races, stuck as many pegs through their lower lips as they had killed enemies in battle. The name "Tapuya" recommends itself most, because in history it has been specially applied to the Ges tribes, and did not, like all the other names, actually belong only to a small number of the tribes that are called by it. The age of these tribes is shown by the fact that their neighbours, who have driven them farther and farther from their former abodes, call them "the ancients."

The most decisive proof that they have lived in the regions of Brazil from the earliest times, long previous to history, is the circumstance that the palæozoic skulls from Lagoa Santa, which Lund brought to light in the caves there, exhibit all the characteristics peculiar to the Tapuya skull. On the other hand, it is doubtful whether the "sambaquis," or refuse-mounds, of Brazil are also attributable to them, because the Tapuyas seem at all times to have been, as they are to-day, a nomadic race of hunters, and never a race of navigators and fishermen. Only such a race, and a comparatively sedentary race, too, could have consumed such quantities of shell-fish as form the mounds of the sambaquis. The Tapuyas have played an historical part only passively. They were probably once the sole masters of the whole of Brazil, from the watershed of the Amazon down to the Parana; but probably even in prehistoric times they were hemmed in on all sides so that at the time of the Spanish conquest they ruled practically only the hill-country of the interior of Brazil.

Territory Ruled by the Tapuyas

Tribes of them were also drawn into the great racial migration which, several centuries before their discovery by the Spaniards, set out from the east to make an onset upon the more highly civilised races of the Andean highlands; but the Semigaes, who on this occasion penetrated into the region of the upper tributaries of the Amazon, became differentiated in character from their race, and so assimilated themselves with the surrounding Tupi and Carib tribes that only their name and their language still show their old connection.

There have probably never been any races of the Tapuya stock on the north side of the Amazon. Here, until a few centuries before Columbus, one of the most extensive races of the New World, the Aruacs, held unlimited sway. They, too, belong indisputably to the oldest nations of America. Where their real original abodes may have been can be only approximately determined. The Aruacs also represent the type of an inland race. Although in later times many of their tribes were quite at home on the water as navigators and fishermen, their primitive culture points unconditionally to an inland home. And although they

Where the Aruacs Held Sway

were subsequently the undisputed masters of the vast regions north of the Amazon from the Andes to the shores of the ocean, their original abodes cannot have been in the luxuriant, tropical lowlands of the great river territories of South America; on the contrary, the characteristics we find common to all their widespread branches, as the original elements of their culture, lead us to the conclusion that their home was situated above the region of periodical floods, and yet was still in tropical climes. Now, as we find them on the eastern slopes of the Cordilleras, from the peninsula of Goajira in the north down to the borders of Chili, and in specially large numbers in Eastern Bolivia, the original home of all these tribes is probably to be sought in this direction.

The tribes of the Aruac group, among which must also be counted those called the Nu tribes by Karl von den Steinen, ranked far higher in civilisation than the Tapuyas; and although Tupis and Caribs subsequently became fully their equals, the civilisation of the Aruacs was founded much earlier than theirs. There is abundant proof that the Aruacs were the teachers of their younger conquerors.

Migrations of the Aruac Races

When the Aruac group may have begun to spread from the hill country of Eastern Bolivia to the north-east, east and south-east, and whether in its advance it found the basins of the Orinoco and Amazon and their tributaries still unpeopled or inhabited by other races, cannot be ascertained even approximately. It is probable that it found these new regions uninhabited, because Aruac races have formed a uniform substratum over large areas of Northern South America, which substratum of race reappears wherever the later conquerors did not completely fill the area. But to judge from its extent, and from the great deviations in the language of its various branches, this group of races took not only hundreds but thousands of years for its migrations. In spite of this the Aruacs were not a rude, savage race when this process began, for even the original race knew an

A GROUP OF INDIAN ARUACS, ONE OF AMERICA'S EARLIEST RACES

Until a few centuries before the coming of Columbus, the Aruacs, one of the most extensive races of the New World, held unlimited sway on the north side of the Amazon. Higher in civilisation than the Tapuyas, this group was by no means a rude, savage people, for even the original race knew an agriculture that cannot be called quite primitive.

THE ELABORATE HEAD DECORATIONS AND UTENSILS OF THE INDIAN ARUACS

agriculture that cannot be called quite primitive. In large parts of South America the agricultural Indians live not only on maize, which is grown all over America, but even to a greater extent on the tuberous root of a species of *euphorbiaceæ*, the manioc (*Manihot plum.*) or cassava.

In the raw state these roots are highly poisonous, owing to their containing prussic acid; otherwise they are rich in nutritious properties. Now, in early times some unknown Indian tribe made the discovery that the manioc is deprived of its poisonous properties by squeezing the sap out of the root and preparing the latter in a suitable manner: a discovery of far-reaching importance, considering that the manioc afterwards formed almost the sole means of subsistence of hundreds of thousands of Indians. As the manioc shrub does not flourish in the tropical and flood-exposed lowlands, neither the Tupis nor the Caribs, both of whom probably were originally pure fish-eaters, can have been the inventors of this process; still less the Tapuyas, who did not practise agriculture at all. It does not naturally follow that the honour of this discovery is due to the Aruacs, whose probable original abodes certainly correspond to the special climatic conditions necessary for the manioc; it is conceivable that they, too, were first instructed in the art of preparing the manioc by a still more highly civilised race. But this certainly took place in the original home of the race, which, with its gradual expansion, spread the cultivation of the manioc, so that finally the Indians of other stocks also learned the art from them.

Far-Reaching Discovery of an Indian Tribe

The Aruac races are further distinguished by their skill in making earthen vessels. This is still so characteristic of them at the present day that, of the races of Central Brazil, Karl von den Steinen classes those of the Aruac stock under the name of "potter tribes." It is certainly not a coincidence that, the farther one goes from the east coast of the continent towards the mountains, the better and finer the pottery becomes. All the races that inhabit the eastern slopes of the Cordilleras were comparatively far advanced in the working of clay, and the products of their industry are distinguished by variety of form and purpose and by elegance of decoration—which ranges from simple lineal ornament to the plastic imitation of living things—from the products of the primitive races of the lowlands. This

distinction is certainly not limited to the Aruac races. South of them, among the races of the Gran Chaco, which are still regarded as belonging to other stocks, the same thing is observed, and the pottery which has been dug up from the ruins of the old Indian settlements in Catamarca vies with that produced by many civilised nations. There can be scarcely any doubt that with the Aruacs it is not a case of independent development but of an influence exercised by the ancient civilised races of the Peruvian highlands or their eastern neighbours. But this influence must also belong to an extraordinarily early period, for even the Aruac races, who have never risen to a higher mode of life, and still live at the present day, hundreds of miles away from their ancestral home, in the state of almost pure savages, are the providers and teachers of their neighbours in the matter of pottery.

STONE SEATS IN USE BY THE ARUACS

The Aruac races have acquired quite a special claim to a comparatively higher culture from the fact that anthropophagy had long been absent from their ranks, whereas round about them it still existed, at least as a religious rite, even among races of an unquestionably higher civilisation. It is remarkable that the great mass of the Aruac races, in spite of the fact that some of their tribes lived for generations in the closest contact with tribes of other stocks among whom the enemies killed or captured in war were regularly eaten, never relapsed into this barbarous custom.

This progress in culture also must have belonged to the period that preceded the migrations of the Aruac races, because it was common to every tribe. When we consider that this ancient race was already familiar with agriculture, skilled in the preparation of earthen vessels, and disinclined to anthropophagy, we are almost tempted to look for the ancestors of the Aruacs among the civilised nations that peopled the high valleys of the Cordilleras long centuries before the founding of the Inca dynasty. But an important circumstance stands in the way of this hypothesis. The Aruacs, as we meet them in history, never developed a really higher civilisation than, as we have shown, probably belonged to the original race; the latter must therefore have reached the limit of its progress — that is, it must have passed the culminating point—before the expansion of the nation over the whole north of the South American continent began. Here we have a contradiction. A nation whose progressive development is over can no longer generate an expansive force such as is seen in the spread of the Aruac stock, and all that we know of the history of Indian migrations shows that they have proceeded only from comparatively young and rising races.

We shall therefore have to explain the historical process thus. At a period when their original stock on the plateaus of Bolivia began to develop vigorously, the Aruacs were raised from the pure natural state by the cultural influences of the more highly civilised races in the west, and were advanced in a manner that indirectly served to strengthen the aspiring power of the race. In the old home there was no scope for this abundant energy, and so the emigration began. Whether this moved simultaneously in a southern and northern direction cannot be ascertained. We meet with detached tribes of this family south of their original abodes and likewise in the far east. But they throw no light on the date and direction of their migrations. On the other hand, we can trace the northern current for a long time, and fairly clearly. As the Aruacs had already begun to till the ground in their home, their migrations will, on the one side, have progressed much more slowly than those of races that

The Tribes in Search of New Lands

did not know any artificial means of procuring food; on the other side, they must certainly have moved first in a direction that did not compel them to accommodate themselves to other habits. This was only possible if they followed the spurs of the Cordilleras northward. We find them in the sixteenth century in the mountains between Santa Marta and Venezuela, and at the present day in the peninsula of Goajira, their most northern continuation. The Carios in the neighbourhood of Coro also practised agriculture on Venezuelan soil, and lived in permanent abodes at the time of the discovery. At the Cabo de la Vela, Nature checked their northern advance; but their migration was continued in an easterly direction, and reached, still centuries before the discovery of America, the mouth of the Orinoco.

Aruac Tribes on the Sea

Meanwhile, a change had taken place in respect to part of the race—Aruac tribes had become used to the water, and had become navigators and fishermen. Whether this change began among the coast tribes or among those which had penetrated from the old home into the flood districts of the upper tributaries of the Orinoco is doubtful; the latter appears the more probable, as the sea offers too many difficulties for elementary navigation. Moreover, Aruac tribes are repeatedly found scattered in the basin of the Orinoco. At any rate, the race must still have possessed a considerable power of expansion, for even the ocean on the east coast set no limit to its migrations. The Aruac navigators ventured out from the mouth of the Orinoco upon the open sea, and gradually gave the whole island-world of the Caribbean Sea what is supposed to have been its first population. A little farther, and they would have reached the North American continent from the islands and made the connection between it and the southern continent, which does not seem ever to have been effected. Meanwhile, their brother tribes on the mainland still followed the sea coast in their new change of direction. Through Guiana they turned again to the south, and even the Amazon did not prove an insuperable obstacle to them. Aruacs are found, with the sure signs of an immigration from the north, as far as the watershed between the tributaries of the Amazon and of the Paraguay.

TOMBS OF THE ARUAC PEOPLES

The migrations of the Aruacs came to a standstill only when they were met by other races with the same desire for expansion. This probably took place comparatively early, the tribes that were advancing south-eastward coming upon the Tupi races. At a later period they encountered the Caribs, to whom finally, in a struggle which lasted for centuries, the majority of the northern Aruacs fell victims.

Although the Tupis have had uninterrupted intercourse with the white man from the first discovery of Brazil down to the present day, the methodical investigation of this race is considerably behind that of others. The reason for this lies in the fate that awaited the race upon the occupation of the land by Europeans. At an early date the missionaries formed, from a dialect of the Tupi language, the so-called *lingua geral*, in which a series of grammars, translations, etc., have been written. It is due to this that the study of the wild Tupi languages, if they may be so termed as opposed to the *lingua geral* cultivated under European influence, has been improperly neglected, and thus one of the best means of ascertaining the ancient history of the Tupi stock has been withheld from us. The same circumstance—long familiarity with the race—has also kept ethnologists from giving their closer attention to the Tupis, whose characteristics have, meanwhile,

been gradually succumbing to the influence of civilisation, so that for the ethnographical and historical study of the best-known stock of the South American Indians we are restricted to inadequate material.

The original home of the Tupis has also been said to have been in the highlands of the interior, but this is based on quite unreliable data and is in contradiction to what is shown by the characteristics of the race in historic times. The mother country of the Tupi races is presumably to be sought not very far from where Europeans first met them, although their expansion and migrations had then been going on in different directions for centuries. Their original home was, in any case, in the region of the northern affluents of La Plata, but scarcely on the other side of the watershed from which the rivers run northward to the Amazon. In contrast to the Aruacs, the Tupis are a decided water-race. Although most of their tribes, but not all, also tilled the ground to a limited extent, in the sixteenth century they still lived almost exclusively by fishing and hunting. On the Paraguay and its tributaries, and on the rivers of the regions of which their wandering hordes further took possession, they boldly launched their canoes in peace and war. In early times they peopled the few islands that lie at inconsiderable distances from the coast, and they were evidently at home on the sea itself so far as their small craft permitted. Even the Tupi tribes who went far into the interior in their migrations still remained navigators and fishermen. A map of the races of South America shows at once the direction in which the Tupi race expanded. It first followed the affluents of La Plata in a southerly direction to the ocean, but only slowly so long as it had no special need of expansion. On the other hand, the migration of the Tupis along the coast of the Atlantic Ocean in a northerly direction seems to have proceeded, comparatively speaking, much more rapidly. Up to the mouth of the Amazon they never occupied a broad area, but satisfied themselves with driving the old Tapuya races from a narrow strip of the coast-land, on which, always with an eye to the water, they settled.

That their territory at the time of the conquest still formed an exceedingly narrow strip as compared with its length, but one which was nowhere broken by the return of the hostile nations they had displaced, goes to prove that its occupation took place quickly and at no very remote period. The migrations of the Tupis must have been of a considerably different character from those of the Aruacs. Whereas the latter evidently proceeded slowly and without serious fighting (in the territory of the Aruacs we scarcely ever find clear traces of a strange population not merged in them by assimilation), the migrations of the Tupis bear throughout the stamp of having been warlike in their nature. Even the name Tapuya (strangers or enemies), which they gave to all races with which they came in contact, is historical evidence of this. In their intercourse with Europeans the Tupis by no means proved to be a particularly savage and cruel race; they were the good friends of the first settlers, and subsequently became tractable material in the hands of the Jesuit missionaries. But in their relations with their Indian neighbours they seem to have been preeminently the aggressors, and with proud self-consciousness the southern Tupis called themselves Guaranis (warriors). Nor must we forget that with few exceptions,

A CARIB IDOL

The idol represented in the above illustration, which throws an instructive sidelight on the worship of the Caribs, was discovered in 1792 in a cave in Carpenter's Mountain, Jamaica.

Underwood

REMNANTS OF AN ANCIENT RACE: PRESENT-DAY CARIBS AT HOME

The youngest of South American races, the Caribs were at one time a powerful people, with a degree of civilisation exceedingly low. Eating their enemies was so characteristic of the Caribs that their name of "cannibal" has become identical with the term for man-eaters. The Caribs of the present day bear little resemblance to their remote ancestors.

to be explained by special circumstances, the Tupi tribes were given to cannibalism. It was certainly no longer a scarcity of food that made them cannibals, nor was it a sacred ceremony springing from religious conceptions, such as we find among several civilised races of ancient America. The Guarani ate the prisoners he made in battle to celebrate his victory over his enemies. The custom observed in this connection is almost a characteristic of the Tupi tribes.

The prisoners were not put to death immediately upon their captors' return from the warpath, but were first kept for some time in by no means severe imprisonment, which became lighter and lighter the nearer the time of their end approached, and terminated with most luxurious living, during which the prisoner was not only abundantly provided with the best of food and drink, but was even married to the daughters of the tribe. Meanwhile, without his being aware of it, preparations were made for the feast which was to be crowned by his death. In the middle of the ceremonial dances of his enemies he received the fatal blow; immediately thereupon followed the definitely prescribed dissection of the corpse, and the distribution of the portions among the members of the tribe. The women and even the sick who were prevented from attending the feast also received their share. In this form of cannibalism it is obvious that the characteristic features of different stages of culture come into contact. It still contains reminiscences of the time when the flesh of an enemy, like that of a wild beast, served to appease hunger. But it is already pre-eminently the expression of proud triumph over the conquered enemy, for we have special testimony that the feast bore the character of the celebration of a victory. But finally, ceremonial influences also begin to show themselves to such an extent that the transition from the cannibalism of the Tupis to the human sacrifices of the Aztecs appears near at hand.

As anthropophagy, in this or in a similar form, is a common trait of almost all Tupi tribes, it must have begun in the original home of the race. This is a

urther argument against the Tupis having ome from the highlands of Bolivia. The Tupi tribes which live nearest to this egion, and should accordingly present the nost archaic forms, are the only ones which have entirely done away with cannibalism, and have generally reached the highest degree of civilisation of any members of the race: these are the Omaguas between the Putumayo and Caquetá, and the Cocamas at the confluence of the Marañon and Ucayali. How these tribes of the Tupi stock could be cut off so far from the others is not difficult to explain. The Aruacs coming from the north halted at the great waterway of the Amazon at about the same time as the Tupis from the south reached its other bank.

The Early Tribes in Conflict

So that, to the difficulties that Nature set in the way of a farther advance, was here added the hostility of new and powerful tribes. It was probably this, even more than the river with its innumerable sluggish arms—which is no grave obstacle to a race familiar with boats—that was the chief reason why the main body of the Aruacs could not advance any more to the south bank than the main body of the Tupis could advance to the north bank. That attempts could not have been wanting on both sides is shown by the small detached tribes of each nationality that are met with in turn on the hostile bank. But, on the whole, the division is sudden and sharp. To the Aruacs it meant the end of their onward movement. They seem still to have possessed the power to offer the Tupis an invincible resistance, but not to continue their advance in a new direction.

But the Tupis continued to advance. Their traditions show that they followed the Amazon and its tributaries upward; and that the passage up the Amazon did not appear an impossibility to these Indians was proved in the year 1641, when some of them served the Portuguese as guides during the first expedition of the kind undertaken by the latter. Owing to the enormous extent of the Amazon, it no longer appears possible to follow the Tupi migration upward in its basin, but probably even the tribes of the Xingu and Tapajoz did not come down from the watershed to the Paraguay, but from the Amazon up its tributaries. For, in contrast to the Aruacs and Tapuyas, traces of Tupi tribes only occur where there was sufficient water to allow them to remain true to the characteristic of their race. Numerous hordes of Tupis may have been scattered and destroyed in the network of the Amazon, and we cannot now ascertain to what circumstance it was due that the ancestors of the Omaguas and Cocamas managed to break through the central mass of the Nu-Aruac tribes and penetrate almost to the foot of the Cordilleras. Probably the report of a rich cultivated land led them up the Amazon and its tributaries, as in later times the legend of the Omaguas and of the ever-vanishing Eldorado led the Spaniards down the same way.

Peoples who Sailed the Amazon

According to the traditions of the Spanish chroniclers the remembrance of an invasion by the hostile population of the lowlands had not quite died out even among the Indians of the civilised states. Between the immigration of the Omaguas to their later abodes and the discovery of America there must in any case have been a considerable space of time, for the Omaguas not only rose far above the average degree of civilisation of the Tupi races under the influence of more highly civilised peoples, so that they renounced cannibalism, tilled the ground, and occupied permanent dwelling-places—indeed, even founded large towns—but the knowledge of all these achievements had even had time to spread abroad among their less civilised neighbours, who reported the name of the Omaguas to the Spaniards as being a race of fabulous wealth and extraordinary power.

Caribs and Their Civilisation

The youngest of the races of South America is that of the Caribs. It is partly due to this circumstance, and to good fortune in the field of ethnographic research, that we know its history somewhat better than that of the other groups. The original abodes of the Carib race probably lay near the original home of the Tupi race. As the latter peopled the upper affluents of the Paraguay, the Caribs peopled the upper basin of the Tapajoz and of the rivers flowing in the same direction to the lower Amazon. The degree of civilisation attained here by the Caribs must be described as extraordinarily low; their language could not count farther than three, really only to two, and we must imagine that their other conditions of life corresponded to this poverty of ideas. Even here mutual intercourse will have taken place between them and the Tupis,

which may have had lasting influence on both races. Their development was so similar that one of the first investigators in this field, Karl von Martius, even regarded the Tupis and Caribs as brother tribes and descendants of a common race. At present, however, one is more inclined to the view that the Tupis and Caribs came from different stocks, but were early and closely co-related.

The Caribs were likewise chiefly a race of fishermen, and their relations to the world of water were those which earliest reached a higher development. They, too, like the Tupis, the more the old home became too small for them, followed the rivers of their native land downward, so that they gradually got to the Amazon itself and so to the open sea. The traces of their migration in this direction are obliterated, and it is not impossible that their arrival at the mouth of the Amazon preceded the appearance of the Tupis.

A Check to the Aruacs

But in that case it was probably also the Caribs, and not the Tupis, who first checked the advance of the Aruac races; indeed, the enmity between the Caribs and the Aruacs has left widespread traces, whereas between the latter and the Tupis contact took place at comparatively few points only. What may have given the impulse to the migrations of the Caribs is no clearer than the causes of all the other great movements of the races of the American continent. On the other hand, we are better informed as to the manner of their progress, owing to the fact that it was still fresh in the memory of the generation of aborigines found by the Spaniards when they discovered America. Of all Indian races the Caribs were by far the most feared. Even to the Europeans these dauntless sons of the wilderness offered a stubborn resistance, and indeed frequently came off victorious in their bloody battles with the first bands of discoverers, but only to fall, later on, before better equipped expeditions. The Caribs were ruthless in their warfare, not only with Europeans, but also with the Indian population, before the white men appeared.

At what period they were transformed from a comparatively harmless race of fishermen, as Karl von den Steinen found them in the original home of the race on the Upper Xingu, into the nation of bold and savage water-pirates, spreading terror far around, as we find them in the fifteenth century, is, of course, a mystery. But the fact that the Caribs made their language prevail over almost the whole region north of the Amazon, including a large part of the Antilles, and this, so far as tradition leads us to infer, by violent methods alone, shows that the race must have possessed quite extraordinary power. When the Caribs began their migrations they were still at the stage when the flesh of their enemies was welcome food; and they apparently never rose above this rather rude standpoint of anthropophagy.

The Caribs Known as Man-Eaters

Eating their enemies was so characteristic of the Caribs that among the Spaniards their name was identical with the term for man-eaters, and in its corruption to "cannibals" this term has become the common property of all civilised nations. This circumstance has fatally affected historical research, as, of course, races of other origin also adhered to the custom of anthropophagy, and it was generally sufficient for the dicoverers of the sixteenth century to ascertain that a race was given to cannibalism to count it at once among the Caribs. It was only later and often most recent research that succeeded in bringing order into this confusion. In the cannibalism of the Caribs, as in that of the Tupis, there are no signs of the beginning of a refined conception. It is true that actual hunger will have but rarely driven them to it, for as fishermen and hunters they knew how to gain their livelihood from a bountiful Nature; moreover, as soon as their expansion over Aruac territory began, their women probably continued the agriculture practised by these tribes, although on a more limited scale.

But it is chiefly the expression of warlike triumph that serves to explain their cannibalism, and their wars with all hostile tribes were wars of extermination, in which no male captives were made, but all the adult men were put to death. The shy and peaceable Aruacs could not have been dangerous opponents; they even met the Europeans upon their first appearance with respectful timidity, which was only changed to fearful flight after they had learned by years of suffering what bitter experiences were in store for them in intercourse with the white man. So that even weak parties of Carib warriors

The Shy and Peaceable Aruacs

must often have succeeded in overcoming far superior bands of their opponents. But if the Carib on the warpath behaved with ruthless ferocity towards the male portion of hostile tribes, he, too, spared the women. On the restless expeditions that he undertook, often for considerable distances, in his narrow canoe, women could not accompany the warrior; they would have been a far greater hindrance to him than on expeditions by land. But as at least the longer expeditions were not undertaken exclusively for the purpose of spoil and plunder—although the warlike expeditions of the Caribs are often decidedly distinguishable from migrations—but had for their object the founding of new settlements, the Caribs probably mixed extensively with the women of another race. And it is only owing to the circumstance that the Carib expeditions were made exclusively on territory inhabited by Aruac races that the intermixture did not become more multiform.

Settlements Founded by the Caribs

The time of the Carib migrations can be somewhat more precisely judged than that of any other similar event. We have already indicated that the advance of the Caribs to the mouth of the Amazon seems to have preceded the arrival of the Tupis at that river. But the Tupi races must also have been pretty near the same goal at that time. Otherwise it can scarcely be explained why the Caribs should have extended their conquests exclusively in a direction in which they got farther and farther from the tribes they had left behind, so that finally they lost all touch with them. The discovery of these almost venerable remains of a people at the most primitive stage of development on the Xingu is really due to mere chance.

From there to the Amazon the Tupi population forms a perfectly continuous mass in which sprinklings of the Carib stock are nowhere to be found. So that it must have been the advance of the Tupis that gave the Carib movement its northerly direction, and the weak resistance of the Aruacs must then have enticed the Caribs farther and farther, and have allowed them to spread over the north of South America very much more quickly than we can assume to have been the case with the migrations of the Aruacs, or even with those of the Tupis. In spite of this, it was, of course, centuries before the Caribs could make their race the prevailing one from the mouth of the Amazon to the lagoon of Maracaibo. Their extreme outposts broke through the belt of the Cordilleras, presumably at no great distance from the northern sea-coast—even in the basin of the river Magdalena there is still a tribe of Carib origin, although rather as a detached horde amid nations of other races.

Spread of the Aruac Tribes

But, generally speaking, the higher civilisation of the races in the mountain regions of the Andes placed an insuperable obstacle in the way of their progress. In the basin of the Orinoco, whose tributaries they navigated in their canoes far into their upper courses, right to the foot of the mountains, spreading fear and terror among the dwellers on their banks, Carib tribes seem to have settled only to a limited extent; but at its mouth we find them numerously and almost exclusively represented.

That here they established their dominion on a stratum of Aruac races is unquestionable, although direct proof of it is not so clear as in other parts. The last conquest of the Caribs, which had not come to an end at the time of the discovery of America, was that of the Antilles. When the Cordilleras checked his advance westward, the Carib, whose continual roving into new lands for centuries had become to him a necessary of life, looked around for new objects. While some made their raids up the Orinoco, others made their aim the small islands lying off the Venezuelan coast, often within sight, of whose Aruac population they presumably had heard from the coast-tribes of the mainland. It was probably here that they made a further and—for American conditions—important advance in the art of navigation: they learned to use the sail, an art probably known by none of all the other aborigines of the New World except the Maya races, but by these more perfectly.

The Last Conquest of the Caribs

The circumstance that the conquest of the islands took place in such recent times is of special importance in judging the nature of Indian migrations. On the large islands of the Antilles the first Spanish settlers found an almost unmixed population of the Aruac race—a peaceable, friendly, good-natured people, living on the abundant produce of their agriculture, with a little hunting and fishing added. But even these Aruacs already

lived in constant fear of the Caribs, who sprang up on the coasts in their fast-sailing canoes, sometimes here, sometimes there, and plundered and burned one settlement of the Aruacs after another, murdering the men and carrying off the women.

The Aruacs were well aware, from the fate that had befallen the smaller islands in the course of the last generation, what the ultimate issue of this unequal struggle would be. When the continual raids had sufficiently weakened the male population of an island, the Caribs no longer appeared merely as flying robbers, but came in larger bands to crush the last resistance of the islanders. A war of extermination would then be waged upon the occupants of a permanent settlement on the island, and after the massacre or probably the flight of the last of these the settlement furnished a new centre of expansion to the unscrupulous Caribs. On the Lesser Antilles the Spaniards found almost everywhere the remarkable phenomenon that the language of the women was different from that of the men. In early times this gave rise to every possible kind of incorrect conjecture, until a closer study of the linguistic elements revealed the fact that the language of the women was a dialect of Aruac, while that of the men was Carib.

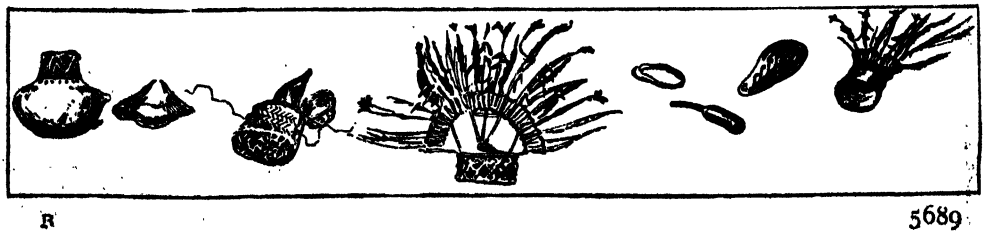
Linguistic Phenomenon Explained

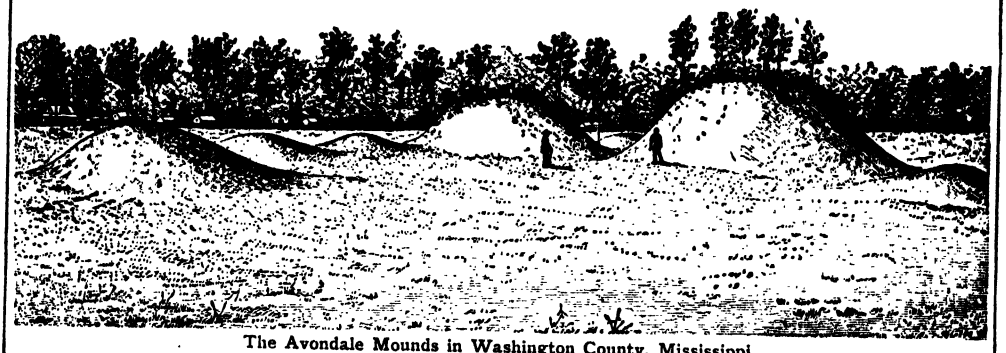
This discovery, in connection with the stories told by the islanders of the invasion of the Caribs, showed that the Antilles had been conquered during the existing generation, and that the women of the Caribs, with their different language, were none other than the female portion of the Aruacs, who had become the wives of the conquerors. To the historical student of Indian migrations this fact was of no ordinary significance, for it shows us, in the first place, how slowly the expansion of one race over the territory of another proceeded, it having taken generations to fill districts so small in extent as the islands of the Antilles. On the other hand, it gives us the key to the explanation of the extraordinary multiplicity of the American languages, and to the bounds, effaced almost beyond recognition, between the races of one independent linguistic stock and those of another. For, though not in the conquering generation, in the offspring proceeding from the intermixture with strange women both the anthropological-physical and the ethnic and linguistic elements must naturally have blended in such a manner as, attaining a new fixity, to form a new race. The question has been much discussed whether the excursions of the Caribs may not have extended to the mainland of North America, which is at no great distance from the Antilles, and thereby have brought the native populations of the northern and southern continents in contact with one another, of which there is no trace on the isthmus connecting the two parts. But what one was inclined to regard as Carib influence in the art productions of northern Indians has not stood the test of scientific investigation.

Limits of Carib Excursions

It is certainly singular that the two parts of the American continent—on which for thousands of years man had been making slow progress in the development of his faculties—not only remained uninfluenced and unknown by mankind of the other continents, but should also have remained equally strange and unknown to each other, in spite of isthmus and island-bridge. And yet it seems to have been so. The line dividing the northern and southern races on the land bridge of Central America certainly does not come at the narrowest part; on the contrary, the territory occupied by the nations of southern origin extends to the primitive sphere of culture of Central America. But the line is a sharp one: different races do not overlap one another here, as we so frequently find to be the case in the interior of nearly every continent. Neither can we trace the slightest influence of any consequence having been exercised by the inhabitants of the one half on those of the other.

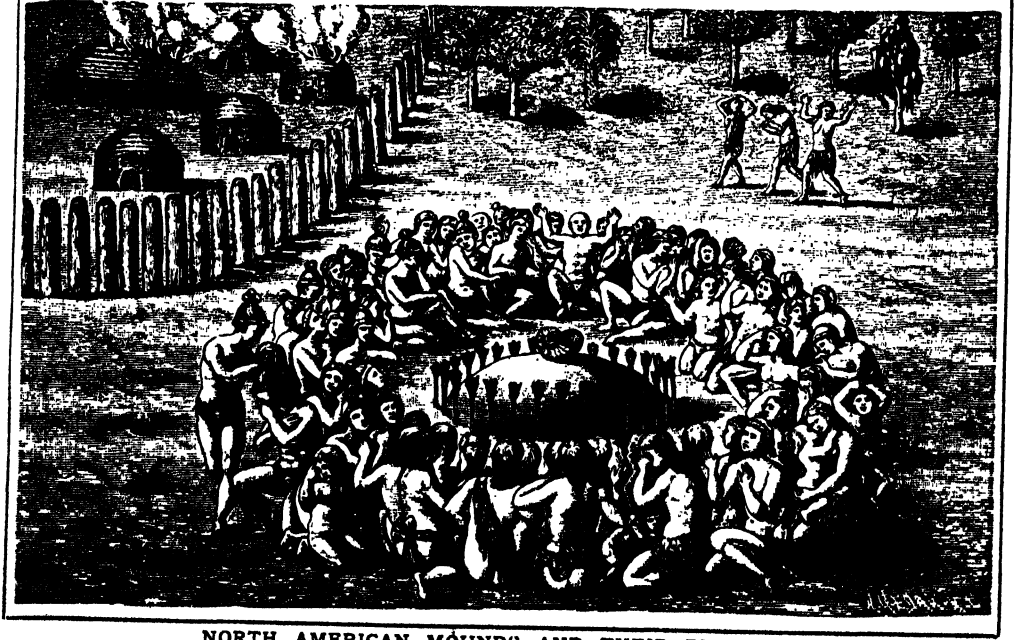
The Line Between North and South





The Avondale Mounds in Washington County, Mississippi

The De Soto Mound in Jefferson County, Arkansas



NORTH AMERICAN MOUNDS AND THEIR PURPOSES

The American mounds were sometimes used for burial purposes by the primitive peoples. But the mound also entered into their worship, and the third illustration shows a religious ceremony centring round a small mound with symbolic shell and reversed arrows, while the chief huts of the village are burning. How large some of the mounds were is well illustrated in the second picture, some of them having from three to seven million cubic feet of material.

AMERICA BEFORE COLUMBUS

PRIMITIVE RACES OF AMERICA III

RACES OF THE NORTH AND EAST

THE STORY OF THE PAST AS REVEALED BY THE ARTIFICIAL EARTHWORKS

LIKE the southern half, North America also witnessed extensive migrations in prehistoric and even in historic times, but the investigator who seeks to trace them is in a much more unfavourable position on the soil of the northern than of the southern continent. The civilisation brought to the New World from Europe has already extended its victorious march over almost the whole of the United States, a triumph which has filled the mother civilisation with undivided admiration and the daughter with pride.

This victorious march has swept away with unusual inconsiderateness the traces left of the ancient civilisation of the aboriginal population. Whereas in South America we still find the Indian master of vast regions, under conditions of life that evidently form to a large extent analogies to the peculiar aboriginal civilisation found by the first Europeans, in North America the Indian has for centuries been continuously driven by the white man from the neighbourhood of his settlements; only in isolated cases have there been men in North America in earlier times who took a benevolent interest in the Indian, and attempted to reconcile him to the new civilisation and win him over to the new conditions.

Driving the Indian from North America

It is only in the last few decades that the American people have also recognised that they were on the point of destroying their solitary and last opportunity of ascertaining the earlier history of their home, and, with that liberality which we so often find there, works have now been undertaken on a large scale, some of which have already been brought to a successful conclusion, with the object of ascertaining the historical meaning of the ethnographical relics in the territory of the United States. It is, moreover, true that the Indians themselves no longer play any part in large portions of this territory. Where they have not already been quite exterminated or absorbed by civilisation, their traditions, although not generally quite so scanty as those of the Indians of South America, are still of very limited value; for, apart from the remembrance of their struggles for generations with the white man, their shadowy reminiscences of the time when the Indian was still sole lord of wood and prairie have been almost entirely effaced. Here, too, the most valuable part of our material is, on the one hand language, and on the other hand what the oldest writers were able to ascertain from the Indians when they first met them.

History From Excavations

To this are added the results of excavations, which have been undertaken on a larger scale than in South America. But down to the present day the American has had erroneous ideas concerning the most important marks of the earlier history of his land, the famous artificial mounds of the pre-Columbian period. A far wider gap separates the history of recent from that of olden times in the northern than in the southern continent.

Both for geographical and for historical research North America falls into three groups, not always sharply defined, but clearly perceptible. The first is formed by the lands in the extreme north of the continent, extending from Alaska to Greenland, which are broken up by numerous flowing and standing waters, though these are rigidly ice-bound for a considerable part of the year. It has been supposed that these lands did not always bear the inhospitable character with which the long-continued cold and gloom of the Polar winter has stamped them in the present period of

Ice-bound Lands of the North

the earth's history. But if this supposition is at all correct, it refers at best to times that are not separated from us by historical, but by geological periods; and if, perchance, the first man came to America by way of these most northern lands, this event was certainly followed by thousands of years in which his passage was sunk in absolute oblivion. Not until times rather later than the decline of the Roman Empire did a new migration take place here, which is of very little importance in the general history of mankind, but has left some slight traces behind.

Where did the Innuits Come from?

The Esquimaux—or, as they call themselves, the Innuits—have been taken by many for an American race, or for descendants of those Indians who had had a special development under the influence of Polar nature. If certain resemblances in build and in mode of life between them and the most northern Indian tribes of the Pacific coast, the Haidahs and Thlinkits, are not to be traced to mutual influence, we are certainly driven to such a conclusion. But, considering the strikingly Mongolian character of the Innuits and the still closer relationship that connects them with the races of Northern Asia, it is far more probable that their home is to be sought in Asia; as immigrants they have always been treated with hostility by the Indians. The custom of the Indians, by no means confined to South America, of annihilating the men in their tribal wars, but of incorporating the women in their own tribe, involved the formation of mixed peoples where the different races were in close contact for a great length of time.

In this case it was the north-west coast of Alaska, opposite the Asiatic continent, and in a more favoured climatic situation, which, at all events, afforded the first home to a large number of Innuit tribes which gradually came over, or else mutual influences have been at work which explain the analogous manners and customs of the Innuits and the Indians of North-west America. In any case, the Innuits found the American continent already peopled by Indians up to the latitude of Bering Strait; otherwise in their further migrations they would scarcely have turned to the inhospitable north, over whose vast area their traces extend in scanty relics of houses and implements. Whether they made other attempts at a southward advance elsewhere cannot be ascertained from these finds; but in any case they must have met with the same hostile reception from the races of Indian blood as met them in the north-west.

America Peopled by Indians

Such a contact between the races cannot have been of long duration, as otherwise ethnographic proofs would have been found, as in the extreme west. Those who regard the Innuits as an Indian tribe, gradually driven toward the Pole, would find proof of their view in the fact that the northern sagas which relate the voyages of Eric Rauda to Vinland ascribe the destruction of the settlements there to the Skraelings, a name given by the northern settlers in Greenland to the Esquimaux.

Now, it is an undoubted historical fact that the Vikings undertook voyages to the north-east coast of America as far back as the year 1000, but owing to the saga's poetic dress, in which alone the little information relating thereto is preserved, we do not know with certainty where these settlements were, nor the character of the population found there. The difference between the Skraeling, the Viking's enemy in Greenland, and the skin-clad North Indian, with whom he fought under similar conditions in Vinland, might easily make so little impression on the Viking's mind, used to the dress and manners of North European civilisation, that both would appear as one to the bard who recited Viking deeds in saga song.

Expansion of the Innuits

In spite of this the sagas give us a clue to the date of the migrations of the Innuits. They doubtless made their way to Greenland from the American coast or from the islands lying north of it. As the Innuits were at war with the northerners of Greenland about 1200, and succeeded in driving them away during the course of the two following centuries, we may conclude with a fair amount of certainty that the expansion of the Innuits over the North American Continent must have come to an end about the same time.

The migrations of the Esquimaux have no connection with the history of the rest of America, whereas, on the other hand, there was frequent contact between the Indian races of North America, as there was between the races of South America. For the northern as well as for the southern half of the continent the eastern chains of the Cordilleras formed an unmistakable

boundary of culture. In the north as well as in the south the region of higher civilisation lies on the Pacific side of the mountains, not on the Atlantic side. But the further step in assuming a connection between northern and southern civilisation and between the northern and southern primitive races is not justified.

If the Indian in the basin of the Mississippi is more closely related, ethnographically, to the Indians in the basin of the Amazon or Orinoco than to his western neighbours on the other side of the Cordilleras, this fact is sufficiently explained by the similarity of their conditions of life. Man at a low stage of civilisation is everywhere, both in the Old and New Worlds, dependent in the highest degree on his natural surroundings, and where these produce similar conditions the development of man will also tread similar paths.

On the whole, the Indian population of North America east of the Cordilleras exhibits a far greater uniformity of race than is the case in South America, and, although with the aid of language a number of largely different stocks may be distinguished (which presuppose a separate development for hundreds if not thousands of years), the division of the North American races is more recent than that of the South American. This is shown by the mere fact that, of the thousand or so different languages and dialects of the New World named by Brinton in his "History of the American Race," about 750 belong to the part south of the Isthmus of Panama and only 250 to Central and North America. But at the same time the multiplicity of the latter races is also so great as to have required an extraordinary length of time.

New World's Thousand Languages

The most important problem of the pre-Columbian history of North America is formed by the question: Who were the builders of the so-called mounds? These mounds of earth, or, more rarely, stones, erected by the hand of man, often with a considerable expenditure of labour, are scattered more or less numerously over the greater part of the United States. We find them in the north near the Great Lakes and far into the territory of Canada. And although towards the south, from the confluence of the Mississippi and Arkansas, they become rarer, their traces may be found not only as far as the mouth of the Father of Waters, but even in the most southern regions of the peninsula of Florida. On the west side the southern limit of the mound region has not yet been ascertained with certainty, but even there it extends to Texas and Mexico, touching the region of civilisation of the Pueblo Indians and the races of Central America. Its bounds are scarcely narrower in an east-and-west direction, for while the artificial mounds almost reach the 70th degree of longitude in the State of Maine in the east, their most western outposts in the north are beyond the 101st parallel. Now, the mounds in this vast area are certainly not numerous everywhere or equally distributed. On the other hand, it seems as if the real home of the mound-builders lay in the basin of the central and upper Mississippi and its eastern affluents, especially the Ohio, while the groups of such erections lying outside this region are characterised more or less as radiations from this centre.

Home of the Mound-Builders

When more careful attention was first given to the earthworks in the states of Ohio, Illinois, and Wisconsin in the early part of this century, people were quite astonished at their large number, the considerable size attained by some of them, and the original forms, sometimes bordering on the regularity of mathematical figures, which they exhibited in many instances. Astonishment grew when the interest that was thus awakened led to earthworks of like or allied character being constantly discovered in new parts, and when the excavations, which were at first made at only a few places, yielded inexplicable results. Thus the conviction gradually dawned upon scientific and lay investigators that the mounds must be the relics of a long-vanished nation.

Those whose conjectures were aided by a vivid imagination did not hesitate to connect the race of the mound-builders directly with the Toltecs, the race that for a long time was held to be the standard-bearer of every civilisation discovered on the soil of North and Central America. But even the more cautious were convinced that these erections proved the existence of a highly developed civilisation in an epoch thousands of years back. Unquestionably the artificial mounds were the work of a sedentary race, for the Indian who roved about in the state of a nomad could not possibly have had time, power, or inclination

Earthworks a Proof of Civilisation

to erect even the most insignificant of these earthworks, not to speak of the structures—not very numerous, but of imposing dimensions—of Etowah, Cahokia, etc., the largest of which had a content of 3,000,000 to 4,000,000 cubic feet. To erect such structures required a population not only of far greater density than had ever been found anywhere on the North American Continent, but one that must also have been excellently organised to be able to subject such labour as these gigantic works entailed to a common will. But what a race, what a state must that have been which not only produced these structures but protected the banks of the chief river-courses for many miles with extensive fortifications, such as would seem in early times to have accompanied the Mississippi in an almost uninterrupted chain from the mouth of the Arkansas up to the Illinois. And an almost incredible range of territory is given to this state if, instead of merely taking into account the region most thickly covered with such earthworks, we extend its boundaries as far as the earthworks can be found.

Fortifications on the Mississippi

A sedentary population of such density must naturally have been mainly dependent on a cultivated food supply, and that the mound-builders had been agriculturists was evident from all that was brought to light in the excavations made in the mound region. Not only were ears and grains of maize found, with the vessels and implements necessary for its preparation, but the excavations, or inferences from them, proved that other seeds and fruits were also possessed by the mound-builders.

Indeed, their agriculture must have been already highly developed, for careful investigation revealed not only irrigation works and aqueducts of considerable extent in places, but, in the valleys of the great rivers, even cultivated patches, on which the excess of moisture had been counteracted by a raising of the ground in beds. The mound-builders must also have possessed rich experience in handicraft. Their pottery exhibited not only a great variety of forms, adapted to the most different purposes, but in the better articles attained great technical perfection. Here, too, no trace could be found of the use of the potter's wheel, but some vessels seemed to have been given a glaze of very fair quality. The excavations could naturally not give a very definite idea of the people's accomplishments in weaving, on account of the greater perishability of all fabrics, but even of this art both coarse and fine specimens were by no means wanting. It was thought that special proof of a higher civilisation was given by the specimens of copper ornaments brought to light in the earthworks. The whole of America was in the Stone Age when Columbus discovered it, so that if worked copper was found here, although in no considerable quantity, it must necessarily have belonged to a race of higher civilisation, and long periods must have elapsed since the decay of this race for its progress in culture to have been entirely lost again to after-ages.

Mound-Builders and Their Advanced Arts

The race had certainly had a special knowledge of architecture. This was proved not only by the almost incredible number of earthworks erected by them, and the astounding massiveness of the large mounds, but, above all, by the variety of form that they had been able to give to their works. It is true that the structures were often merely accumulations of earth of truncated conical form, or oblong-oval or rectangular mounds or terraces, but in other places they exhibited the most surprising forms. The outlines of some of them were unmistakable representations of living creatures—snakes, birds, and mammals, and even the human form. If this proved that this ancient race possessed an artistic eye, another kind of earthwork was still more calculated to inspire respect for its achievements in culture. Earthworks were discovered which reproduced the mathematical figures of the circle, rectangle, square, and polygon with an accuracy which investigators pronounced to be quite inconceivable without the use of instruments.

Earthworks Tell the Story of the Past

In its religious ideas such a people must certainly also have risen far above the naturalism and animism of uncivilised races, and of this, too, the remains seemed to offer proof. If a considerable part of the earthworks had served as fortifications, dwellings, and cultivated land, there were innumerable others which, from their position and form, would not have been suited for these purposes. Many of them proved to be graves, either of single persons or of whole families, and there were even graves for large numbers and burial-grounds like cemeteries. The manner

in which the dead had almost always been interred with articles used in their earthly occupations left no room for doubt that the race of the mound-builders believed in a second existence. It even seemed as if religion played an extraordinarily important part among them in all the concerns of life. Almost everywhere that earthworks occurred with any frequency there were mounds of a certain kind which could not be explained at the first glance. These mounds, generally of conical form, had at their base, or even in their higher strata, a horizontal layer of firmly beaten clay or clayey earth, which, upon the removal of the overlying masses, in general proved to be a carefully levelled surface like a floor, rather inclined towards the middle, in the centre of which the traces of fire were often found.

The discoverers of this form of mound thought themselves justified in regarding these floors as sacred places, and the remains of fire as affording traces of sacrifices; and as human bones were repeatedly found in ashes, human sacrifices were supposed to have played an important part in the mound-builders' religious rites, as in many other parts of the New World. The discoverers therefore gave these earthworks the name of altar-mounds, and from their frequency they drew the conclusion that the old civilised state must have possessed a numerous and influential sacerdotal caste, to which presumably the most imposing of the great earthworks, the terraced pyramids for sanctuaries honoured by special worship, owed their origin.

Religious Rites of the Mound-Builders

Thus the picture of the race that erected the earthworks was no longer shadowy and indistinct; on the basis of these discoveries, and with the aid of the analogies of the civilisations found on American soil by the first Europeans, fairly definite ideas had been arrived at. But it was thought that quite an extraordinary age must be ascribed to this race, because at the time of the discovery of America all memory of these peoples had already vanished, and, from the high stage of civilisation they had occupied, it was thought that their gradual decline and the extinction of all their traditions must have taken a considerable space of time.

On the other hand, a particularly remarkable discovery had been made. One of the mounds representing living things was discovered in the neighbourhood of Bloomington, Wisconsin; and several of the older archæologists thought they recognised in it the form of an elephant or some other animal with a trunk. Now, among the pipe-bowls in the form of animals that have been found in large numbers in excavations in the mound region, the representation of an animal provided with a real trunk—as distinguished from the trunk-like snout of the tapir, which in Chiapas is a sacred animal—also occasionally occurs; they were therefore convinced that the builders of that mound must at least have had a traditional recollection of the form of an elephant or mastodon. But as the proboscidians were extinct on American soil long before historic times, the tradition of the mound-builders must have gone back to the ages to which the mastodon skeletons of the Missouri valley belonged. From the arrow-heads that were found with those skeletons it was assumed that the animals had been killed by man.

America's Prehistoric Animals

Although the above view of the mound-builders was formerly the predominant one, for a long time scholars have not been wanting who, doubting the existence of a prehistoric civilised race on the soil of North America, are of opinion that the ancestors of the same Indians who inhabit the United States to-day erected these mounds in comparatively recent times. The more the ancient history of the New World was subjected to methodical investigation, the greater became the number of the mounds. In the course of the last few years the sytematic examination of the earthworks in the different parts of the Union, which has been undertaken on a very extensive scale by the North American Bureau of Ethnology at Washington, has proved irrefutably that the mounds really possess neither the age commonly attributed to them nor all the peculiarities demanded. On the contrary, they are not the work of one race, but are probably the relics of the different Indian races which inhabited the territory of the United States before and after the discovery of America by Columbus.

The Mounds Under Examination

The inferences as to the age of the mounds drawn from the "elephant mound" had not met the approval even of many who still did not doubt that the builders of this mound intended to

represent an animal with a trunk. But after recent investigations this too seems by no means certain. The soil of the mound has undoubtedly been under cultivation for years, but its form, although not so clear, has remained quite recognisable. It now appears that the ground is very light sand, and that the trunk has probably been formed at the head-end merely by the long-continued influence of the elements, especially of the wind. The mound was presumably meant to represent the bear, an animal often used as a totem. In a like manner the most recent surveys have done away with other old erroneous ideas.

Mounds as Monuments of the Past

There is, at all events, no denying that a number of earthworks in the valley of the Ohio, especially those of the so-called Newark group, exhibit forms of almost mathematical regularity; but the circumstance that of all the circular circumvallations only one or two are almost perfectly round, while the great majority only imperfectly attain this evidently desired end, goes to prove that they were built experimentally rather than with the help of instruments of precision. It likewise proves quite erroneous to regard the artificial mounds over the whole extent of their range as uniform, and therefore as the relics of a single race. Closer investigation shows rather that a number of different groups of mounds can be so clearly distinguished by their form and contents that in certain districts we are even able to trace the settlements of two different mound-building populations at one and the same place.

The hypothesis of a particular ancient civilised race being the mound-builders collapses. The mounds remain to us as a class of highly important monuments, from which we can derive information of the earlier history of the North American Indians that no other source can give. Starting from the assumption that the state of Indian civilisation had remained practically the same since the discovery of America, if it had not advanced through intercourse with the white man, the Indians were considered to have been almost without exception nomadic races of hunters, whose unconquerable love of unrestrained freedom would never and nowhere have permitted them to form large communities and erect permanent dwellings. This conception is perfectly unhistorical. In large tracts of North America there were, even in the sixteenth century, restless hordes of Indians, who lived almost exclusively by hunting, of which they were passionately fond.

The State of Indian Civilisation

But near to them, or separating them, and probably throughout the greater part of the present United States, there were also Indian races which had made, compared with them, quite considerable progress in the path of their culture development. So far as there are still any descendants of these races in existence, the policy of the Anglo-American colonists towards the Indians, which has been guided merely by self-interested motives, has certainly reduced them again to a stage of civilisation little different from that of their nomadic and savage fellows.

The Indian mounds and graves have left us evidences of a civilisation that tell an undeniable tale; and an impartial examination of the oldest accounts of the first meeting of the white man and the red man on North American soil confirms in numerous particulars what the mound-finds lead us to suppose. Individual researches are certainly not yet far enough advanced for the valuable material of the discoveries to be used wholly and fully. We know too little of the ancient migrations of the pre-Columbian Indians to be able with certainty to connect the boundaries that archæology traces in certain districts with definite racial boundaries. But where this has become possible the antiquities serve materially to clear up historical hypotheses, and a combination of the different methods of research will further reduce the uninvestigated area year by year.

The Light of Research on the Dark Ages

The whole basin of the Mississippi—a broad strip of land beginning at the Great Lakes in the north and extending to the lowlands of the lower Mississippi—was in earliest times peopled by tribes comprised under the common name of Algonquins. Of the better known Indian tribes belonging to them are the Chippewas in the north, the Delawares, Mohicans, and Ottawas in the north-east, and the Shawnees in the south-east. From their traditions it is supposed that their original home is to be sought in the north-east, beyond the Great Lakes, although they had been driven thence before the time of Columbus by the nations of the Iroquois race. Their migrations from the north seem to have

proceeded by two separate branches. The one went in a south-easterly direction, mainly along the sea-coast; not, like the Tupis in South America, peopling only a narrow strip, but spreading out widely, and following the rivers that flow into the sea far into the Alleghany Mountains. In spite of their being near the water, the Algonquins were scarcely ever exclusively a race of fishermen. Whether they were already agriculturists when they moved down the east coast is doubtful.

Even the eastern Algonquins practised agriculture in later times, but their fellows who moved along the Great Lakes on their way westward, and in earlier times inhabited their banks, certainly did so even at the time of the migration. As was always the case, the farther the tribes were led apart by their migrations, which continued slowly for centuries, the more differentiated they became in customs and mode of life. If it were not for the unmistakable sign of a kindred language, one would scarcely suppose that the Chippewas of the north-west and the Shawnees in the south were brothers of one and the same race. A number of nations of the Algonquin race are distinguished from all other Indians of North America by their comparatively advanced civilisation. There is no doubt that even in early times they had taken to a settled mode of life and devoted themselves to agriculture.

The Algonquin Civilisation and Religion

Nor is it mere chance that in several points their religious ideas border on those of their neighbours in the extreme north-west. From certain peculiarities in this respect one might be inclined to seek their home in the north-west rather than in the east, for many of them remind us of the Tinnés on the one hand, and the Pueblo tribes on the other. The Chippewas and Lenapés already possessed, in their painted wooden tablets or sticks, a system of interchange of ideas that had advanced beyond the purely pictorial character to a kind of hieroglyphic symbolism, which was specially employed for preserving the remembrance of sacred rites. Their religious system, with the worship of the sun and the four cardinal points as the homes of the wind-gods, we shall find further developed among the Pueblo Indians.

A further resemblance to the latter obtains in the cult of the totems, or clan tokens, which we meet with not only in the Pueblos but also among many other Indian tribes of the Pacific coast as far as the Thlinkits and Haidahs on the borders of Alaska. For this reason we may, at all events, regard races of this stock as the builders of the peculiar earthworks known as effigy mounds. It is an interesting fact that all the animals—bear, snake, various birds, fishes, etc.—from which most of the designations and sacred objects of the clans (the totems) were derived are represented in these mounds. As these earthworks did not serve as burial-places, and were little adapted for fortifications, we may perhaps regard them, like the meeting-hall of the Iroquois or the "kiva" of the Pueblo Indians, as the centre of the cult of the clan. Whether Indians of the Algonquin race were also the builders of the mounds on the central Mississippi and on the Illinois we would rather doubt, especially as this district exhibits mounds of various types that are all different from those of Wisconsin. If a not very reliable tradition of the Lenapés or Delawares can be credited, the answer would have to be decidedly in the negative.

Builders of Effigy Mounds

In spite of their great progress in the paths of civilised life, the Algonquins did not manage to build durable dwellings. This is the more peculiar, as they might have seen those of the neighbouring Pueblo Indians, with whom commercial relations seem to have existed. But we may not place them lower in the scale of civilisation solely on this account. The erection of stone buildings—which are better able to defy the destructive influence of time than wooden huts at best only coated with lime, and even than mounds of loose earth—creates only too easily an erroneous idea of the degree of civilisation of a race.

At the lower stages of civilisation man is, however, primarily dependent on his natural surroundings, and if the limestone and sandstone plateaus of the west offered the Pueblo Indians the opportunity of easily becoming no mean builders, the wooded hill regions of the lake district denied to the Algonquins the opportunity of handing down to posterity similar impressive proofs of their civilisation. But the Algonquins achieved something that scarcely any other race of North Atlantic Indians did: they knew and worked copper. It certainly occurred in such purity in the hills between Lake Superior and Lake Michigan that in the

Primitive Copper Workers

best specimens it could even be shaped by hammering in the cold state. Probably, however, they also knew a primitive and not very efficient method of smelting and welding, with the help of which they formed beads and small plates of the metal, while they were able to emboss the latter with figures. The bands of the Algonquins who were advancing south-eastward, having crossed the Savannah River, came upon solid masses of strange Indians, who rendered the continuation of their migration in the same direction impossible. This probably led first to a temporary halt, but, space eventually proving too limited for the gradually increasing numbers of the Algonquins, their migrations were resumed in a westerly direction. The Indians who marched up the Savannah, crossed the Alleghanies, and began to spread over the valleys of the Green River and Tennessee, were called after the Savannah by their neighbours, from their long sojourn on this river, and as "Savannees"—which with time has become "Shawnees"—have preserved the remembrance of this stage of their migrations down to historic times.

Race Named After the Savannah

The Shawnees and related Delaware tribes are proved to have taken an important part in the erection of the earthworks that occur throughout Tennessee and the neighbouring states on the lower tributaries of the Ohio. A large number of such mounds in this district have been erected for burial purposes, sometimes singly, but generally in groups, and very often in connection with larger earthworks and circumvallations, and the manner of interment has so characteristic a stamp that in it we find undoubtedly a racial peculiarity.

Whereas in other parts of the mound area the dead were frequently buried in a crouching position, like the mummies of South America, or in bone-heaps after removal of the flesh, the mode of interment practised here reminds one greatly of that usual in Europe. The bottom and four side-walls of a hole in the earth were lined with flat stone slabs, and the corpse was laid in it, lying full length on its back. Flat stones served to close the sarcophagus, and, if there was any fear of the earth falling through the spaces between them, these spaces were often covered by a second layer of smaller slabs. Such graves are repeatedly found, even without mounds over them, but they are especially numerous in the small conical mounds on the southern tributaries of the lower Ohio, where the Shawnees and kindred Indian races lived down to historic times. We should expect these Shawnees to have been the builders of the graves and the earthworks connected with them, and we are able to prove it. We thus obtain an important argument in judging of the age of many groups of earthworks, in opposition to the fanciful theory of a past of thousands of years.

Burial Customs of the Tribes

The custom of interring the dead in stone receptacles, as above described, has been practised by Shawnee Indians not only in historic times, but, where there was suitable stone, down to the last century, and has been observed by numerous writers in different places independent of one another. In accounts of earlier times the erection of a mound a few feet in height and of conical form is repeatedly mentioned. Moreover, if excavations have revealed that burial-places of this particular kind have repeatedly contained articles of undoubted European origin among the things placed with the dead, the mounds of this type are certain proof that the particular localities were at some time occupied by members of the Shawnee group of the Algonquin race, whose migrations have been going on in this region down to historic and even post-Columbian times.

Check to the Algonquin Advance

The Indians who checked the advance of the Algonquins in a southerly direction belonged, presumably, to the group of the Muskokis, whose best-known representatives were the Creeks and Chickasaws. Although these Indian tribes were the first to come in contact with Europeans at the time of the discoveries—the best part of De Soto's adventurous expedition from Florida to the Mississippi having been made through the territory of Indians of the Muskoki race—they have hitherto been more neglected by research than the more northern tribes.

As descendants of this race have been found only on the banks of the rivers flowing into the Gulf of Mexico parallel to the Mississippi, and as in this district they formed a compact body unmingled with foreign tribes down to the discovery of America, we must assume that they were less given to migration than most of the other Indians. The land occupied

by them in the sixteenth century was presumably the ancient home of the race; we may, perhaps, behold in them descendants of the earliest inhabitants of Eastern North America. In early times their abodes near the Mississippi undoubtedly extended much further northward, and possibly even further east; so that there may be some truth in the tradition of the Lenapés that they drove the Muskokis from their more northern settlements on the Mississippi.

The Muskokis were also by no means at the low level of civilisation that, judging by modern views, is usually attributed to the earlier Indian population of the continent. They tilled the ground on the most extensive scale, and their agricultural produce excited the admiration of De Soto's Spaniards. Their settlements were called "towns" by the Spaniards, and some of them contained a large number of inhabitants. They, too, took a large part in the erection of the artificial mounds, and the characteristics of their work are speaking witnesses to the progress they had made. In the district of the Muskokis are some of the largest mounds that the whole region of the mound-builders can boast. These earthworks —which probably bore at the same time the dwellings of the foremost members of the tribe, and formed a place of refuge for the whole tribe when attacked by enemies—are not, like the smaller mounds, round or conical in form, but remind one rather of the terraced erections on which rose the temples and palaces of the civilised races of Central America. The De Soto mound, although it is not absolutely proved that it was erected by the Muskokis, gives a fair idea of this type.

Practical Uses of the Earthworks

The most imposing erection of this kind is the Etowah mound in the south of Georgia, and it can be proved that it was still inhabited by Muskoki tribes at the beginning of the sixteenth century, being used as a palace and fortress by their chiefs. As it is surrounded by a large number of smaller mounds, which are enclosed by a kind of fortification, partly rampart and partly moat, we can form from this an idea of old Indian towns which agrees in so many respects with Le Moyne's description that a great degree of reliability may be accredited to the latter. The Muskokis had acquired a degree of civilisation that leads us to infer that they had been a sedentary race for a very long time. Although the ground of the district they occupied did not afford them suitable material for massive buildings, yet they, almost alone among the Indians of the East, built stronger dwellings than could be erected of purely vegetable materials. The most recent investigations and excavations have proved that some of the mounds that, by reason of their floor-like layers of clay and the remains of bones and ashes found in and beneath these, were pronounced by their first discoverers to be altar-mounds, in reality bore the houses of the Muskoki Indians.

How the Indians Built Their Houses

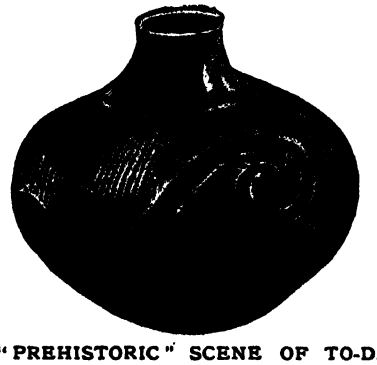
The ruins of these houses, which appear here and there to have been round, but generally square, show that these Indians constructed their dwellings of a framework of wooden posts, between which the groundwork for a stucco-like wall-plaster was formed with cross-beams and interwoven twigs and branches. The plaster was left rough outside, but inside it was smoothed and whitewashed, as in the archaic buildings of the Pueblo Indians. It was applied only to the side-walls, on which it seems to have reached rather above the height of a man; above rose an arched roof borne by the thin ends of the posts and by pliant staves, and covered with vegetable matter—a reminiscence of the leaf-hut that had been usual among most Indian races, and also in earlier times among the Muskokis. The bones and heaps of ashes in the mounds are explained by the custom of consigning a man's house to the flames when he died.

In Le Moyne's description the deceased seems unquestionably to have been buried outside the village circle, under a mound which, on account of its smallness, we may perhaps regard as only the nucleus and beginning of the one to be erected. But among the Muskokis the deceased was generally buried in the house itself, and, as soon as the fire had so far consumed the walls that the building collapsed, the place was covered up with earth. This peculiar mode of burial, of which traces may likewise be found in historic times, characterises in its turn, like the stone graves of the Shawnees, an ethnographic district, and enables us to throw a ray of light into the darkness that almost completely veils the earlier history

Peculiar Burial Customs

of the Indian races. As in the south, so also in the north the territory of the Algonquins was bordered by foreign races of Indians. The land around the great North American lakes and their outlet to the sea, the River St. Lawrence, was the abode of the races of the Iroquois stock. Of all the Indians, these were most distinguished by their fine physical development and—probably as its consequence—by bravery, love of fighting, and warlike virtues, which long made them the most dreaded enemies. The real Iroquois, however, only became an important factor in the history of these districts in the last few centuries before the colonisation of North America. In earlier times the race of the Cherokees had seceded from them, and played no less important a part in the earlier history of America than they did subsequently in the time of colonial rule. The original home of the common race of the Iroquois and Cherokees is supposed to have been in the farthest north-east of the territory they afterwards occupied. It is true that in historic times the whole Lake region, including the districts bordering it on the south and west, was occupied by the Iroquois and the kindred race of the Hurons.

But this removal cannot have occurred in very early times, for these races seem to have taken but little part in the erection of artificial mounds. We are, therefore, forced to ascribe the earthworks of Michigan and Wisconsin to an earlier occupation of this district by Algonquins. And as these northern works are but rarely of a defensive character, it seems as if they were erected earlier than the period of struggle which must have attended the expansion of the Iroquois. The races that erected the effigy-mounds were, therefore, probably past their prime, and had perhaps even settled in other parts, when the races of the Iroquois family received the impulse that helped them to expand over the greater part of northernmost America. On the other hand, the separation of the Cherokees from the main race belongs to a much earlier period. The direction of their migrations agrees admirably with the theory that the original home of the race was in the extreme north-east. The Cherokees would then have moved off as a first wave in a southerly direction, so that in course of time they came to the basin of the Ohio, where they are proved to have long had their abodes. They do not seem to have found these districts uninhabited; on the contrary, it is certain that Algonquin tribes not only sojourned there temporarily before them, but, as they did farther south and west, built permanent settlements and tilled the ground. At least some of the mounds in the farther course of the Ohio may owe their origin to the latter; and under Algonquin influence, but also in consequence of



A "PREHISTORIC" SCENE OF TO-DAY

The above illustration of a Pueblo woman engaged in making pottery is from a drawing made by an artist in Mexico recently, and illustrates a scene which is no doubt the same to-day as before the dawn of American history, for the Pueblo Indians are a primitive people existing in a land where modern invention has attained its highest.

continual fighting, the Cherokees in turn proceeded to build artificial mounds, which once more form a special province, within the vast mound region, by their ethnographic peculiarities. Two things are characteristic of the Cherokee mounds: in the first place, the dead are buried in a lying position, but only in a more or less perishable covering (bark or stuffs), and generally in mounds that served as burial-places for large numbers; in the second place, pipes, ranging from the most archaic to almost modern forms, such as are peculiar to the Indians, occur in these graves. Pipe-smoking is found in the mound region far beyond the borders of the Cherokee district, and we must assume that the cultivation of tobacco played an important part in the agriculture of the whole region. But the upper valley of the Ohio furnishes not only the most numerous, but also, to judge from their forms, the oldest types of the Indian pipe, and shows the uninterrupted course of its further development so clearly that we must suppose it to have been the abode of a race closely connected with the history of the tobacco-pipe, as the Cherokees were. The mounds furnish the most remarkable instances of circumvallations of almost mathematical regularity. But as these are not exclusively limited to the upper course of the Ohio, it remains doubtful whether the greater number of them may not have been erected by the earlier inhabitants of the valley for protection against the advance of the Cherokees, but have been restored by the latter, after the conquest, to serve the same purpose. Cherokee graves certainly occur in connection with many of these groups of mounds, and at least bear witness to the fact that the invaders adopted the manners and customs of the conquered as far as the earthworks were concerned; what part they may have taken themselves in developing this primitive architecture is of course difficult to ascertain. The migration of the Cherokees through the valley of the Ohio took place practically in pre-Columbian times, but it had not yet come to an end when the white man entered this district.

PRIMITIVE PUEBLO WATER-CARRIERS

This scene, like that on the opposite page, is drawn from life of the present day, and is yet in every sense worthy to be regarded as a scene from prehistoric America.

Only a little farther south, in the valley of the small river Tennessee, the agreement between the still existing groups of mounds and the position of the so-called "overhill towns" of the Cherokees, as recorded by the earliest visitors, testifies that these

Indians, having once adopted the custom of mound-building, remained true to it even on their further migrations.

Yet another large branch seems to have been detached from the Iroquois race in the Hurons, who expanded in a westerly direction along the south bank of the River St. Lawrence as far as the lakes.

Five Nations of the Iroquois and Tuscaroras

Whether this took place at a time prior to the migrations of Iroquois tribes to the south cannot be proved, but is very probable; for whereas the "Five Nations" of the Iroquois and the Tuscaroras in the far south had so strong a consciousness of belonging to the same stock that at the beginning of the eighteenth century the latter returned to the north and were received into the league as a sixth nation, even in the time of the first settlers there existed between Iroquois and Hurons a bitter enmity which had lasted from time immemorial, and which had a decided influence on the settlement of the land by Europeans in colonial times.

As regards civilisation, these Iroquois races were doubtless behind the Cherokees in most respects. They also were agricultural and sedentary to a small extent. When the first colonists ascended the River St. Lawrence, Hochelaga was decidedly a town-like settlement of permanent character. Nor are earthworks entirely wanting in this district that mark the sites of old Indian settlements. But they do not bespeak the higher civilisation of the more southern districts.

They are clearly defensive works, and therefore were probably not built until the real Iroquois undertook the forcible extension of their dominion over the territory of their neighbours. But this cannot have been long before the discovery of America, as these wars were still going on when the first white men began to penetrate from the coast into the interior. By "Iroquois," in the narrower sense, are

Tribes that Inhabited Canada

meant only the tribes that inhabited the most northern states of the Union and the neighbouring districts of Canada down to the time of early colonisation. These, too, seem to have occasionally erected earthworks—a proof that even they did not lead an entirely unsettled life, although permanent dwellings and agriculture—these bases of progress in civilisation—play a smaller part with them than with most of the other nations. Of all the races that the first European settlers found on American soil the Iroquois best represent the type that has erroneously been regarded as characteristic of the whole Indian population of North America.

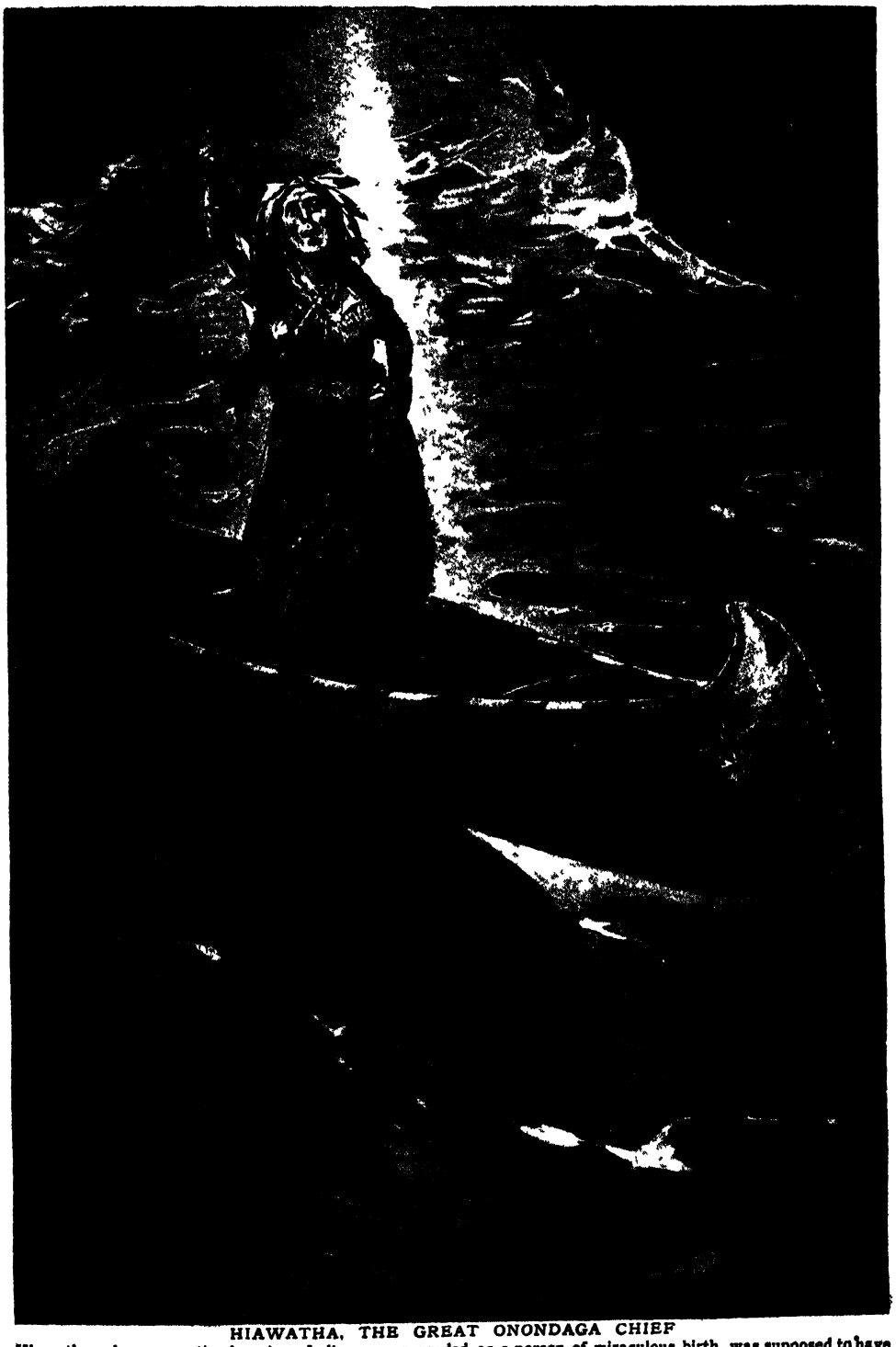
In the main the Iroquois were still a race of hunters, and one that pursued its human game with the same cruelty and ruthlessness as its animal game. As they were an inland race, navigation and fishing did not play the same part in their economy as it did with the Tupis and Caribs, although they constructed excellent canoes of the bark of trees, and possessed a skill in damming up streams, for the purpose of catching the fish, that told of long experience. But their element was hunting and war. In build the Iroquois were superior to most of their neighbours, and to their comparatively wild life they owe a development of their physical powers such as was no longer possible even at the beginning of a civilised life.

By their strength, and still more by their bloodthirstiness and savage cruelty, they had made themselves a terror to all their neighbours far and wide. That racial relationship did not prevent them

Savage and Dreaded Iroquois

from displaying their warlike propensities is proved by the struggles between them and the Hurons, in which the latter, despite their equality in numbers, on account of their more peaceable disposition were forced to retreat farther and farther before their enemies. But the warlike expeditions of the Iroquois extended by no means exclusively, perhaps no even mainly, westward. Their southern neighbours had also to suffer severely from their hostility, and in all probability their invasions were the cause of the latest American migration, which we have still to mention, namely, that of the Sioux-Dakotas, which must probably have taken place only in the last few centuries before Columbus. It is a characteristic sign of the superiority of the Iroquois in war that the only bands that pushed southward seem to have been small in numbers; at any rate they were able only to establish tribes of moderate size in the conquered districts, such as the Conestogas, and the Susquehannas on the banks of the river of the latter name.

What has made the Iroquois specially famous is the league in which the five tribes that remained in the old home combined with one another for attack and



HIAWATHA, THE GREAT ONONDAGA CHIEF

Hiawatha, who among the American Indians was regarded as a person of miraculous birth, was supposed to have been sent on earth to teach man the arts of civilisation. It was he who first discovered the value of maize as food, and taught his people the sciences of navigation and medicine. When the white man landed in America to preach Christianity, Hiawatha exhorted the Indians to receive the words of wisdom, and then departed to Ponemah, the land of the "Hereafter." Longfellow's great poem has given to Hiawatha an abiding place in literature.

From the drawing by J. Walter Wilson, R.I.

defence. This has been regarded as proof of a special talent for statesmanship, and as showing consequently a higher degree of intellectual development than the other Indians possessed.

Famous Iroquois League

But weighty reasons are opposed to such an interpretation. In the first place, it is by no means certain that this league was the product of the uninfluenced mental development of the Indians. Hitherto it has been pretty generally assumed that the league of the Iroquois was concluded in the fifteenth century—about 1430. But the further the examination of Indian tradition with regard to underlying facts has been proceeded with, the more we have been convinced that all that seemed to appertain to the savage of an infinitely remote past, without history or record, in reality only applies to a few generations back. According to the latest calculation, the league was probably not made until about 1560; this assumption is strengthened by the stories of dissensions between the various Iroquois nations, which can scarcely belong to so remote a past as would result if the league was created about 1430.

If the alliance came about at so late a date, the earliest contact with the white man must have preceded it; whether this was of a hostile or amicable kind, it must have exercised a different influence on the origin of the idea of an alliance if the latter had grown out of purely Indian conditions. Too much honour has been done to the chiefs who formed the league by the conception that has been spread of its purposes. The idea that the league was intended to do away generally with the state of war, and bring about perpetual peace among all Indians, is in such striking contradiction to the whole history of the Iroquois race before and after it was made, that this interpretation may unhesitatingly be pronounced an erroneous one. The exaggerated manner the Indians have of expressing themselves may certainly be credited with having formulated it in such grandiloquent terms, although no more was intended by them than to put an end to the dissensions between the small Iroquois tribes, which had previously been only too frequent.

Hiawatha in History and Literature

Even so, there still remains sufficient in the League of the Five Nations to assure to the Onondaga chief Hiawatha, who is considered to have been the father of the idea, quite as prominent a place in history as has been prepared for him in literature by Longfellow's immortal poem. In the whole history of the American nations, and the civilised races by no means excepted, there is not on record a second instance of the natives having had the insight to subordinate their sense of independence, which was carried almost to the point of unruliness, for any length of time to higher considerations.

Among the Mexicans we also find alliances of kindred races; but these neither rested on so intelligent a basis as the league of the Iroquois, nor were they destined to last so long or to exercise a similar influence on the fortunes of the nation. In the case of the Iroquois, the self-denying act of their chiefs had as its consequence the maintenance of their supremacy among their neighbours until the time when the latter, even earlier than they themselves, sank into insignificance before the invasion of the white man.

The Iroquois Races at the Present Day

If the nations of the Iroquois league exhibit at the present day the highest percentage of natives who have not succumbed to European civilisation, but have been able to reconcile themselves to it and become good citizens of a modern state, they owe this mainly to the wise foresight of their forefathers, who, by forming the league, created the first basis of a political order, from which accrued to them power over their kind, and respect and consideration on the part of the new immigrants.

When the races of Iroquois stock began to expand southward—a process which, as we have mentioned, belongs to the last few centuries before the discovery of America—they not only became involved in hostilities with the Algonquins, but another race was also driven by them from its abodes and forced to seek new districts. This was the Sioux or Dakota race, which certainly does not seem to have possessed in those times the importance that it afterwards acquired under the government of the United States. That the original home of these Indians, noted for the resistance they offered to settlers in the Far West in the course of the last century, was also east of the Alleghanies—in Virginia and North Carolina—is a discovery for which historical research has to thank linguistics. For, in the language

A SCENE FROM THE PRESENT THAT ILLUSTRATES THE PAST
A Pueblo hunter of Katzimo on the look-out.

of the long-neglected Indians of the central states, older forms of the same linguistic stock have been found whose later dialects are spoken in the vast region of the Sioux and Dakotas west of the Mississippi. Even in the east the nations of this group were almost exclusively restricted to hunting; it seems that they never seriously took to agriculture or possessed permanent dwelling-places. A race that grew so little attached to the soil as these restless hunters must naturally have retired more quickly before the energetic advance of an enemy than the agricultural Algonquins and Cherokees.

The Sioux a Race of Hunters

Whether they fought with the latter in the valley of the Ohio we cannot tell from the obscure tradition of the Sioux tribes regarding this migration from the east. The migration certainly belongs to a later period than the secession of the Cherokees from the main race of the Iroquois. But probably the courses of the two races came but little in contact, as the Sioux, coming down the Big Sandy, reached the Ohio at a point lying on the south-west border of the territory over which the Cherokees expanded. As soon, however, as they were beyond reach of the hostility of the Iroquois the migration of the Sioux would also have assumed a slower pace, names of places and rivers confirming the tradition that they settled for some time in different parts of the Ohio valley. But they never seem to have settled permanently; for Europeans who followed the Ohio downward came across no nations of this race on its banks. The names given by the Sioux themselves to the different groups reflect a long separation between the upper and lower part of the river. But when De Soto crossed the American continent he came upon nations of the Sioux race only on the other side of the Mississippi—a proof that the whole migration of the races from the eastern states to the borders of the region they still occupied in this century took place in pre-Columbian times. Probably many other races peopled these vast regions when the first white men set foot on American soil; but what we know of them is infinitely little.

Even what has been brought to light, by laboriously following up scarcely perceptible traces, regarding the great races of the Algonquins, Muskokis, Iroquois, and Sioux, is so scanty that it can scarcely be called their history. The extensive and zealous researches that have only recently been begun on American soil will surely bring to light many other memorials to which even historical attributes may be given; but unfortunately more than a few main features in the pre-history of the American Indians science will scarcely ever be able to trace.

Scanty Results of Research

CHIEFS OF THE SIOUX RACE OF AMERICAN INDIANS

AMERICAN PEOPLES OF THE WEST

THE LIFE, CUSTOMS AND CIVILISATION OF THE PREHISTORIC CLIFF-DWELLERS

IF we cross the Rocky Mountains from the east, we enter the region of a development in culture of an evidently different kind. This difference is most striking if we cross by the Upper Rio Grande and the affluents of the Colorado from the hunting-grounds of the buffalo-hunters into the territory of the Pueblo Indians. On closer examination, however, it appears that all the races of the Pacific coast, up to the borders of the Esquimaux region in Alaska, exhibit close agreement in the evolution of their customs, so that, in spite of linguistic differences, they are more closely related to one another than to their eastern neighbours.

Inhabitants of the Far North-West

The inhabitants of the far North-west—the Thlinkits, Haidahs, and Nootkas—are almost exclusively races of fishermen, a not very frequent occurrence on North American soil. It is evident, moreover, that they were not driven to this mode of life by their natural surroundings, but developed thus from the very beginning. This we may infer from the fact that, in spite of their racial individuality being comparatively highly developed, they have no traditions indicating an earlier and different state of development. When they first came in contact with Europeans they had developed, independently of foreign influences, a number of institutions that told of a very long period of gradual progress in culture. That they were expert navigators and fishermen and skilled boat-builders was too natural under the prevailing conditions to justify us in basing general conclusions upon it.

Like some of the Indians of the East, the natives of the North-west also attached chief importance, not to the family, but to the gens, or clan; accordingly they, too, did not occupy single houses, but built one house for all the families of a clan, in which each had only a compartment. The same community also ruled their life outside the house: common the work, common the benefit. A special feature with them was the system of totems, or clan symbols derived from living things, for which a reverence similar to fetishism was shown by all the members of the clan, but only by them. These totems certainly also had their share in developing the artistic efforts of the race, for the representations of the clan fetishes—sometimes of huge dimensions, as on the wooden totem-posts of the Haidahs and Bellacoolas—are among the most frequent proofs of their artistic sense, which exercised itself on the most diverse raw materials, such as wood, stone, and bone, but not clay. Now, with time a more highly developed social system had grown out of the gentile system.

Slavery Among the Indians

Almost all the Indians of the North-west were familiar with slavery, and that in its most pronounced form, according to which the slave is the chattel and therefore the saleable property of his master. This presupposes a higher development of the ideas of clan, family, and property than we find among many other Indian races, whose slaves were almost exclusively captives taken in war, who either met a painful death or were amalgamated with the tribe. The same development is shown by the fact that almost all these races carried on a more or less extensive trade—the Sahaptins journeyed from the upper Columbia to the Missouri—and even used shell-money as a standard medium of exchange, which seems to have been recognised throughout the greater part of the Pacific coast to the borders of the Mexican states. Finally, all the Pacific tribes, although agriculture was either entirely unknown to them in consequence of the climatic conditions, or

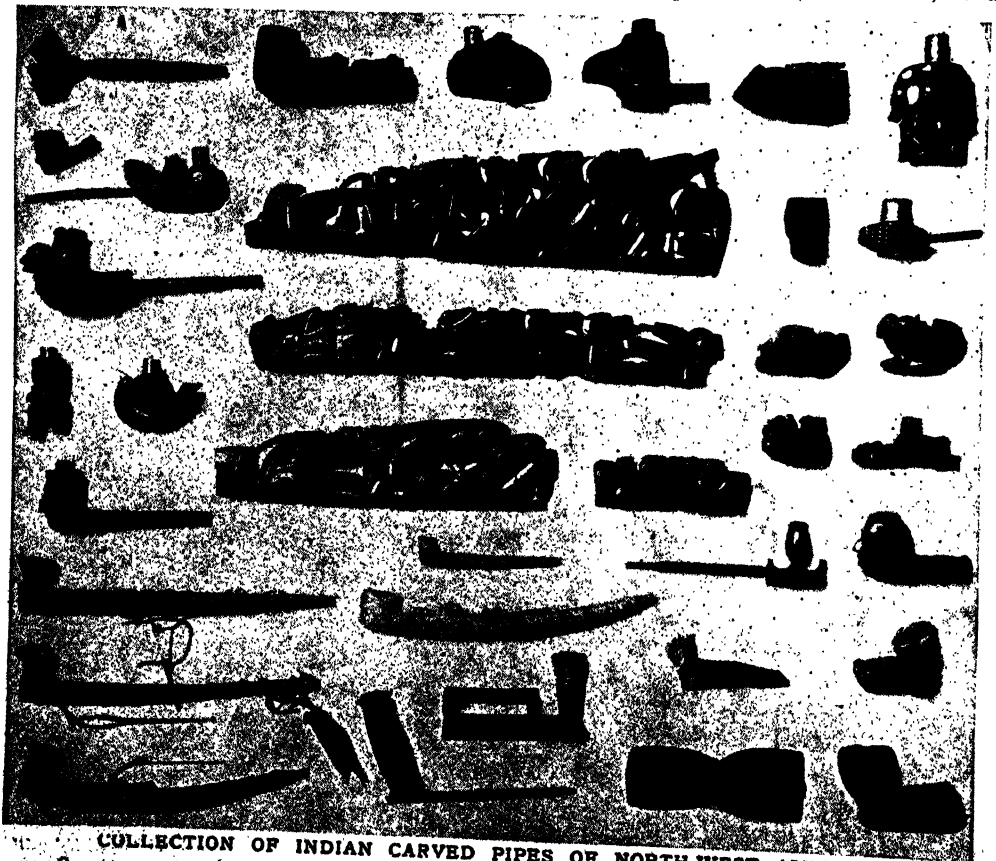
Shell-Money as a Medium of Exchange

only played a subordinate part, were sedentary, but with this peculiarity: they possessed permanent winter dwellings built of stone and earth, but in the fishing-seasons they erected also temporary summer dwellings at different places. In all these peculiarities there prevails among the Indians of Western North America, always excepting the sprinkling of tribes of much lower development in Central California, a very general agreement, which is by no means limited to the coast tribes who live by fishing, but extends to the agricultural tribes living farther south and east.

South and south-east of the territory of the north-west Indians, and separated from them by a number of small tribes, some of them still at a very low stage of development, is another large region of a similarly developed culture, which from the earliest times has interested scholars in no common degree—the region of the Pueblo Indians. Remains of these races have been preserved through all the vicissitudes of colonial wars down to the present day, and under circumstances which make it still possible to study among them the traces of their early civilisation.

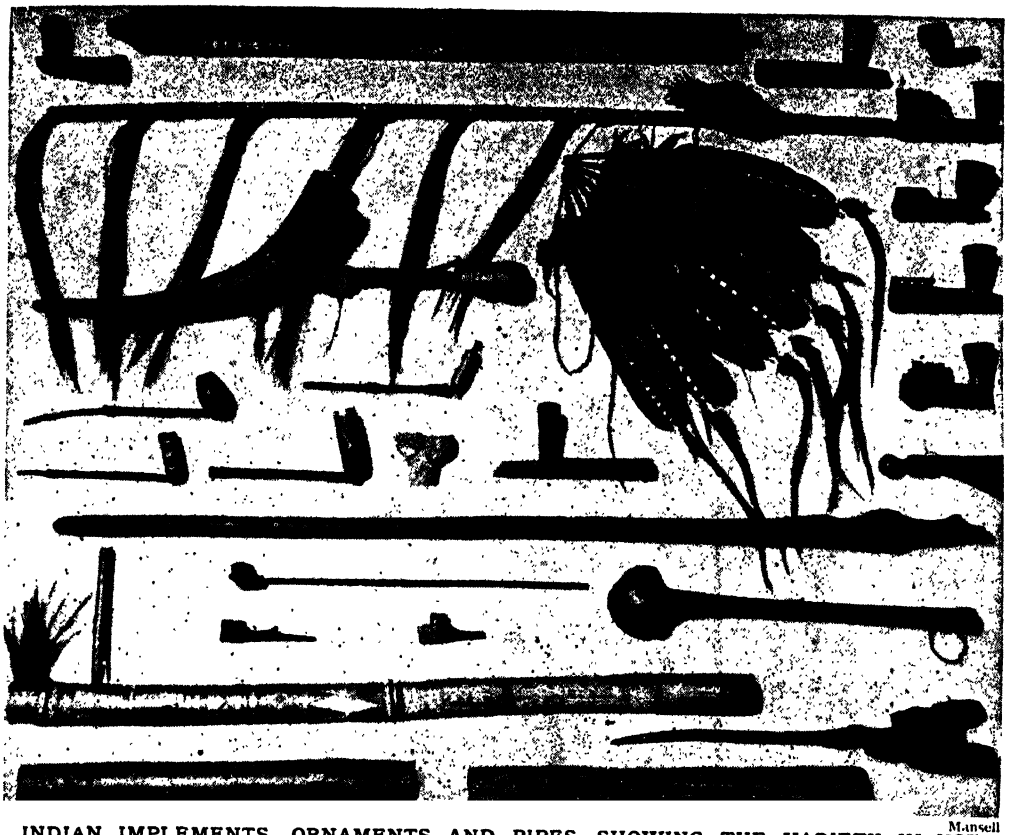
The boldest historical conjectures have been made about these races. Like the mound-builders, they, too, were supposed to have formed in prehistoric times a mighty and extensive empire with a highly developed civilisation. Such theories connected them, far more directly than was possible in the valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi, with the Central American civilised states of the Toltecs and Aztecs. A peculiar tradition of the latter supported this in a very remarkable manner. When the Spaniards, after the conquest of Mexico, inquired of the Aztec priests and scribes the early history of their race, they gave the following account. At a remote period they had set out from a place called Aztlan, which lay on a great lake in the far north; had wandered for countless years, during which they had been split up into several tribes, and

History of the Aztec Peoples



COLLECTION OF INDIAN CARVED PIPES OF NORTH-WEST AMERICA

Mansell



Mansell

INDIAN IMPLEMENTS, ORNAMENTS AND PIPES, SHOWING THE VARIETY IN USE

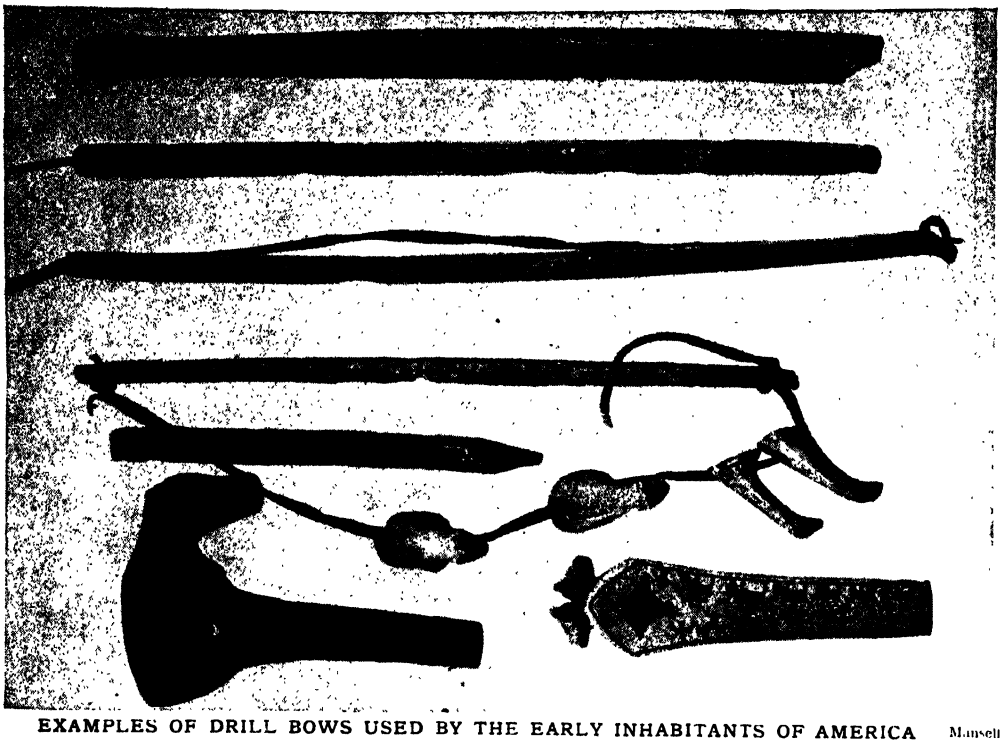
founded temporary settlements at the various places, and had finally settled on the Lake of Mexico, to found the town of Tenochtitlan. This tradition has supplied food for the imagination for centuries.

In the great water on which Aztlan lay was seen a resemblance of the region of the great North American lakes, and an enterprising American even gave a group of earthworks in Wisconsin the name of Fort Aztlan. All erections of an unexplained type that occurred north of the borders of the Mexican empire as far as the Lake district were considered to have been stations of the Aztecs. But whether any actual facts can be proved to underlie this tradition is doubtful. As regards the direction in which a higher civilisation spread, we find in the history of the Central American races facts that are difficult to reconcile with the Aztec tradition. But the idea that an indistinct knowledge of a prehistoric relationship between the civilised race of the Aztecs and their less civilised northern neighbours may be reflected in the legend must not be rejected offhand.

The Aztecs and Their Neighbours

It is thought that linguistic affinity with the races of the Nahua stock, among whom the Aztecs of Mexico became most famous, can be traced into the heart of the Pueblo region, as far as the group of towns called by the Spaniards "Tusayan," but better known at the present day by the name of the chief place, Moqui. Resemblances in customs, religious ideas, and old traditions are unmistakable in all these races. But quite as unquestionable, if not more important, are similarities of this character between the Pueblo Indians and their northern neighbours, so that we should finally arrive at the result that in the whole mass of races, from Alaska nearly to the Isthmus, we have the members of one great family, which, however, seeing that its linguistic disunion is so great as almost to deny all connection, must have been broken up into different branches in very early times.

Considering how firmly half-civilised races in particular cling to everything connected with their religious ideas, often even when the original conditions on which the traditional institutions were founded have long disappeared, it is



EXAMPLES OF DRILL BOWS USED BY THE EARLY INHABITANTS OF AMERICA Mansell

certainly noteworthy that in this very respect remarkable points of agreement have been discovered between the Indians of the North-west and the Pueblo races. In the whole region of the latter the sacred hall in which a great part of the religious ceremonies are held, and the others at least prepared for, is the "estufa," erroneously so called by the Spaniards from its peculiar structure. The Pueblo Indians call it kiva. In structure the kiva differs very considerably from all the other buildings of the Pueblo Indians in the most important points. It always lies more or less away from the rooms of which a pueblo (village) is composed, and which are built close to and over one another. It has the peculiarity that it is at least partly, and often entirely, sunk below the ground, and is only accessible by a ladder from an entrance built in the middle of the roof.

The kiva is to the Indians of the pueblos what their meeting-house is to the eastern Indians; here the men assemble to discuss common affairs, but especially to prepare for and to perform their religious rites. Even to-day there exist in the pueblos still inhabited by Indians a large number of such underground meeting-houses, which, so far as missionary activity has not yet done away with the remains of the original rites, serve their old purposes. If we compare these kivas with those that occur in the remains of old Indian towns that have long been in ruins, it appears that centuries of intercourse with the white man have made scarcely any change in the kiva.

In the inhabited pueblos, and even in many that in all probability have sunk into ruins without being trodden by European foot, the kiva is a rectangular hall; on the other hand, the older the ruins are the more exclusively do we find kivas of circular form, although all the dwelling-rooms of the same ruins are rectangular, and circular buildings occur only rarely throughout the Pueblo region in the form of towers. The circular kivas undoubtedly represent an older type; for whereas the four-sided kivas are lined with stone, carefully coated with plaster, and neatly whitewashed up to the posts forming the roof, the stone wall of the round kivas reaches to only three-fourths of the whole height. This is then completed by horizontal beams fitting into one another, which approach roundness owing to the number of angles they form, and are constructed exactly like those of the log-house type of building which the pioneers of the West learned from the Indians. This form of the kiva is certainly

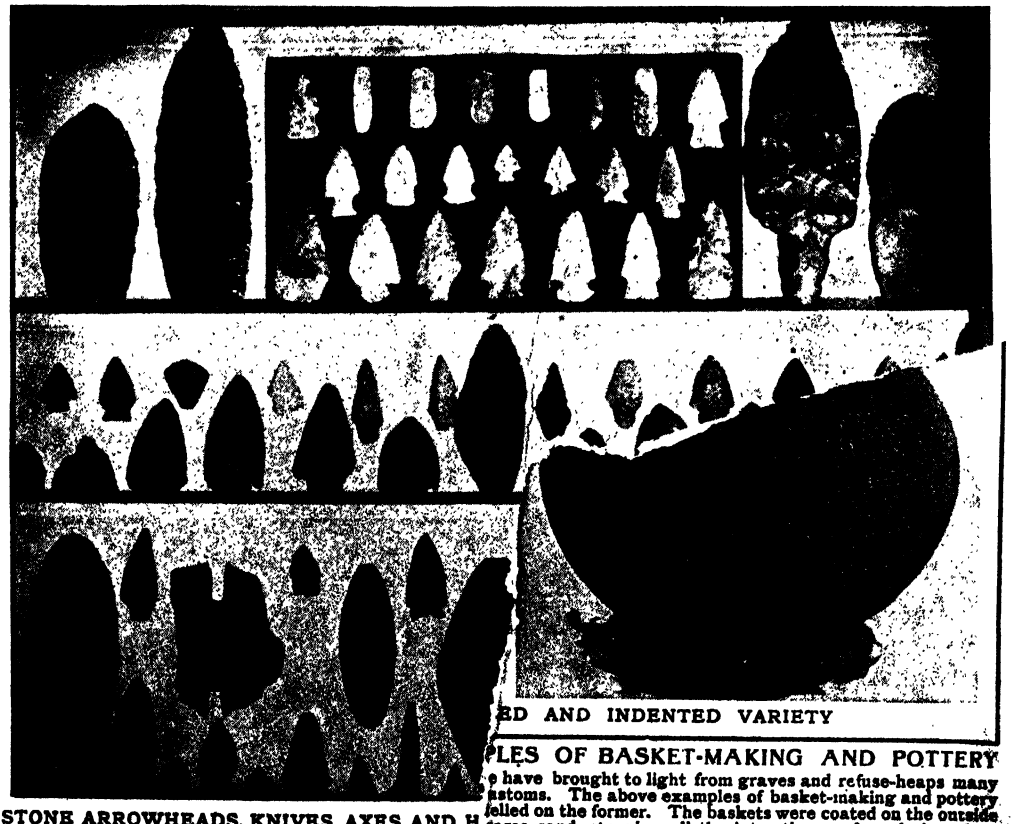
How the Kivas were Built

a reminiscence of the time when the Pueblo Indians were not the skilled builders they afterwards became. Its being sunk below the ground, a custom by which the Indians of various parts sought to give their dwellings greater height and better protection from the elements, and its beam-work point unmistakably to other conditions of life; but we can well understand how it is that only in these halls that served for religious purposes, long unintelligible to the Indians themselves, the memory of conditions has been preserved of which almost all trace has been lost in their general life.

Religious Dances of the Tribes

Now, it is undoubtedly very remarkable that round and square houses, partly dug in the ground, lined with stone slabs, and, at least in some cases, only accessible by an opening in the roof, occur as dwellings among various Indian races of California who are not particularly closely related to the Pueblo Indians either linguistically or ethnographically. Moreover, these same Californian races, like the Pueblo Indians, make a great feature in their religious ceremonies of certain dances reminding one almost of theatrical performances, which in both cases, if not exclusively performed in the common dwelling-hall, were prepared in a part of it curtained off temporarily for the purpose. As in these dances almost similar masks, fashioned as snakes, skeletons, etc., occur in both cases, we are justified in assuming that these races have a common stock of traditional customs that is not due to late adoption or transmission, but to an original relationship.

That the stone structures of the cliff-dwellers, in the almost inaccessible cañons of the rivers that cut their way through the central plateau, are to be regarded as dwellings of the same races whose last remnants now inhabit the pueblos of the regions of Cibola and Tusayan under the name of Zuñis and Moquis, is beyond all doubt. The transition between the architectural forms is unmistakable, and the connection between cliff-dwellings and houses, both on the



STONE ARROWHEADS, KNIVES AXES AND H ED AND INDENTED VARIETY

PLES OF BASKET-MAKING AND POTTERY

e have brought to light from graves and refuse-heaps many astoms. The above examples of basket-making and pottery felled on the former. The baskets were coated on the outside arse sand, stopping all the interstices and rendering them as made to resemble in its outward appearance the baskets.

plateau and in the river valleys, has also been clearly proved by excavations, as has also the chronological sequence. We must certainly not overlook the fact that the migrations of the Pueblo Indians also proceeded slowly, in consequence of their living almost exclusively by agriculture. Indeed, at times events occurred which positively caused a retrograde movement, and to such an extent that the wanderers returned to parts they had left long ago and occupied anew their partly ruined dwellings. Such occurrences are even related in the traditions of the present Pueblo Indians of times certainly later than their first meeting with the Spaniards about the middle of the sixteenth century.

Pueblos as Expert Potters

But although the most northern evidences of the Pueblo civilisation, the cave-ruins, reveal an architectural development that is in no respect inferior to that displayed by the carefully built pueblos of the valleys of the Chaco and Chelley, yet the other antiquities show an earlier type in the north, and furnish evidence of a later development that continued down to the time of those degenerate Pueblo Indians whom we know to-day.

Pottery especially affords us a further glimpse of the early history of these races. It is not chance that the North Californian tribes, who could work wood and stone skilfully, and otherwise occupied by no means the lowest rung of social culture, had no pottery. The potter's art develops only where Nature is not bountiful with that necessary, water, and man has to procure and preserve a supply. For races that live by fishing, wickerwork, most easily produced, suffices, and for this more or less affords them a suitable material a pueblo (village) of tic creeping plants, which are built close to ots, which were another. It has the peculiarity that it h at least partly, and often entirely, sun e below the ground, and is only accessibl s by a ladder from an entrance built in the c middle of the roof.

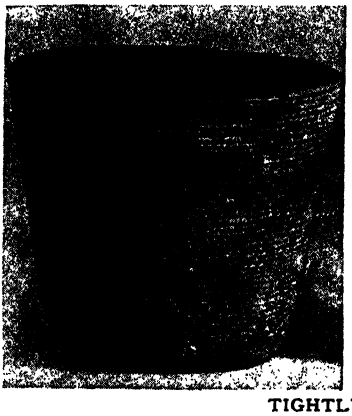
The kiva is to the Indians of the pueblo r what their meeting-house is to the eastern Indians; here the men assemble to discuss common affairs, but especially to prepare for and to perform their religious rites. Even to-day there exist in the pueblos still inhabited by Indians a large number of such underground meeting-houses, which, so far as missionary activity has not yet done away with the remains of the Indians, the latter evidently did not develop into potters until after the separation of the groups. This stage has not yet been discovered from the antiquities. We find the Pueblo races, even in their earliest northern abodes, at a respectable stage of development, not only as architects, but also as potters. In the central Pueblo regions, on the Chaco and Chelley, we then perceive a further advance, while the culmination of their artistic activity was reached at Sikyatki, not far from Moqui, which was destroyed only shortly before the arrival of the Spaniards.

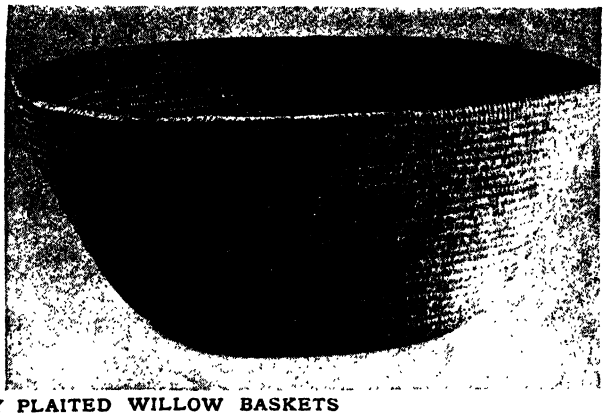
We are not without an explanation of this. As is commonly known, the races of the west in the latitude of the Californian peninsula are divided up by the nations in the lowest stage of civilisation. Not only do the traces of a struggle with these occur in the south, in the cave-dwelling and the pueblos built on easily blockaded spurs of the plateaus, but dwelling-places agreeing remarkably with the pueblos also occur in the north as far as the Haidahs, a proof that the Pueblo races sought to protect themselves from the aggression of hostile tribes. This first attack by Athabascan or Tinné tribes —for as such we must regard them, in spite of the scanty proofs of linguistic affinity—although not the immediate cause, probably decided the direction and subsequent development of the tribes that were driven south, which are first met with in history at the Mesa Verde and the river San Juan.

Opposing Races in Contact

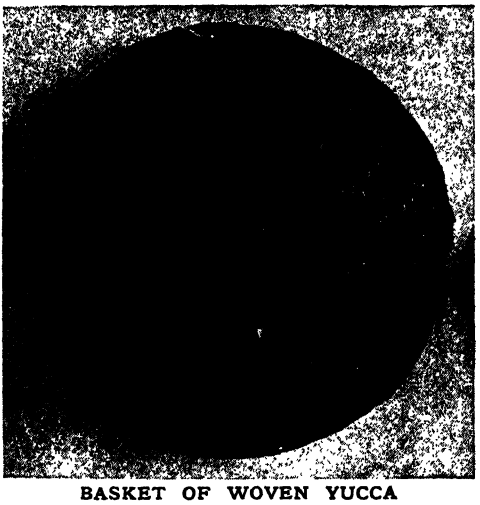
The theory that the whole region of the Pueblos, from the river Mancos in the north to the mouth of the Gila in the south, and from the Rio Pecos in the east to the Colorado in the west, ever constituted a united body politic is quite as untenable as the similar hypothesis regarding the region of the mound-builders. The statesmanship of the American natives has scarcely anywhere been great enough to form, much less maintain, an extensive state.

In the territory of the Pueblos there prevailed, probably during the whole period of their social prosperity, the same system of small communities based on the gens that the Spaniards found existing there at the discovery; its remains may still be recognised without difficulty from the traditions of the Pueblo Indians, in spite of the mixtures caused by the fusion of the population. It has its root in the soil. Their primitive agriculture, which is

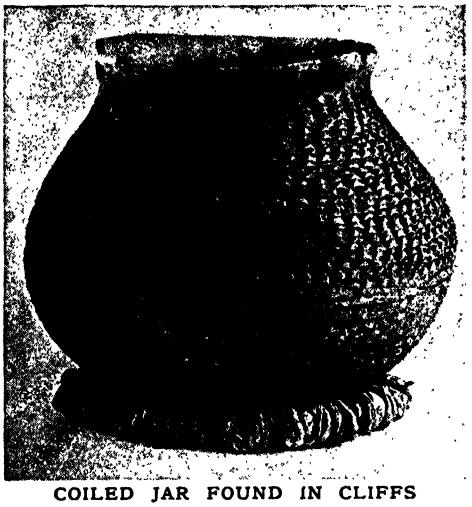




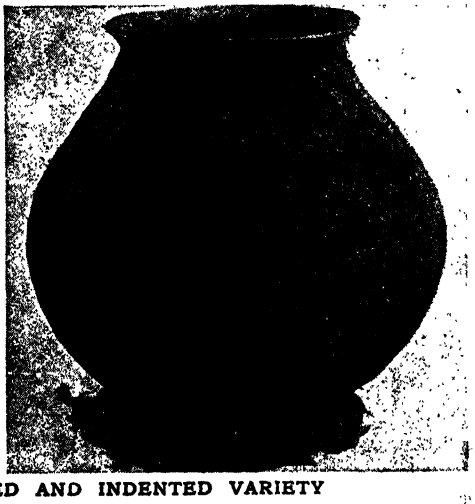
TIGHTLY PLAITED WILLOW BASKETS



BASKET OF WOVEN YUCCA



COILED JAR FOUND IN CLIFFS



LARGE VASES OF THE COILED AND INDENTED VARIETY

WORK OF THE CLIFF-DWELLERS: EXAMPLES OF BASKET-MAKING AND POTTERY

Investigations among the cliff dwellings of the Mesa Verde have brought to light from graves and refuse-heaps many articles which help us to understand the people and their customs. The above examples of basket-making and pottery show in a most interesting manner how the latter was modelled on the former. The baskets were coated on the outside with a substance composed of clay mixed with rather coarse sand, stopping all the interstices and rendering them watertight, and the pottery, as shown in the illustrations was made to resemble in its outward appearance the baskets.

certainly said to have supplied in a good year crops sufficient to last for two or three years, did not suffer any great number of people in one place, owing to the unfavourable climatic conditions. The Pueblo region was certainly more thickly populated in earlier times than it is now, but when the Spaniards first entered it its period of prosperity seems to have been over. For although the earliest accounts give the number of large and small towns of the Pueblo Indians at seventy or seventy-one, these lie exclusively in the southern and eastern parts of the Pueblo region, the same as are still partly peopled by the descendants of the old natives, while the central and northern parts, in which the most architecturally perfect buildings have been found, seem to have been then, as they are to-day, forsaken and in ruins.

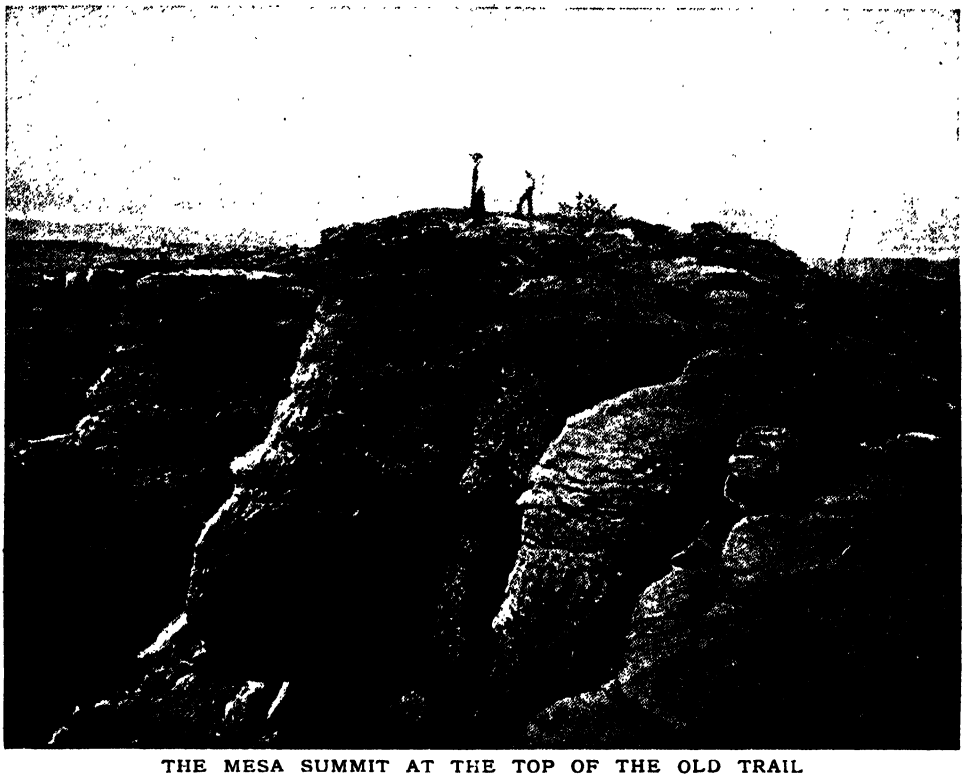
Although it is quite probable that many of the southern pueblos may not have existed when the more northern ones were built and inhabited, the circumstance that the latter are also technically the most perfect is a certain sign that the southern races already show the beginning of a decline which, as it is displayed in quality, must also be assumed in quantity. For the height of development in culture often comes after the first traces of decline in a nation, but it scarcely ever precedes the culmination of the material development.

The petty jealousies and feuds of the small communities with one another had a fateful influence on the history of the Pueblo Indians. Occasion for these was incessantly given by outward circumstances—in the limited areas fit for cultivation, and the insufficient quantity of moisture, the most careful use of which could alone make the soil productive and the land inhabitable. These outward conditions had an influence on the development of the Pueblo civilisation similar to the influence they had on the inhabitants of Peru, who had to fight with the same climatic difficulties. We therefore not only find here, as we do there, surprisingly ingenious and extensive irrigation works, but, from the analogy to Peruvian conditions and from the existing customs of the present Pueblo races, we may also infer that a water law was carefully made and enforced among the old Pueblo peoples. A continual struggle with drought is not

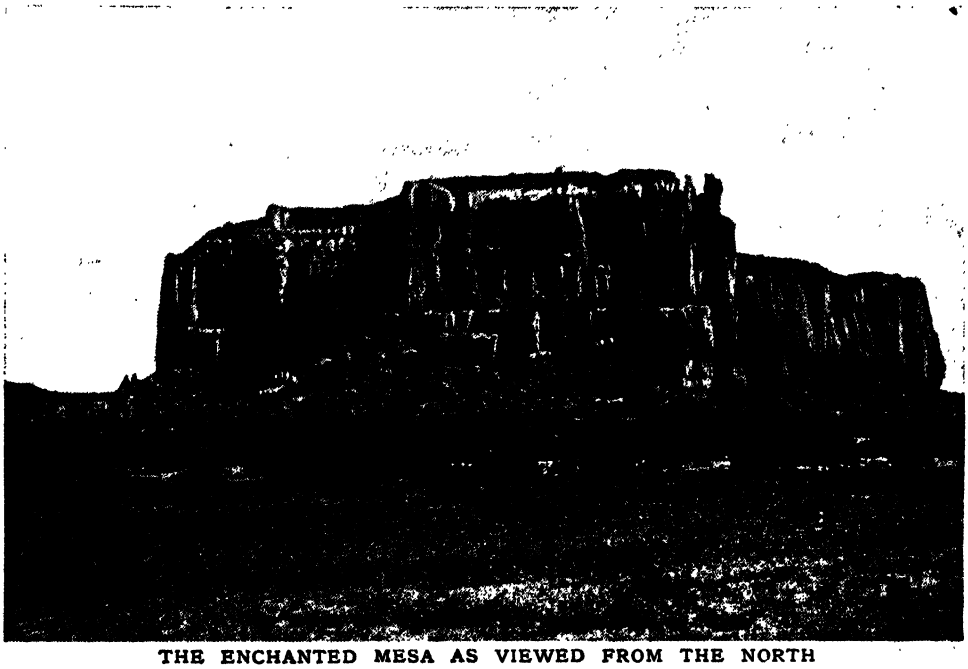
RUINS OF A CLIFF-DWELLING: "SPRUCE-TREE HOUSE" IN THE MESA VERDE, COLORADO

In a great plateau, thirty miles long and twelve or fifteen wide, situated largely in the Indian Reservation, and called the Mesa Verde, have been unearthed many examples of the communal cliff dwellings of the early inhabitants of America. The cliff-dweller has been described as "a dark-skinned fellow." His hair was usually black, and moderately coarse and long. He was of medium stature, and the back of his skull was flattened by being tied firmly against a board in infancy. He had fair teeth, much worn as the years grew upon him from munching ill-ground corn.

This and illustrations on pages 5713, 5715, and 5717 are from Nordenskiöld's "Cliff-Dwellers of the Mesa Verde."



THE MESA SUMMIT AT THE TOP OF THE OLD TRAIL



THE ENCHANTED MESA AS VIEWED FROM THE NORTH

IN THE LAND OF MESAS: THE STRANGE TABLE-LANDS OF MEXICO

The natural formation of these mesas, or table-lands, of Mexico appealed to prehistoric man as suitable sites for his dwelling-places, and in the stone age of America many communities made their dwellings on the tops and in the clefts of these table-lands, where, owing to the difficulty of access, they could enjoy comparative safety from attacks.

indicated solely by the recollections of the present Indians, or by the ruins of the old works, but dependence on the fertilising moisture plays so prominent a part in the whole pronounced religious system of these races that we must suppose that the climatic conditions were little different then from what they are now.

Excavations in the ruins have often proved the existence of old sources of water in or near them, and it has often required only moderate labour in removing sand and rubbish to increase considerably the yield of these springs. That a race whose whole existence depended on obtaining water would have spared no pains to increase it is testified beyond doubt by the discovery of artificial reservoirs and similar works. In spite of this it would be wrong to see in variations of the sources of a water supply the only reason for the migrations of the Pueblo races, because these migrations were not from the dry districts to the more favoured ones, but exactly the reverse—from the woodland farther and farther into the arid sand-steppe.

If it were a mere hypothesis that the southward movement of the Pueblo Indians was brought about from an invasion of the Central Californian savages, there can scarcely be any doubt that the aggression of similar hostile races decided the further course of these migrations. And if some of the magnificent ruins of the valleys of the Chaco and Chelley are not well adapted for a prolonged defence, it only proves that at the time of their erection the pressure of hostile races had not yet begun. But this is easily accounted for by assuming that the buildings in these valleys, among which even cave-buildings are fairly numerous, were erected at a time when the more northern settlements—which almost entirely lay protected, especially the numerous and extensive cave-dwellings on the Rio Mancos and other northern affluents of the San Juan—were still inhabited, and were adapted to form a barrier against marauding savages.

WEAPONS AND UTENSILS OF THE CLIFF-MEN

According to European ideas we are much inclined to think cave-dwellers men at the lowest stage of culture. But the cliff-dwellers of Western North America were not this at all. Sedentary, living almost solely by agriculture, they had already reached the stage of rearing domestic animals, and as basket-makers, weavers, and potters they were superior to almost all their neighbours. It was they who, like the Mexicans, produced those original feather-covered webs that excited the great astonishment of the Europeans. Their pottery is quite equal, in purity and simplicity of form and decoration, to that of their neighbours.

Culture of the Cliff-Dwellers

But there was one art in which the Pueblo Indians were superior to all the other races of the northern continent, including the Aztecs—the Mayas, in part, excepted—namely, the art of building. A race that was able to erect buildings in caves like the Cliff Palace discovered by Gustaf Nordenskiöld [see page 172] in a side valley of the Mancos was no longer rude and primitive; it was a race which, if not to be numbered among civilised peoples, was at least well on the way to become one. Nature herself had certainly gone a long way toward making the inhabitants of this district builders. In the sandstone that encloses the narrow valleys of most of the waters of the north-western plateau-land in layers of varying resistance, the natives were offered a material

REMAINS OF THE GREATEST BUILDING OF THE CLIFF-DWELLERS

On page 172 of the History appears a remarkable illustration of a palace under a cliff in Cliff Palace Cañon, Colorado, indicating how considerable was the culture of those early people of America, and another view of that striking monument of the Stone Age is given in the above picture. "Literally hanging from a tremendous cliff," the buildings were inhabited by the first settlers of Colorado, who had every reason to feel themselves secure in their inaccessible homes.

that can almost be shaped of itself. This stone broke down to a considerable extent, under the influence of atmospheric forces, in pieces that required but little working to make them fit for house-building. The rudest buildings—substructures—such as are also to be seen at the Cliff Palace, were therefore probably constructed merely by piling up stones selected for the purpose; but of these simplest beginnings only a few traces have been preserved. The material is for the most part brought into the proper shape with great care, the layers secured by an almost invisible but sufficiently strong cement, and every joint so carefully faced with small stones that the outer surfaces of the buildings have not merely withstood the action of the weather for centuries, but even at the present day seem to be firm and smooth.

Buildings of the Pueblo Indians

Moreover, the Pueblo Indians had two other architectural accomplishments in which few races of the New World equalled them: layering the material in strips of equal size—an advance which they probably learned from the long layers in the stone of their native valleys—and mortising the joints, an art not even known by the Maya architects of Chichen-Itza. Such skill naturally presupposes long practice in the art, but we cannot trace its development. Besides the great assistance rendered by Nature, the migrations of the Pueblo Indians undoubtedly furthered the development of their architectural knowledge to an extraordinary degree, by giving them occasion to use the experience gained in the course of a building period whenever they erected a new settlement.

The migrations which we have had to assume as having been from north to south, in historic times, have not to be included in this respect. On the contrary, the buildings of the northern and central Pueblo regions—for instance, the Cliff Palace, and the ruins of Kintiel, Pueblo Bonito, and Nutria in the Chaco valley—while bearing traces of greater age, exhibit the highest development of Pueblo architecture, whereas the later settlements of the same regions and farther south are not so carefully built, although this

HOPI INDIAN GIRLS GRINDING CORN

INDIAN GIRLS WEAVING BASKETS

CAVE-DWELLER IN DANCING ATTIRE

Underwood

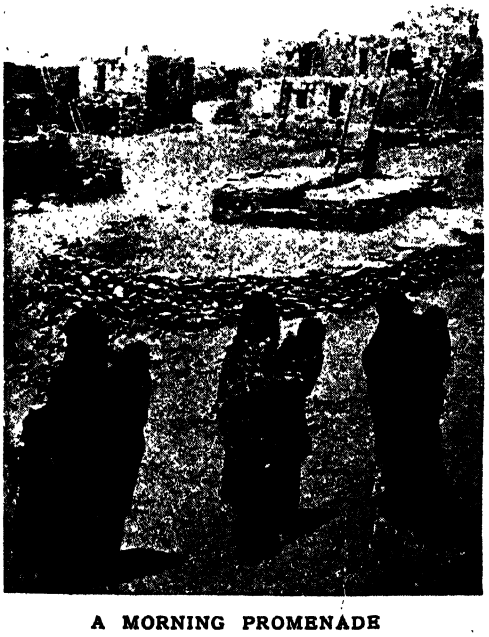
AN INDIAN POTTER AT WORK

SCENES IN THE PRIMITIVE INDIAN HOMES OF AMERICA

Some of the customs of America's early Indian inhabitants are here illustrated. In the first of these pictures there is represented a home scene at Shonghopavi, Arizona, where Hopi girls are shown in the act of grinding the shelled corn by rubbing it under flat stones of granite. The extraordinary fashion of hair-dressing depicted in the second illustration belongs exclusively to the maidens of the tribe, as after marriage the hair is arranged differently.

AN INDIAN RESERVATION

INDIAN VILLAGE SCENE



A MORNING PROMENADE

Underwood

PLAZA "PUEBLO" OF MISHONGINOVI

AMONG THE CLIFF-DWELLERS OF TO-DAY: SCENES IN AN INDIAN RESERVATION

Six hundred feet above the desert, in the Hopi Indian Reservation, Arizona, stands the picturesque village of Wolpi, shown in the two upper views on this page. The people inhabiting these rocky eminences are also depicted, the third illustration showing women and children of Oraibi, situated in the same reservation as Wolpi. Mishonginovi, a view of which is given in the last picture, is the second largest village of the ancient cliff-dwellers in Arizona.

is by no means explained by a want of material. Thus there is no alternative but to assume that the latter buildings were erected at a time when the conditions under which the Pueblo Indians lived had already changed for the worse. But as even these buildings belong to a period prior to the dicovery by the Spaniards, we come once more to the conclusion that the golden age of the Pueblo races was already past in the sixteenth century. Here we are led to the further inference that the migrations of the Pueblo Indians cannot have been spontaneous.

The Native Methods of Defence

Ideas drawn from modern warfare have been applied too much to ancient times, and consequently the defensive strength of the Pueblo towns has been declared so inadequate that the purpose of defence has been positively denied them. But we have only to consider the offensive and defensive weapons of the Pueblo Indians, who were in any case considerably superior to their opponents in social culture, to see at once that very primitive means of defence must have sufficed. The war waged by the Indians upon one another has always consisted in surprises; the idea of a siege, if only of days, or of the artificial cutting off of indispensable resources, especially of water, which became a dangerous weapon as the art of war advanced, need scarcely be seriously considered in the wars to which the Pueblo Indians were exposed. The attacks of the enemy had for their object plunder that was of immediate use and easy to carry away, and, if possible, prisoners, especially women and young persons.

The enemy, moreover, would certainly have tried to damage the crops of the Pueblo Indians in these wars; but to gather in the ripe fruit was a comparatively long business with the means at the disposal of these primitive races, and so the plundering Apache or Navajo would let the Pueblo Indian himself do this first; he preferred to fetch the stored-up crop from the house rather than the ripe crop from the field. But even the pueblos that did not lie in the inaccessible caves of the cañons or on the easily blockaded spurs or ledges at the edges of the plateau, but on the level ground of the river valleys or in the plains at the foot of the tableland, afforded sufficient protection from a sudden attack. Owing to the massive style in which they were built, a larger number of inhabitants would be always threatened at the same time, and therefore could easily combine for common defence.

Combination for Defensive Purposes

Furthermore, the older pueblos are far more closely built even than those now inhabited, so that outside they show an unbroken wall several stories high, while inside the stories rise in terraces from a central court. The entrance to this court was in most cases easily defended; further, the ground floor had no entrances opening on to the court, access being obtained to the rooms of the occupants solely from the first platform, which could be reached only by ladders.

The enemy were also educated by the continual struggle, and if the danger of their attacks and their numbers increased in the same measure as the strength of the defenders diminished through unfavourable outward circumstances, the more civilised and physically weaker Pueblo Indians would have eventually to yield to the more robust and hardy sons of the desert. But this would take place through circumstances mainly independent of the strength of the settlements. So at least we must imagine the war that gradually crushed out the civilisation of the Pueblo races over a considerable part of their ancient territory. They were surrounded north and east by Indian races that belonged to the most savage and brutal of the whole continent. The Apaches and Navajoes made themselves a terror even to the Anglo-Saxon pioneers of the West in the present century, and they were nations of the same stocks that surrounded the Pueblo region on various sides. Even when the Spaniards first entered this region they heard of the deadly enmity between the Pueblo Indians and their neighbours, and were themselves sympathetically drawn into the struggle.

Savage and Brutal Peoples

Just as the peaceable inhabitants of the pueblos were at continual war with the flying robbers of the prairie in historic times, so, too, did their forefathers fight with their enemies' forefathers for their existence. From the circumstance that a marked relationship exists in build and in various customs between the Navajoes and the Northern Pueblo Indians at the present day some would draw the conclusion that the former are to be regarded, not so much as a tribe hostile to the Pueblo

Indians, but rather as a kindred tribe that once itself occupied settlements in the Pueblo region, and became a roving race of robbers only through hostile oppression. Although the fact remains that the Pueblo civilisation succumbed to the invasion of hostile neighbours, these must certainly have been other than the Navajoes. It is true that since the last century these Navajoes have been known as a tribe that practises agriculture, though to a limited extent; that possesses the largest numbers of horses and sheep of any Indians of the west; and whose squaws weave the finest coloured cloths of sheep's wool. But all these are acquirements that belong to times subsequent to contact with the white man. Moreover, the social progress of the Navajoes rests chiefly in the hands of their women, whereas among the Pueblo Indians the main burden of tilling the ground falls to the men. This civilising influence of the female sex may be traced, however, in its ultimate origin, to the Pueblo Indians, whose women, captured in their raids, have been their teachers. This intermixture explains also the physical affinities of the races and resemblances in their languages.

One more point in the early history of the Pueblo races needs mention: their relations to their southern neighbours, the civilised races of Mexico. If in the foregoing we have assumed that the Pueblo civilisation progressed from north to south, we have left a whole group of Pueblo ruins—and that the most southern of all—unnoticed. The attention of the first Spaniards who entered the Pueblo region from Mexico was attracted by a number of ruins that met their eye in the basis of the Gila River, the most southern affluent of the Colorado. These were remains of settlements which unmistakably bear the character of the Pueblos, although they constitute a group of themselves.

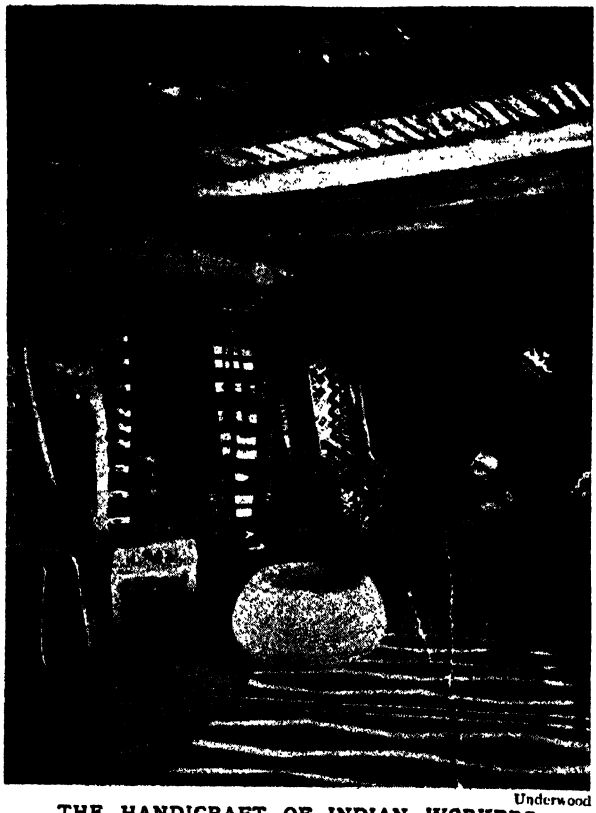
The Gila valley, however, did not offer its inhabitants the suitable building material that had made the Pueblo Indians in the upper parts of the tableland such excellent builders. The ruins of this and the adjacent valleys are therefore distinguished by the material used, which is a kind of brick made of mud mixed with vegetable substances and air-dried; a material known in many parts by the Spanish name of "adobe," and frequently used in historic times and even to the present day. But otherwise these buildings are also distinctly the work of Pueblo tribes. Here, too, we have towns consisting mainly of a single solid mass of houses, or really only rooms; these rooms, built over one another in storeys, enclose an inner court, from which they rise in terraces, while the outer walls are mostly perpendicular. This is therefore exactly the character of the more northern settlements of stone, such as we found from the cave-buildings on the San Juan to the open

WOODEN MASKS AND RATTLES OF THE NORTH-WEST COAST OF AMERICA

towns of the Moquis and Zuñis. These buildings must have been erected by the same races that built the more northern ones, or by races nearly related to them.

Now, as these towns were found forsaken and in ruins by the Spaniards at a time when the central pueblos were still largely inhabited, they must certainly belong to an earlier period than many of the stone pueblos. But no conclusions may be drawn from this antagonistic to the view that the Pueblo civilisation developed generally from north to south. The race that built the ruins of the Gila valley, generally known as Casas Grandes, certainly did not learn its architecture here.

Generally speaking, the material, owing to its comparatively poor resistance to atmospheric influences, is by no means calculated to induce man to erect hollow buildings above ground. In the ruins on the Rio Gila we can perceive only the endeavour to retain architectural forms that had gradually become a need of the race, even in districts in which the natural conditions were considerably less favourable. The race that erected them separated from the body of the Pueblo Indians only when the latter had fully developed its characteristic civilisation farther north, on the plateaus of the sandstone mountains, and as no traces of the same civilisation occur farther south, it appears that this race, whether it was harassed by hostile peoples, or induced by natural causes again to change its abodes, rejoined the more northern members of the race before historic times. In the legends of the Indians who have settled in the vicinity of these ruins since the last century they are almost exclusively called houses, palaces, or fortresses of Montezuma, and we shall scarcely be far wrong if we regard this as the survival of an indistinct recollection of the deeds of Mocteuzoma I. Ilhuicamina.



Underwood

THE HANDICRAFT OF INDIAN WORKERS
In this illustration are shown the artistic creations of Indian weavers and potters in a Hopi house, Grand Cañon, Arizona.

But such a tradition was certainly not developed until after the conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards. This is obvious, not only from the fact that the empire of Mexico-Tenochtitlan never extended to anywhere near these parts, but above all from the circumstance that there is absolutely no style of architecture like that of the ruins of the Gila within the sphere of civilisation of the Central American states, and that the resemblances to the architecture of the Central American are much less within the Pueblo region than, for instance, in the region of the mound-builders. It may be considered historically proved that the spheres of civilisation of the Pueblo Indians and of the Maya and Nahua races, at least during the time that their respective characteristic architectures were developing, were entirely exclusive of one another and had no connection whatever. But in all probability this was not always so. Although the legends of an original home in the far Aztlan of the north, in the form in which they became known to the Spaniards, referred only to comparatively unimportant changes of abode made by the various nations of the Nahua race at no very remote period, this does not preclude the

Development of Native Architecture

E. N. A.

TREES CUT DOWN BY PREHISTORIC MAN: REMARKABLE FIND IN ARIZONA
This unique picture illustrates an extraordinary discovery near Phœnix, Arizona, where, in recent times, a petrified forest was unearthed. It is supposed that the tree blocks, some of which are here shown, were chopped thousands of years ago by the prehistoric inhabitants of the country, becoming petrified in the course of the long ages.

possibility that in the very earliest times races lived even as far down as the region of Mexico who exhibited a racial relationship to all the other nations inhabiting the Pacific coast of North America.

Besides wide-spread linguistic resemblances there is the recurrence of religious ideas and customs, which are too peculiar to have been the result of simultaneous independent development in different places. The simultaneous worship of the sun and fire is certainly in itself an idea so familiar to the primitive races of all ages and all lands that from its occurrence in different tribes we could not infer that they were related, even if it were not practised in like manner in other neighbouring tribes. On the other hand, it is very remarkable that both among the Pueblo Indians and among the civilised races of Central America all the fires throughout the tribe had to be extinguished at regular intervals; and that at one place only, amid elaborate religious ceremonies, priests appointed for the purpose, by rubbing two sticks, obtained the new fire, which was then spread from this one centre by speedy messengers. Another highly characteristic religious idea common to these same races is that of the feathered snake. Apart from the fact that Nature itself furnishes no creatures as patterns for such a form, the snake is often one of the most dangerous enemies of man in the legends of American races. Among the Pueblo Indians it is also most closely connected with the deities of fertilising moisture, which to them is the essence of all good. Besides these there are a whole number of other resemblances.

Primitive Religious Ceremonies

We may mention a parallel of a non-religious character. Feathers, especially those of the gorgeously coloured tropical birds, or of the eagle as the symbol of power, have played an important part in the ornament of all primitive races. But only in very few parts of the earth has the attempt been made by primitive races to imitate, by weaving, the feather coat that adorns and protects the birds.

The races of the Mexican Empire brought this art to a perfection that has never since been attained, so that it is most singular that of all the American races only the Pueblo Indians practised a similar art, although considerably more primitive, and that not as a comparatively late acquirement, but where we first found them, on the northern borders of their territory, farthest from the Mexican borders, dwelling in the caves of the Mancos valley, and producing their characteristic archaic pottery.

GRANARIES OF THE INDIANS OF THE COLORADO DESERT

MOQUI INDIAN WOMEN BUILDING HOUSES

Among the Moqui Indians of America the customs of the sexes with regard to the division of labour are different from those generally prevailing among other tribes, the women performing heavy tasks, such as house-building, while the men undertake the lighter household duties and engage in such occupations as blanket-weaving.

SCENES IN THE LIFE AND CUSTOMS OF AMERICAN INDIANS

ANCIENT CIVILISATIONS of CENTRAL AMERICA

THE LAND AND THE PEOPLES

AND THE CULTURE OF THE MAYA RACES

AT the Isthmus of Panama, the Cordilleras, the backbone of the American continent, sink so far below the level of the sea that only their highest points rise above the waters to form a narrow range of inconsiderable height; but a few degrees farther north they begin again to tower mightily aloft. The district known to-day as Northern Panama and Costa Rica is a mountainous country; its highest points even there rise nearly 7,000 feet above the sea-level. However, the range is again interrupted in its northward advance.

The Division Between North and South

The marshes of Nicaragua and the Isthmus of Tehuantepec form two more depressions of great depth, and here, rather than at the narrowest point, we should place the true line of demarcation between the peoples of North and of South America. Between these two points is the only place where Central America seems to have made the attempt at continental expansion so characteristic of the eastern portions of the two great half-continents. But the Isthmus of Yucatan, a thickly wooded, hilly country lying before the mountain plateau of Guatemala, has no developed river system on any large scale; and to its position between the Bay of Campeche and that of Honduras it owes the favourable character of its climate, lying low as it does in the tropic latitudes.

Above the Isthmus of Tehuantepec the northern continent begins to expand, but for nearly ten degrees of latitude farther north it is formed by the Cordilleras, which spread wider and wider, leaving only a narrow strip of shore at their feet on the east and west, and filling up the main portion of the continent with their peaks. Hence the peculiar character of the Mexican climate. Although the district of ancient Mexico lies entirely within the tropics, yet only on the seaboard is the real tropic temperature encountered, which, if it brings the advantage of Nature's fullest glory, involves also the disadvantage of a dangerous climate. This disadvantage is nullified by the nature of the country, which consists of a high plateau rising sufficiently high above the sea to be free from the dangers of malaria, and yet only so high as to enjoy an almost uninterrupted springtime and to provide for man's necessities with generous hand, and reward his toil with richest bounty. The main mountain-range, however, rises boldly and majestically to the regions of the everlasting snow which shines down from the peaks of Popocatepetl and the summit of Orizaba upon the eternal springtide at their feet.

Mexico's Peculiar Climate

In the immediate neighbourhood of this highest point the Cordilleras divide into an eastern and a western range. Between these there stretches a highland studded with numerous lakes, of moderate size, but extraordinarily fruitful—the Mexican highland. Here was played out to its close the little-known drama of the ancient civilisation of America. The country from the Lake of Nicaragua to the northern parts of the valley of Mexico has been the home of one of the oldest civilisations of the New World. It is as yet wholly impossible to give any exact dates for its beginnings in the past,

Home of the Oldest Civilisations

and impossible it will probably remain, even if success should crown the attempt to interpret those undeciphered memorials which now look down upon our efforts to solve their riddle. But if anyone, starting with the conception of the "New" World, considers this civilisation as moderately young, he does it great injustice—nearly as great as do those who place its most flourishing period more than 11,000 years in the past. The native authors who have written the history of the peoples of Central America, working in the first century after the conquest, and aided by the old traditions and the pictorial sculptures, occasionally place these beginnings as far back as the last century before the Christian era.

Unreliable Histories of America

There is little congruity in their productions, which do not inspire us with confidence. The dynasties which have been deciphered from the pictorial decorations previous to the time of Columbus agree with the Spanish and Nahuatlac sources of information, and go back in a great number of individual states from 700 to 800 years before the discovery of America. Only these testify to an almost invariable character of the civilisation, even in the earliest times, and certainly do not go back as far as that primal starting-point at which we are entitled to place the beginnings of the history of these peoples.

We can probably get nearer to the truth with the help of the chronological indications which can now be gathered from the memorials of the Maya civilisation. The Maya were accustomed to reckon from an established point in the past, exactly as we reckon from the birth of Christ; and not only the year, but the actual day, which forms the starting-point of their chronology has been satisfactorily made out. This was June 28th, according to our reckoning, of a certain year dating back more than 3,750 years before the erection of the monument which forms the basis of these calculations. Even here, however, we unfortunately have no sure foundation for chronological limitations—for we do not know by our reckoning the time at which the inscription in question was set up, nor can we be certain whether that day marked a real event in the remote history of the people, or whether it represents a point on which to base calculation and inference, resembling in this respect the Jewish chronology, which goes back to the creation of the world. We must therefore attempt to gain a conception of the earliest history of these civilisations by other means; and their memorials, which have come safely down to us through the storms of centuries, afford richer and more copious information, although it be not entirely complete.

Memorials of Maya Civilisation

The highly painted pictorial work which the Spanish conquerors of Montezuma's kingdom have handed on to us has induced men for centuries to consider the civilisation of the peoples of Central America as Mexican. This is a great historical error. The Mexicans—or the Aztecs of Mexico-Tenochtitlan, to give them their proper ethnographic name—are neither the founders nor yet the most important representatives of this civilisation to which their name has been unfortunately attached by the sport of circumstance.

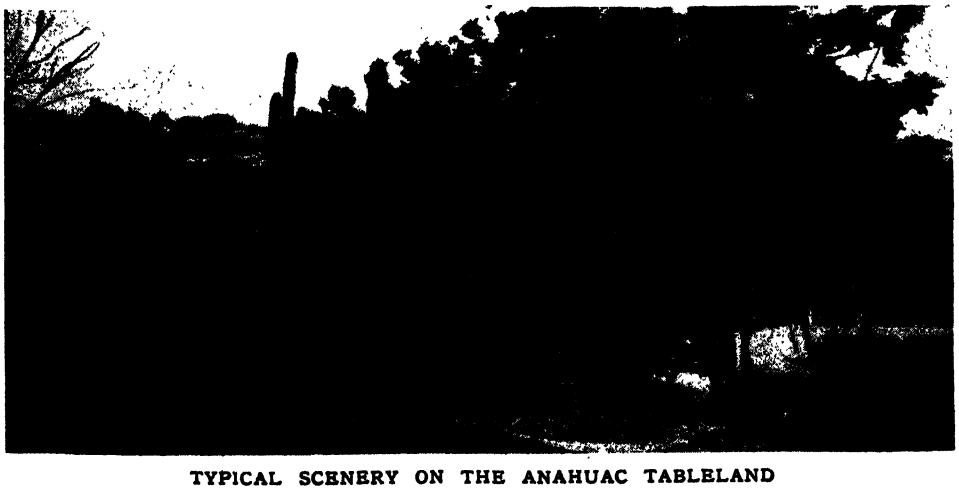
Shortly before the Spanish invasion of the district they had obtained a leading position among the peoples of the country. A consciousness of the fact that their civilisation was not the result of their own efforts, but was inherited by them from others, was inherent in the Aztecs themselves, and appears in the chronicles of their native historians; yet so cloudy is it, so interwoven with error, that we could scarce have arrived at the truth with nothing but these indications to help us. That truth became plain only when the ruined monuments were discovered of another civilisation, older and more highly developed than the Aztec, and when something of its language had been learned. But progress in this direction did not begin before the close of the eighteenth century; and even to-day we have advanced only half-way towards the full understanding and appreciation of these highly important historical materials.

Obstacles to the Progress of Discovery

The chief obstacle to the progress of discovery has been the fact that historical investigation had taken a wrong direction until recent times. The errors thereby produced were further disseminated by two great visionaries, the Indo-Spanish historian, D. Fernando de Alba Ixtlilxochitl (pronounced Ishtlilshotshitl) and the French missionary and author, the Abbé Brasseur, of Bourbourg. The first-named, during the last ten years of the sixteenth century, was the author of a large number of historical treatises concerning the

SCENE ON THE MEXICAN SOUTHERN RAILWAY

A VALLEY IN CENTRAL MEXICO, NEAR THE TOWN OF TAMPICO



TYPICAL SCENERY ON THE ANAHUAC TABLELAND

CHARACTERISTIC LANDSCAPES IN CENTRAL AMERICA

countries of ancient Mexico, based upon extensive investigations into the several modes of writing current among the ancient Indians of the country, and also into the physical characteristics of the western peoples of his own time. In these works he gives an exhaustive account of the civilisation presumed to be the most ancient in Central America, that of the Toltecs; and he traces back to their civilising influence almost all the intellectual development of the ancient nations of Central America. This theory obtained credence far and wide, and to an extraordinary extent.

The Toltecs Pioneers of Culture

The rediscovery of the old ruined cities brought about the search for fresh material. It aroused intense enthusiasm in the youthful missionary Brasseur, whom chance had brought to the seat of these old civilisations. Eagerly, but without thorough historical and philological training, he collected Central American antiquities and quickly published a series of works upon the subject. He was not content to pile all the culture of ancient America upon the Toltecs; he hinted also at vague connections with the civilisations of Egypt and India, and attributed to this race an extent of knowledge that the peoples of to-day could scarcely attain again.

American ethnology is a science still in its youth. But the methods of historical criticism have been brought to bear upon the ancient history of Central America; and one of the first results has been to clear away the wild speculations of the Abbé Brasseur and to shatter the tradition of the all-prevailing influence of Toltec civilisation. Two facts are now incontestably established. Among the numerous peoples and constitutions which rapidly followed one another, and which played an important part upon the tableland of Anahuac, there existed, probably towards the end of the first thousand years of the Christian era, a kingdom and a dynasty of rulers who were known as Toltecs, from the name of their capital, Tollan or Tula. They are mentioned in almost all the native historical documents. The particular historical facts handed down by these documents are extraordinarily scanty; we shall come back to them in treating of the history of Anahuac.

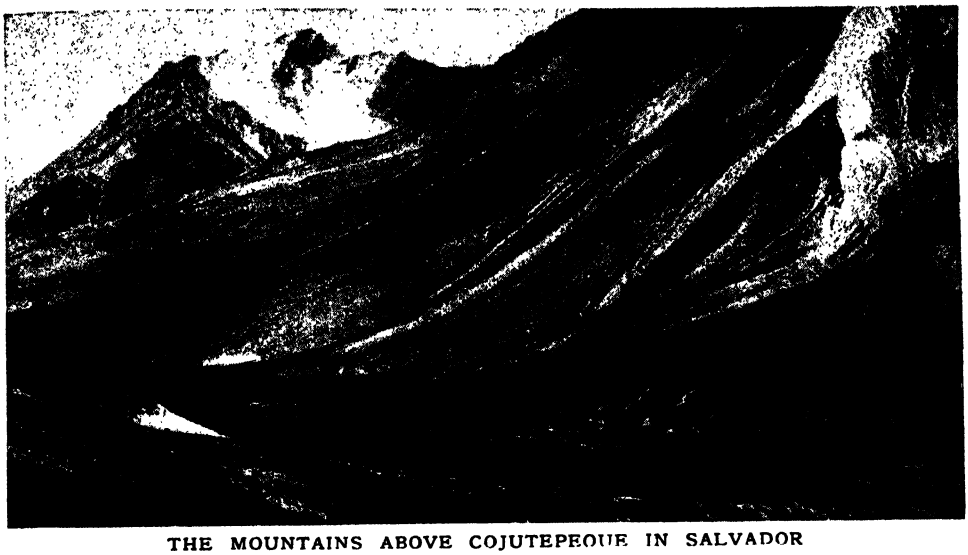
The Riddle of Ancient America

Neither the date at which they existed, nor their relations to the surrounding peoples, afford us the smallest justification for considering these transitory nationalities as the creators, or even as the chief exponents, of that great civilisation whose highly developed monumental art is rightly the astonishment of the latter-day world. The little principality of the Toltecs was situated at a considerable distance from the seat of that civilisation; moreover, the nationality to which it has given its name belonged to the great mass of Nahuatl-speaking races, to which also the Aztecs of Mexico-Tenochtitlan belonged. The oldest and most highly developed memorials of this civilisation bear unmistakable tokens of its being derived from another race.

This brings us to the second historical fact that has been indisputably established. The whole of Central America has undoubtedly passed through a uniform process of civilisation. Its foundations, and most of the development that has been built upon those foundations, belong to an era in the remote past; and that particular civilisation with which we meet in all Central America was already in existence, complete in all its details, before the peoples of Nahua origin came down from the north and invaded the district of Central American civilisation; or, at any rate, it was thus complete before the peoples of this civilisation and those of the Nahua race had so closely cohered as to make it possible to speak of them as exercising each an influence upon the other. But if this old civilisation did not originate in the Nahua race, then the Toltecs could not have originated there either. A Nahua race has been their origin; grant this, and the whole Toltec legend, which has so long played a great part in the more ancient history of America, collapses utterly.

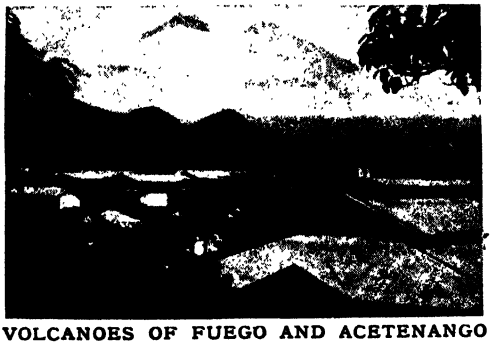
Yucatan the Cradle of Civilisation

The peoples to whom Central America owes the peculiarly high development of its civilisation belong to the Maya race. The name Maya-Indian is now the usual designation of the natives of the Yucatan peninsula, and this limited application of the term has been in force since the time of the discovery of America. Consequently the Yucatan peninsula has been regarded as the cradle of this civilisation for a considerable period. This is, however, a mistake; in the scientific sense the name Maya race included all the peoples speaking a language distinguished by marked differences from the Nahua tongue. The purest dialect of this is the true Maya, but

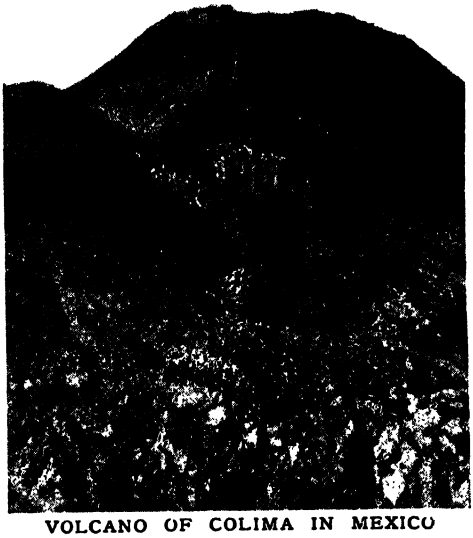


THE MOUNTAINS ABOVE COJUTEPEQUE IN SALVADOR

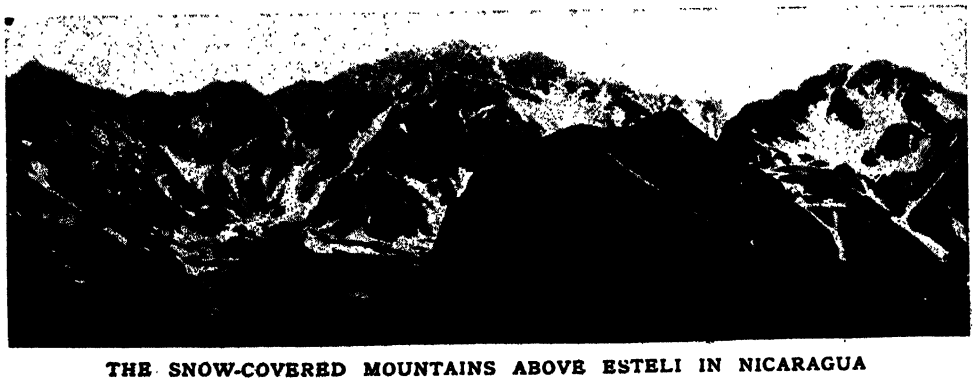
THE POPOCATEPETL VOLCANO



VOLCANOES OF FUEGO AND ACETENANGO



VOLCANO OF COLIMA IN MEXICO



THE SNOW-COVERED MOUNTAINS ABOVE ESTELI IN NICARAGUA

THE MOUNTAINOUS SCENERY OF CENTRAL AMERICA

its kindred dialects were spoken in the whole district between the Cordilleras and the Atlantic Ocean from the Isthmus of Tehuantepec to Nicaragua. In the luxuriant tropical districts which spread from the foot of the Cordilleras to the Bay of Tabasco, and are watered by the river Usumacinta and Rio de la Pasion, in the modern province of Chiapas in the Mexican republic, and in the neighbouring portions of the small republics of Central America—in these it is that we must locate, if not the birthplace, at any rate the habitation of the Maya peoples, who there brought the civilisation peculiar to their race to a high pitch of development.

Maya History and Tradition

Even to-day it is wholly impossible to write the history of the Maya peoples. Such of their old traditions as have come down to us through the medium of the Spaniards are quite insufficient and far scantier than what we learn of the history of their more northern neighbours, the Nahua peoples; even there, and in the few historical texts written in the Maya language, the traditions of the people are still distorted and warped. As, in political life, the Nahua not only pressed upon and crowded the Maya, but to some extent scattered and absorbed them, so, in their historical picture-designs, much is due to the influence of the traditions of these more powerful neighbours. Moreover, these designs, as far as history is concerned, go back only one or two hundred years; the more extensive chronological register of "ahaus" (periods) unfortunately refers only to Yucatan; this province must, upon internal evidence, be considered as conquered comparatively late.

Thus for the earlier history we are almost entirely thrown back on such information as we can gain from the monuments which have come down to us. These are of great richness and extraordinary importance. On the conquest of the Mexican kingdom the Spaniards were so dazzled by this nationality which confronted them, to all seeming, in full vigour, that they concentrated their attention exclusively upon it, and hardly deigned to bestow a glance upon the states of Tlazcala and Tezcuco in the immediate neighbourhood. Hence we cannot be surprised that they give us no information of these monuments of the ancient Maya kingdom, hidden in the boundless forests, although they far surpassed in splendour all that Montezuma's kingdom could display. In the real Aztec district but one single building of monumental character has been preserved (the ruins of Xochicalco, pronounced Shotshicalco), whereas the ancient Maya cities of Chiapas and the neighbouring district afford hundreds of temples and palaces for inspection.

The Spanish Conquest of Mexico

Later again, when the Spaniards entered into closer relations with the Maya peoples on the peninsula of Yucatan, they became acquainted with some, at least, of the interesting buildings which served the early needs of these peoples, yet they did not fully grasp their importance. While the land of Mexico offered them its boundless treasures, the temples of the Maya and the land which loving Maya toil had changed into a garden contained nothing which the greed of the conquerors could have reft away.

Only when the destructive floods of the conquest and its confusion had passed by, and when the first friars came over, did it begin to dawn upon the Spaniards what testimonies of the past lay hidden among this people, insignificant though they had become. Here it was that they found, what they never met with again on the whole of this recently discovered continent, a people that had learned to preserve its thoughts in written text. The Maya characters still remain one of the most interesting problems in American antiquarian science. Although some of the early Spanish friars in Yucatan had been able to acquire a knowledge of them sufficiently extensive to enable them to read and, within limits, to write them, yet in the course of time this knowledge has been so entirely lost that the most skilled American antiquarians of to-day cannot agree upon the system to which the Maya writing should be ascribed. To some extent controversy upon the point is futile; the Spanish clergy who were able to learn the writing from the inhabitants have confirmed its phonetic character.

The Lost Maya Writing

As a comparison of the two shows at a glance, the writing of the Nahua peoples, who probably derived the use of written characters from the Maya, is far in the rear of the Maya system. As they also had already formed a system more or less phonetic for the writing of proper names, all attempts to reduce the Maya writings to the level of ideographic or

purely hieroglyphic characters are pronounced erroneous once and for all. On the other hand, it would apparently be just as erroneous for us to attempt to reduce this writing to an alphabet in the way that the Spanish clergy of the sixteenth century reduced it, selecting individual elements from the old Maya writing for use in instructing their catechumens. Success has now rewarded the efforts to establish the Maya arithmetical system. Their system of figures employed only four signs altogether; the point for unity, a horizontal stroke for the number 5, and two conventional signs for 20 and 0. This arithmetical equipment is not particularly impressive, and the Maya might be thought far behind many older and newer nations whose systems can employ figures of greater value and in larger number. But the ingenious method has been discovered by which the Maya, with these simple aids—and no use is made of the 20 in this method—can write figures up to the equivalent of many millions, and we rightly feel a high respect for their intellectual penetration. In the Maya arithmetical notation, exactly as in ours, it is the position of the sign that gives it its value; but they placed their signs in a vertical line—whereas we write them horizontally—and employed one of them as a decimal multiplier. In fact the lowest figure of a column had the arithmetical value which it represented; the figures in the second, fourth, and each following place had twenty times the value of the preceding figure; while figures in the third place had, for reasons based upon the Maya calendar system, only eighteen times the value of those in the second place. With this notation, which is absolutely unlimited, the Maya were ahead of not only all the peoples of America, but even of the Greeks and Romans. It is certainly to be expected that this people would have employed some ingenious method for writing words; and the delicate signs of their script, the firm execution of their inscriptions in lapidary style, confirm this conjecture, though the inscriptions are unintelligible to us. In spite of this their script is a valuable help in investigation, for it affords the only criterion by which we can precisely separate the districts of Maya and Nahua civilisation, which are often with difficulty distinguished, owing to constant communication and their interacting influence one on another. For even though the Mexicans had also formed a hieroglyphic system capable at least of describing concrete objects intelligibly, yet it was so clumsy in comparison that a glance at a manuscript, together with a complete examination of inscriptions carved in stone, inform us at once to which of those two civilisations the creators of any given monument belonged. As we cannot understand the historical

A PAGE FROM THE DRESDEN MAYA MS. The memorials of the Maya civilisation which have been handed down to us show that these people had an extraordinary fancy for adorning their buildings, their sculptures, and even their earthenware with pictorial decorations and inscriptions of considerable length.

writings, and cannot rely upon the oral tradition handed down by the Spaniards, the Maya script is the only means of defining the extent of the district which was subject to the civilising influences of their culture in ancient times. In this connection the greatest importance attaches to the fact that the Maya peoples had an extraordinary fancy for adorning their buildings, their sculptures, and even their earthenware, not only with pictorial decorations of more or less richness, but also with inscriptions of considerable length. We owe it to this fact that we can ascribe buildings which show unmistakable affinities with Maya architecture to their real founders, and, on the other hand, can attribute many a monument to the Maya which lay entirely outside of the dominions which they are known to have inhabited.

The Maya Pictorial Decorations

The number of the ascertained sites of the Maya civilisation, the ruins of which lie hidden in the impenetrable forests of Chiapas, Honduras, Yucatan, etc., continues to increase year by year; more abundant opportunities are thereby afforded us for investigating the life of this forgotten people. Now and again an unexpected discovery extends the known area of the Maya civilisation beyond its previous limits in one or another direction; but, upon the whole, the boundaries of this area are tolerably well settled. In the first place, the whole of the Yucatan peninsula belongs to it, with the numerous islands which lie along the coast and were taken over by the Maya, obviously with a view to civilisation.

On the north-west of Yucatan their district has not spread so far, and at most reached to the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. However, in this district, in Chiapas, on the banks of the Usumacinta, and in the low-lying valleys of its numerous tributaries, we must place not only the highest development of the Maya civilisation, but also its original home. Here lay and here still lie the famous ruined cities of Palenque, of Ococingo, of Menché, and the recently discovered Piedras Negras group, all remarkable for the splendid richness of their artistic decorations and the extent of their inscriptions. Here, too, on internal evidence, must be placed the home of that most important and most beautiful among the few Maya manuscripts that have been preserved for later generations, the Codex Dresdensis; the remaining two—the Codex Perezianus in Paris, and the Tro-Cortesianus in Madrid—are of later date and very probably of Yucatan origin.

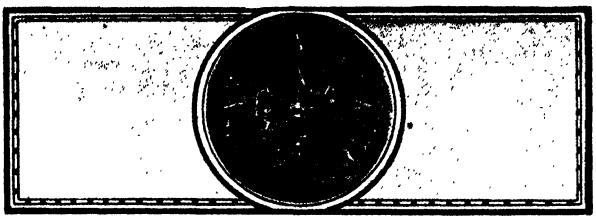
The Home of Maya Civilisation

The illustration on the preceding page throws an interesting light on the Maya inscriptions and pictorial decorations, which, as we have seen, were frequently of very considerable length. This reproduction of a page from the famous Maya MS. in the Royal Free Library at Dresden, shows a section of the so-called "tonalamatl," a sacred season of 260 days, constantly met with in manuscripts and employed for prophetic purposes. But while the drawings partly tell their own story, the writing cannot be deciphered, even the most skilled American antiquarians of the present day, as already stated, being unable to agree to any definite extent upon the system to which it should be ascribed.

On the south-west of Yucatan the Maya district spreads up into the Cordilleras; and though we cannot follow the traces of this nationality on to the Pacific seaboard in any direction, yet it was only a narrow strip of coast which they failed to bring under their influence, for the mountain range shows traces of their settlements up to and beyond its watershed. The southern boundary of the Maya district is perhaps as yet the most uncertain. On the Atlantic coast two of the most famous Maya ruins, Quirigua and Copan, are hidden by the valley walls of the Motagua in Guatemala and Honduras; and the whole of Guatemala up to the boundaries of the republic of San Salvador seems at one time to have been inhabited by people of the Maya race.

Famous Maya Ruins

On the north the characteristic memorials of the Nahua element make a sharp division of areas possible; but on the south the style of the neighbouring peoples was of no definite character, and so it has not yet been settled whether coincidences and similarities in this district are due to the neighbouring influence of the Maya or to a real ethnological connection with them. Within these boundaries the area of Maya civilisation embraces an extent of about 7,000 square miles—that is, rather more than the kingdom of Prussia; in more than half of this, traces of an unusually large population are apparent.



REMARKABLE CIVILISATION OF A VANISHED RACE

THE LIFE AND CUSTOMS OF THE MAYA

WAS this district ever a united Maya kingdom? There is no difficulty in arriving at the assumption that it was. The half-mythological, half-historical traditions which have been transmitted to us in the dialects of Kakchiquel and the Maya of Yucatan mention a great kingdom on many occasions. Now it is the Nachan kingdom, the kingdom of the great snake, a mythological symbol which meets us over and over again in the whole district of Maya civilisation. In another legend it is the kingdom of Xibalbay, the kingdom of a mighty and powerful ruler from whom the heroes of the legend won their independence after much toil and struggle.

Historical coincidences have been observed in both these stories, and the capital of the Nachan kingdom has been identified with Palenque, that of the Xibalbay kingdom with the Zapotec Mitla. Even if these conjectures were justified, and they are still in dispute, it need not necessarily follow that these kingdoms had ever embraced the whole or even the greater part of the Maya district. In the disruption which is so prominent a feature in the ancient constitutional history of Central America, a power of very moderate dimensions according to modern ideas, proved a sufficient foundation for the legend of a mighty kingdom. The historical circumstances of later times, at any rate, afford no evidence in favour of a previous political confederacy of the little Maya principalities.

The District of Maya Civilisation

The Maya language, moreover, not only in recent times, but at the period of the Spanish conquest, was divided into a set of dialects sharply differentiated each from the rest. When the monks began to study individual dialects for purposes of communication, they recognised in them that relationship to a common source which the natives themselves had totally forgotten. This fact obliges us to place the disruption of the Maya in a remote antiquity, and to suppose a long period of separate existence to the several communities wherein the different dialects were formed. More careful examination of the Maya memorials has led to a similar result. The monuments of Copan in Honduras, of Palenque in Chiapas, of Chichen-Itza in North Yucatan, of Peten and Tical on the boundary of the Guatemala tableland—in short, all the monuments that are scattered over the district of Maya civilisation—bear the marks of a uniform development of that civilisation.

What the Maya Monuments Reveal

Only a more particular study of their individualities has made it equally unmistakable that all these buildings do not belong to one and the same period, and that the coincidences they display are not such as to enable us to ascribe their foundation to any one people or to any one constitutional unity. Under these circumstances the fact becomes all the more important that it was not merely one member or a few individual members of this nation that rose to the perfection manifested in their ingenious system of writing, of arithmetical notation, and of chronology.

On the contrary, on the highlands of Guatemala, in Copan and Chama, in the lowlands of the Usumacinta, in the valley of the Motagua, in the Far East, in the island of Cozumel, all the peoples of Maya origin could record their traditions in the same script, and controlled the complicated calculation of their festivals by the same astronomical rules—rules that presuppose observation over a great lapse of time. In a word, the astonishing achievements of the Maya peoples in civilisation—

Similarity of the Maya Script

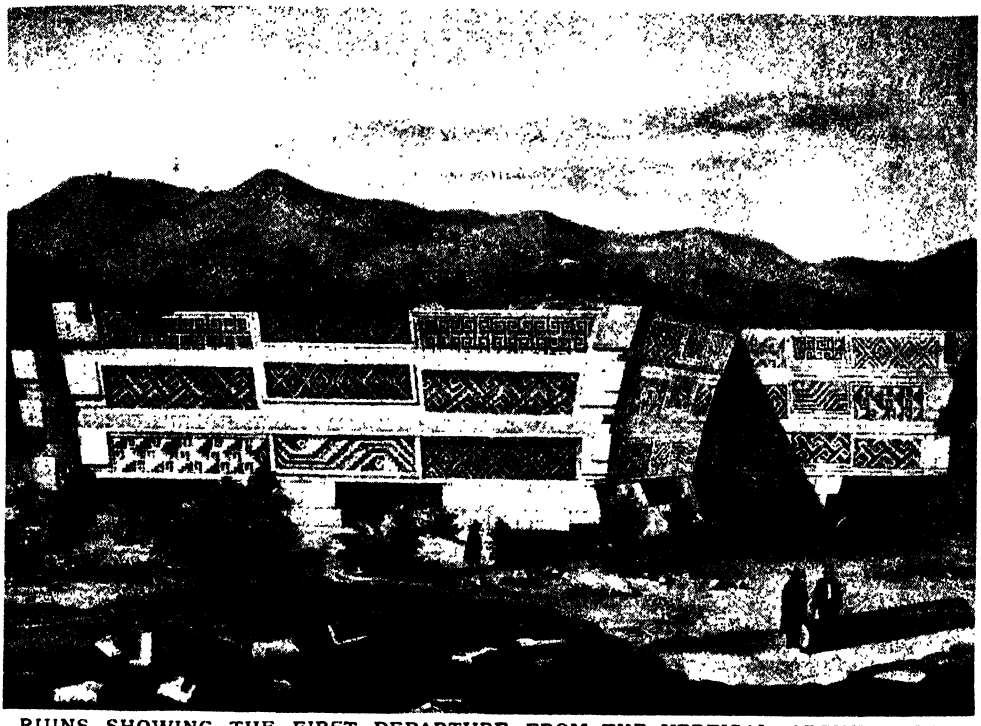
achievements absolutely unparalleled in the New World—must belong to an epoch previous to the period of disruption. Only one branch of the Maya people had no share in these achievements—the Huasteca, on the north coast of Mexico, who had been driven to the estuary of the Panuco River. This fact is important for the criticism of the legends of the Nahua migration. In historical times the Huasteca were divided from their southern kinsfolk by a wide district peopled generally by the Nahua, though these were divided into numerous small states.

Whether the Huasteca had migrated into the Nahua district, or whether immigrations of the Nahua had cut them off from their parent stem, the fact remains that at one period the Maya and the Nahua must have found themselves in opposition, and this at a time when the Maya had not completed the most important part of their progress. Otherwise, either the Huasteca would have shared in the Maya civilisation, or else, isolated in the midst of Nahua peoples, they would not have retained their national peculiarities undisturbed. Such a case of arrest upon the lower planes of civilisation is only possible when the neighbouring elements are in a state of mutual repulsion.

Until the key to the inscriptions has been found, we can draw conclusions as to the circumstances and conditions of life among the peoples of antiquity only from the general character of the Maya cities and from the pictorial decorations of their architecture. In no single district, with the exception of the Yucatan peninsula, has the attempt as yet been successful to trace a connection between the Maya states of the sixteenth century (the history of which can be retraced some ten generations, that is, two or three hundred years) and the states which centre round the great ruined sites. It is only during the last twenty years that these have been carefully investigated.

To-day nearly all these places lie far from the roads which the traffic of later times has opened up; they are hidden in the wild depths of the tropical forest, where vegetation springs up with such overpowering vigour that often a few years after an expedition has cut paths and made the ruins accessible the next expedition finds that the jungle has again reconquered the whole. Under these circumstances it is hopeless to try and infer the age of the ruins from that of the trees under which they are hidden; all the more so, as historical tradition tells of more than one ruined city that the Spaniards found hidden in tropical vegetation when they made their first discoveries in the sixteenth century. Even then the imposing erections with which the soil of Chiapas is thickly sown were, for the natives as well as for the Spaniards, merely the long-silent witnesses of a remote past to which there was attached neither the traditions of history nor the legends of romance. The very names of these

ZAPOTEC REMAINS AT MITLA: IDOLS TWO THOUSAND YEARS OLD



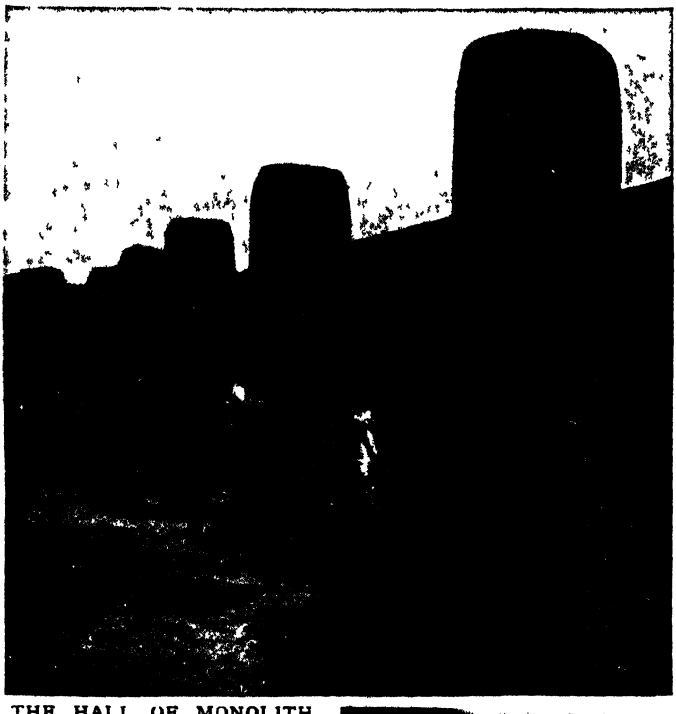
RUINS SHOWING THE FIRST DEPARTURE FROM THE VERTICAL ARCHITECTURE

REMAINS OF A ZAPOTEC FORTIFICATION ON A HIGH HILL NEAR MITLA

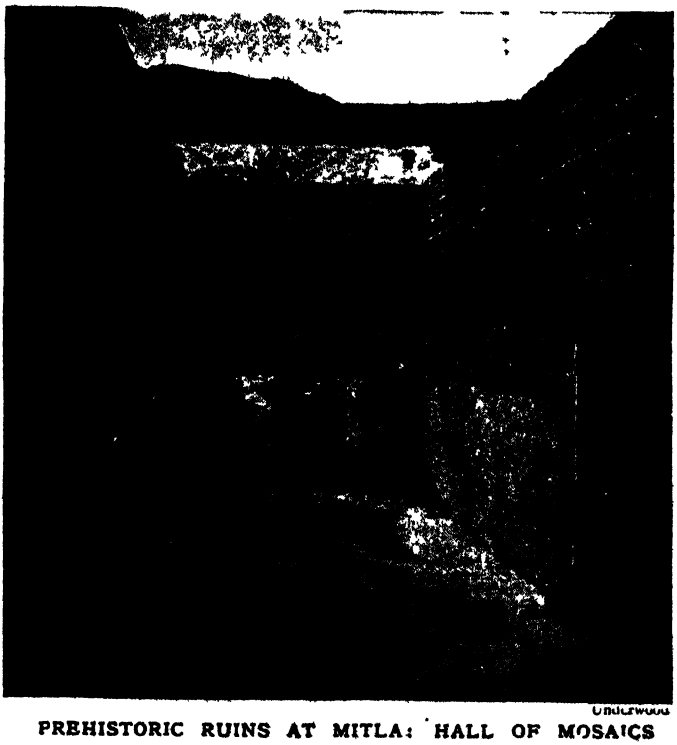
Recent excavations at Mitla have brought to light many extensive ruins of ancient palaces, tombs, and other edifices—relics of its pre-Columbian period—many of them displaying considerable architectural beauty.

SCENES AT MITLA, THE ANCIENT CAPITAL OF THE XIBALBAY KINGDOM

places had long been completely forgotten; the appellations that later times have accepted have no original authority, but rest upon Spanish tradition or have been transmitted to us by the wild Indian tribes of the neighbourhood. A peculiar characteristic of the old Indian peoples has contributed not a little to this result. The names of their towns, of their persons, and even of their gods, were taken without exception from material objects; hence they could easily be represented by hieroglyphs of a conventional and universally intelligible nature. Of this we have countless instances in the manuscripts of Nahuatlac origin. This mode of writing was intelligible over the limited region where it persisted, but its phonetic interpretation was by no means everywhere the same. For instance, the Mexican read as "Cinacatan," in his language, "the Town of the Bat" (probably a totemistic denomination of a little Maya state that was still in existence in the time of Cortes); but the Maya vocalised the same concept as "Tzutuhil." Each of these names was equally employed and equally well understood in the one district as in the other—a proof of the intimate association of the Maya and Nahua peoples. Now, at the time of the discovery of America, the area of the oldest Maya civilisation had been already abandoned by the Maya; the Spaniards undertook the colonisation of the land under the guidance and with the help of the Nahua. Consequently, in the case of a district that for hundreds of years was the home of the highest Maya civilisation, and had never entirely fallen into the



THE HALL OF MONOLITH COLUMNS

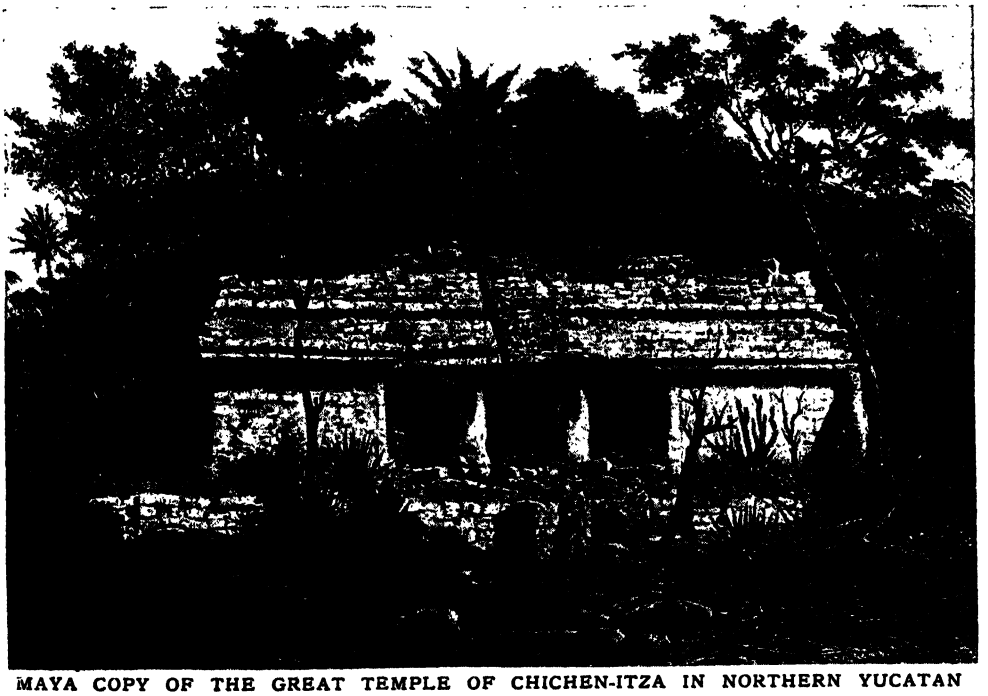


Underwood

PREHISTORIC RUINS AT MITLA: HALL OF MOSAICS

hands of the Nahua, we find in our authorities only place-names of Nahua origin. Hence, the ruined places of Chiapas are designated without exception by Spanish and Nahuatlac names; yet these places show indisputable signs of their Maya occupation in the style of their pictorial decorations, and, above all, in the numerous inscriptions in the Maya character.

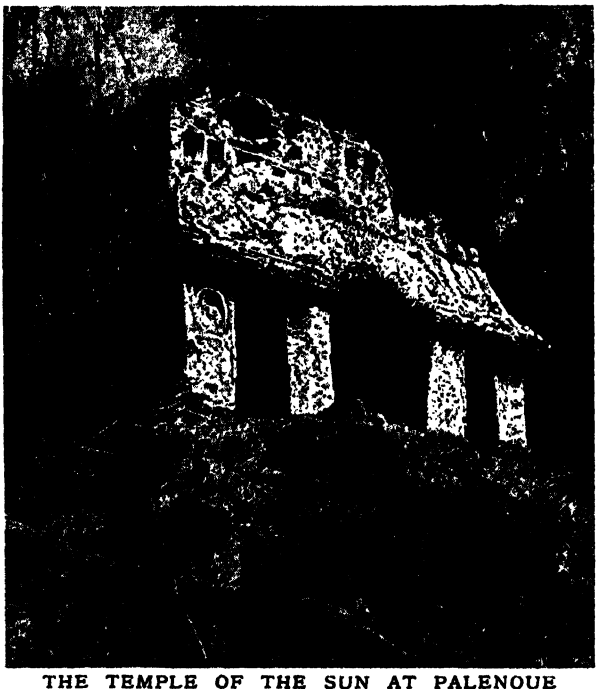
To judge from extent, from beauty, and from technical perfection, an important, if not the central, point of the civilisation of this people must have been situated on the eastern slope of the Cordilleras, in Chiapas. Separated by no great distance, reaching from the foot of the mountain to the sea, the ruined sites remain of Ococingo, Palenque, Menché, and Piedras Negras. Each of these must once have formed a large town, a centre of religious and political life, round which a thick population clustered. To us there remains little save the sites of the temples and perhaps of one or two palaces. It is a characteristic peculiarity of all Central American civilisation to have practically no profane buildings to show, but a large number of religious erections of great extent and particular beauty. At once the conclusion offers itself that in the political life of the old Maya towns the religious element must have been of transcendant importance; so much so that to some, at least, of the old Maya cities a government by the priestly caste has been attributed. The analogy of neighbouring conditions and the scanty counter statements of historical tradition do not confute the theory. The migration legends of the Central American peoples are of great importance; for the settlements, even of those peoples that had made a considerable advance in civilisation, were only of relative duration. In the legends we constantly meet with the story that the peoples, under the guidance of their national god, wandered about until the god, speaking himself or through one of his servants, ordered the people to settle definitely on a certain spot and to build him a dwelling-place.



MAYA COPY OF THE GREAT TEMPLE OF CHICHEN-ITZA IN NORTHERN YUCATAN

This merely means that the priests were the ruling class, as being the servants and representatives of the godhead; the fact is confirmed by our own historical knowledge of peoples who were ruled by religious and not by warrior leaders. We consider the almost exclusive preponderance of religious buildings in Palenque, in Menché, and other ruined places; we observe the pictorial decorations remaining in these temples, which

we find to be almost entirely composed of divinities and priests in nearly every case with the insignia of temporal dominion—the sceptre and a peculiar head-dress of richest featherwork; and hence we conclude that the same conditions must have prevailed to an unlimited extent in these old Maya towns. Certainly, centres of political power might have existed elsewhere and have left behind them fewer and less-enduring memorials. We might be led to this conclusion by the analogy of the neighbouring Nahua district, where Teotihuacan and Cholula were recognised centres of religious life and were adorned with greater buildings than many a royal capital, without being in any unusually close connection with the political life of those districts. But the old Maya towns, with the extensive precincts of their temples, are very numerous, and are not very widely separated; hence it is impossible to find room either near or between them for the existence of such independent political centres as would form the natural counterpoise to this high development of the priestly forces. One, at least, of the ruined cities, Palenque, bears traces within and around itself which admit the possibility of other than sacred conceptions attaching to the ground.



THE TEMPLE OF THE SUN AT PALENQUE
The worship of the sun occupied a foremost place in the Maya religious observances, this illustration showing a temple erected to that deity.

Within the limits of the ruins are to be found constructions for bringing water and serving it throughout the district which are too extensive to have been connected with the temple buildings alone. The remains of an ancient Indian town are not great, even though the town was of considerable extent and population. The common folk were occupied by their agricultural labours at a distance from the town for most of the year. The monuments themselves show us how thorough and extensive ancient Maya agriculture was; many of the elements current in their hieroglyphic script were borrowed from agricultural implements; in their religion the divinities of fruitfulness played a most important part and are adorned with symbols relating to agriculture.

The reports of the Spaniards further confirm the fact: in the districts inhabited at their time they found everywhere a dense population supporting itself by careful tilling of the soil. As winter caused but a short interruption of agricultural operations, the population had no permanent habitations in the immediate neighbourhood of the temples, their houses for their daily needs being placed in the middle of their fields. Their frail dwellings, built of wood and wattle-work, straw and matting, offered no resistance to the march of time, and left no traces of their ruin which could have survived the lapse of centuries. On the environs of Palenque, in the depths of that forest which has covered the town more or less since historical times, there are, it is true, concealed memorials of antiquity, isolated and at a distance from the town; probably, therefore, when Palenque was a flourishing town, its neighbourhood was also inhabited by an industrious agricultural population. We know, from the figures which have been transmitted to us of the state of things in Mexico-Tenochtitlan, what large crowds of people were occupied in the temple services of the Central American peoples. So, as the temples in each of the old Maya cities are always numerous and often of considerable extent, we have in this fact an exact correspondence with the traditions.

A VIEW OF THE OUTER WESTERN FACADE OF THE PALACE

EASTERN FACADE OF THE INNER WING OF THE PALACE

REMAINS OF THE ANCIENT MAYA PALACE AT PALENQUE IN MEXICO

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At the same time the extent and importance of the temples are evidence for the strong powers of the ruling priestly castes.

The Maya Style of Architecture

The Maya buildings, which we must consider, without exception, as monumental buildings in our sense of the word, were almost always erected upon a foundation in the form of a hill, displaying many resemblances to the mounds of the North American Indians. Here and there, where the ground was favourable, natural hills were employed for this object, and cut down to the size of the designed erection. But generally the whole mound or terrace was artificially constructed of boulders, rubble, gravel, or earth, according to the nature of the material at hand.

In countless cases these mounds, known as " ku " in the Maya tongue, are all that remain to tell of an ancient building. In such cases we must suppose that the mound was crowned by an open altar, or a construction of some perishable material, of which all traces have disappeared. Kus without buildings upon them are found in Chiapas only in connection with more permanent erections ; but in Yucatan, where the Maya architecture can be traced in many other directions, there stand, or stood, unnumbered kus in complete isolation, and these in the later Spanish period often formed the only memorials of the ancient Indian settlements. All the larger temple sites of the Maya show a number of earth terraces ; these were arranged in an exactly parallel order, and formed the four sides of a lower court in the midst.

But in the case of such groups of mounds the sides are usually covered with flagstones or with smooth plaster spread over them ; and the terraces almost invariably support buildings which may be of considerable size. At the eastern foot of the Cordilleras, both in Chiapas and on the boundaries of Honduras, Nature provided the Maya with a hard sandstone of an argillaceous kind. This was an ideal material for their purposes. It could be quarried in large blocks without trouble ; being only moderately heavy, its transport offered no insurmountable difficulties, and it was capable of being worked even with their inadequate instruments. For the Maya, in spite of their artistic cleverness, apparently made no use of metal tools in their work, although they seem to have had some knowledge of copper work for decorative productions. Their ignorance of the arch is a fact of importance for the Maya architecture. They overcame the difficulty by making each new course overhang the one beneath it until the opening became small enough to be closed by a single slab. However, this kind of arch could cover only a moderate breadth, could hardly be built firmly enough to support a second building, and obliged the construction of the roof to be extremely massive. The consequence was that the fore-wall of the building that composed the roof provided a surface often more than half the size of the storey beneath it.

Maya Peoples Ignorant of the Arch

The Maya architects were in the habit of using this surface for ornamental decoration, and it became so important an architectural feature that the monuments of the highest development often retain it without the massive roofing behind, merely as an isolated ornament to finish off the building. A façade of this kind, which really contained but one floor of rooms, often produced the appearance of a three-storied building. The Maya could only place one stor y upon another in tower-shaped buildings of considerable extent ; on the other hand, they have built many temples in another style of two or more storeys. This was done in pyramidal form, The foundation upon which they were raised gave all the Maya buildings the appearance of a terraced pyramid. The building did not stand exactly upon the edges of the artificial mound ; an open space ran around every side of it. If a second storey was to be raised, it was only necessary to increase the height of the mound at the back of the building until it was upon a level with the roof. This roof then formed an open space before the door, and in the centre of the mound thus raised a second storey could be erected.

Buildings Like Terraced Pyramids

Entrance to this could be gained either from the sides of the mound which were not built upon, or by a stairway against one of the sides of the building. The Maya architects were invariably obliged to construct buildings of considerable breadth, because bold and lofty erections were unattainable with the means at their disposal. The heaviness of the broad and massive roof is dispelled only by the rich ornamental design of the sides and the facade. The boldness of design and the scrupulous finish of detail are extraordinary.

The Maya buildings entirely exclude the supposition that they were formed by merely putting together any material at hand. They are, without exception, the result of uniform design, and their arrangement most certainly implies previous survey and full calculation. The sculptures are even stronger evidence for this fact; they often rise a considerable height from the ground, and their design occupies many yards of wall space. This is especially the case with the stone carvings. It is wholly inconceivable that these masses of stonework should have been begun only when the blocks had been placed in position; on the contrary, it is plain from the manner of their insertion that they were previously worked apart. This implies a previous capability for planning and disposing ornamental designs which is possible only to the highest powers of the surveyor and calculator.

All these architectural peculiarities are to be found, though with certain local differences, among all those Maya races which have left buildings of any importance behind them. They are to be found not only in the ruins of Chiapas, but also in Guatemala (Tikal), in Honduras (Copan), and in Yucatan (especially Uxmal and Chichen-Itza). But the sculptured figures in each of these several districts have such strongly marked characteristics that they require separate description. In the ruined cities of Chiapas, the oldest district of Maya civilisation, the bas-relief is the prevailing feature of their sculpture. At one place it is a form of relief in clay or stucco, a development of the potter's art; instances are the altar slabs of Palenque and a long row of interesting examples. Elsewhere it is relief in stone, requiring far greater artistic skill. For instance, the famous altar-pieces of Palenque, and the splendid slab from Menché-Tenamit. If we leave out of sight the fundamental peculiarities of style, the skill of the Maya in each of these materials must excite our highest admiration, both for the designs conceived and for the technical perfection of execution. With them are to be ranked by right of birth the artists in the neighbouring district, forming the modern republic of Guatemala.

THE IMPOSING REMAINS OF AN AZTEC TEMPLE IN YUCATAN

The true Guatemala highland need not be considered with reference to the most ancient Maya civilisation. At the beginning of the sixteenth century in that district

the Spaniards certainly met with the independent Maya states, Quiché, Kakchiquel, and Tzutuhil. But there is hardly a doubt that these states first came into existence in later centuries. On the other hand, the lowland on the east of Guatemala, on the borders of Yucatan, was in the occupation of the Maya at the height of their civilisation. The states of Tikal and Peten certainly belong to a far earlier period of development than do Utatlan, Iximché, and Cinacatan, the capitals of the three principalities previously named. The highly carved wood panels which have travelled from the ruins of Tikal to the museum of Basel, if allowance be made for difference of material, must certainly, by their design and execution, be placed in the same category as the Chiapas memorials.

The Height of Maya Civilisation

Unless we are to conceive entire independence for each separate Maya state, the towns of Chiapas and those of Lower Guatemala must have been more closely connected with each other than they were with the rest of the Maya district. At any rate, in this district remains of old Maya roads can be traced here and there, whereas such roads are rarer towards the south and reappear in any number only around a central point in Yucatan.

The most southerly ruined sites, Quirigua and Copan on the Honduras boundary with their numerous characteristics, form another district of civilisation still wider in extent. Quirigua, on account of the stiffness and clumsiness of its artistic figures, is considered one of the oldest states of the Maya civilisation. It may perhaps be older than Copan, which was more advanced and which probably contained the germs of an early destruction; but it is certainly of later date than the northern Maya settlements, for its art is more advanced than the art of the north was, and has closer affinities with the art of Copan. With the exception of two efforts in Yucatan, Quirigua and Copan are the only states which rose to the full portrayal of the human form; real statues there are certainly none, but we find caryatids and memorial pillars of human shape. These unmistakably represented particular individual personalities, though trammelled by symbolical and stereotyped accessories. Each of these stelæ is covered with extensive inscriptions; but though these cannot be deciphered as a whole, their value is manifest from the fact that they have already made us acquainted with seven dates which are calculated from the fixed point of time before referred to, 3,750 years before the erection of the oldest of these pillars. The dates upon these seven monuments are important, inasmuch as the respective ages of the pillars give us a minimum length of time for the Copan civilisation which erected them.

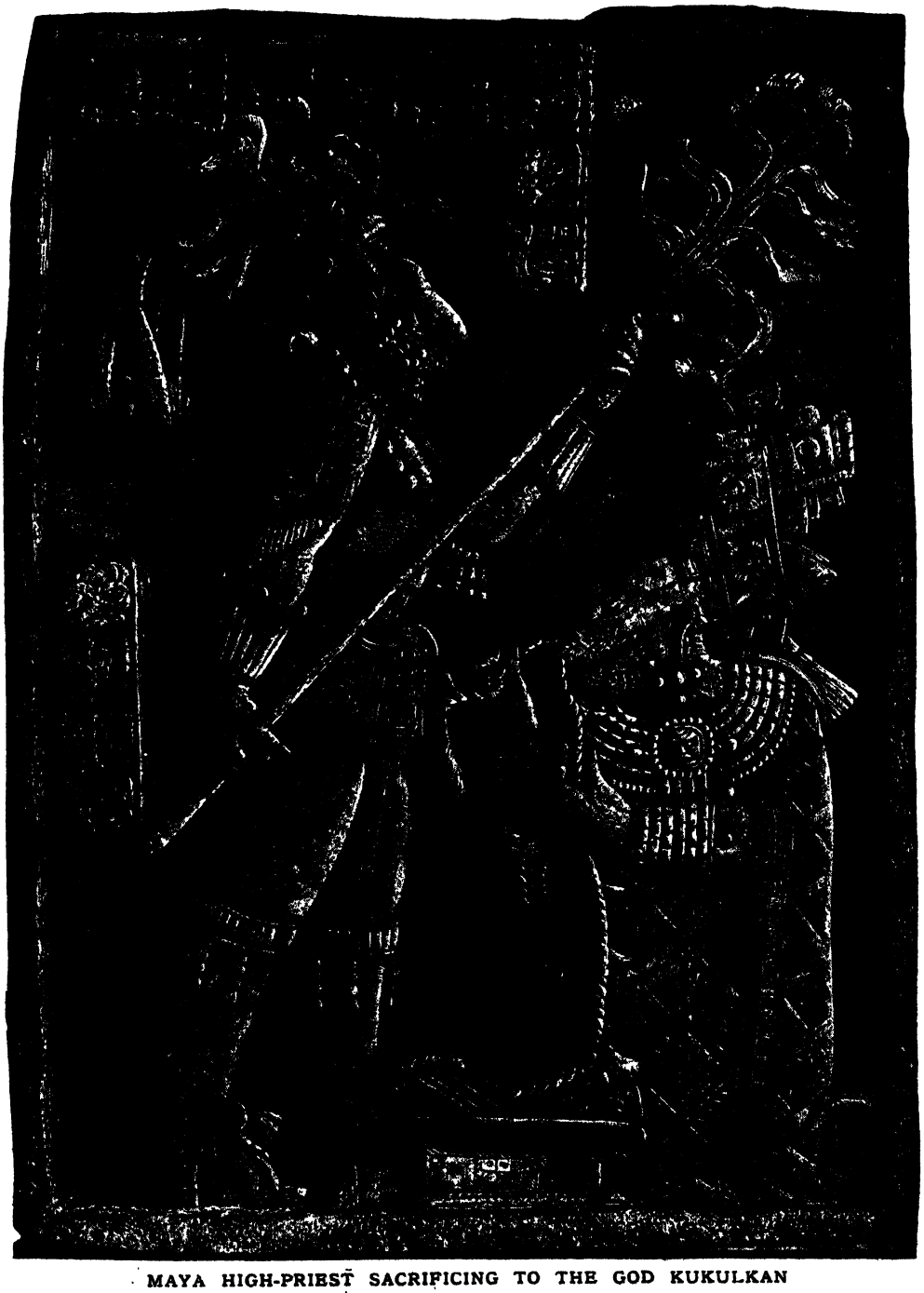
Statues and their Inscriptions

The difference between the earliest and the latest date amounts to 108 years; we may therefore conclude that the destruction and fall of Copan formed the conclusion of this period; for it is improbable, given the continuance of certain conditions and the absence of any counteracting cause, that the established custom of erecting portrait memorials should have been dropped. This train of argument certainly does not lead to much; the time and circumstances which brought about the fall of Copan are as little known to us as are the same circumstances in the case of the other Maya states. When the Spaniards entered the continent, Copan was already in ruins, a mystery overgrown by the primeval forest. So entirely had it fallen into oblivion that Cortes with his band was able to march past it at the distance of but a few miles, while his Indian guides, who must have informed him of all the wonders of the country, never mentioned it even once.

Variety of Maya Divinities

As almost all the monumental buildings in the Maya district with which we are acquainted consist of temples, we see that religion must have played a most important part in the public life of the ancient Maya. The Maya possessed a large number of different divinities, without reckoning the little fetishes, or household gods which every house possessed, and which were known here, as in the Antilles, by the name of "zemes." Their polytheism was, however, of a limited character compared with that of other peoples; this is the more likely, owing to the probability that many of the different names of the gods which have come down to us were current among different Maya races to denote similar conceptions.

Moreover, the varied representations of the gods in the monuments and in manuscripts were certainly to some extent only different forms of one and the same divine power. The missionaries were able to describe this consciousness of an



MAYA HIGH-PRIEST SACRIFICING TO THE GOD KUKULKAN

This illustration from the bas-relief in stone from Menché-Tenanit, now in the British Museum, shows the god habited in the royal insignia, the sceptre and the rich feather dress, while before him kneels the high-priest in the act of sacrifice, the rich clothing and the feather head-dress denoting his office. The sacrifice consists in tearing the tongue with the thorns of the rope the priest holds in his hands, and allowing the blood to drop into the sacrificial vessel.

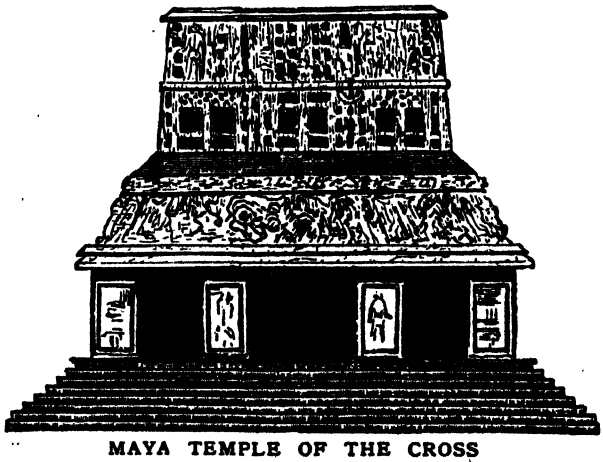
underlying unity in the case of the god Hunabku, who was invisible and supreme; naturally their zealous orthodoxy saw here some fragmentary knowledge of the one God.

The Place of the Sun in Worship

Hunabku does not appear very prominently in the Maya worship or mythology; of this the sun is undoubtedly the central point. Kukulkan and Gukumatz—probably in his essence Itzamna also—are only variant names, originating in difference of race, for the power of the sun that warms, lights, and pours blessings upon the earth. As the sun rises in the east out of the sea, so the corresponding divinity of the traditions comes over the water from the east to the Maya, and is the bringer of all good things, of all blessings to body and soul, of fruitfulness and learning. In the last character the divinity is fully incarnated. He appears as an aged greybeard in white flowing robes; as Votan he divides the land among the peoples and gives the settlements their names; as Kabil, the "Red Hand," he discovers writing, teaches the art of building, and arranges the marvellous perfection of the calendar. This part of the myth has undoubtedly a historical connection with the sun-myth, the real centre of all these religious conceptions, and is further evidence of the powers of the priesthood and of the fact that their influence was exercised to advance the progress of civilisation. Fully realistic is a conception of that particular deity which is represented in the Maya art by the widely prevailing symbol of the feathered snake. This is also a branch of the sun-worship. In the tropical districts, for a great part of the year the sun each day, at noon, draws up the clouds around himself; hence, with lightning and thunder, the symbols of power, comes down the fruitful rain in thunderstorms upon the thirsty land. Thus the feathered snake, perhaps even a symbol of the thunder, appears among the Maya, on the highland of Central America, among the Pueblo Indians, and also among some Indian races of the North American lowland. It represents the warm, fruitful power of the heavens, which is invariably personified in the chief luminary, the sun. The symbols of the snake and of Quetzal, the sacred bird with highly coloured plumage are attributes of more than one Maya divinity.

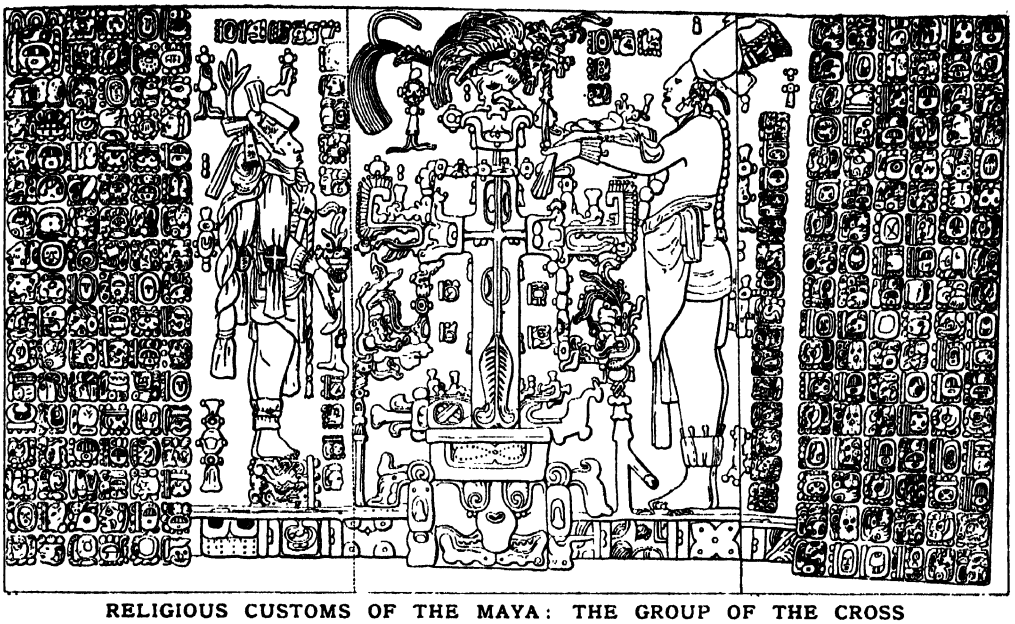
Good and Bad Gods

Under different shapes in the Tzendal district, in Yucatan to a large extent, and particularly in Chichen-Itza, they have so coloured the religious and the artistic conceptions of the Maya that we meet with traces of this symbolism in almost every monument and every decoration. The dualism of the Maya Olympus also originates in a mythological interpretation of natural phenomena. The representatives of the sun—light and life—are opposed to those of the night—darkness and death; both have nearly equal powers and are in continual conflict for the lordship of the earth and of mankind. Moreover, the good gods have been obliged to abandon man after expending all their benefits upon him, and have made him promise of a future return, to support him in the struggle, and to assure him of victory at the last. Around these central mythological conceptions, which in different forms are practically common property among most early peoples, are grouped, in the case of the Maya, a large number of individual characteristics, each diversely developed. Not only was human life subject to the power of the gods in a large and general way, since the gods had created and formed it, but also religion—or, to be more exact, the Maya priesthood—had contrived a special system whereby man's life was



MAYA TEMPLE OF THE CROSS

Originally an oratory, this building, the work of early Americans, is of very remote antiquity. The cross had a symbolical meaning among the ancient Maya other than as an emblem of Christianity.



RELIGIOUS CUSTOMS OF THE MAYA: THE GROUP OF THE CROSS

This picture represents a religious custom obtaining among the Maya peoples, who inhabited districts of Central America in the pre-Columbian days. To avert supposed calamities and on religious festivals it was usual to sacrifice newly-born children and offer their bodies to the gods. Such an offering the priest on the right is holding in his hands. A remarkable fact concerning this tablet is that it was executed with the aid of blunt instruments of flint.

ostensibly under the permanent influence of the gods, even in the most unimportant trifles. Upon this subject the quarters of the heavens and the constellations were of decisive importance; careful and keen observation, lasting apparently over a great period of time, had put the Maya priesthood in possession of an astronomical knowledge to which no other people upon a corresponding plane of civilisation has ever attained.

Their calendar still bears traces of its development; in earlier times it consisted of eighteen months of twenty days each, as with many other American peoples. At the time of the discovery of America the Maya knew how to correct the solar year by means of five intercalary days, a piece of knowledge which the Nahua peoples also possessed; but they were also aware that this did not correspond with the real length of the solar year, and corrected the error with greater accuracy than the Old World had done previous to Gregory's alteration of the Western calendar. Herein they were superior to the Spaniards, who destroyed their civilisation without suspecting this fact. This carefully corrected solar year was then considered in relation to all other possible annual calculations, and upon it the priestly caste established a number of astronomical laws more carefully worked out than in any other nation. Of nearly equal, if not of even greater, importance to the solar year was the ritual year of twenty weeks with thirteen days each; each division of it belonged to a particular divinity. Here the four quarters of the heavens played an important part, since to each of them a quarter of the ritual year belonged. But in all this diversity the consciousness of a higher unity clearly existed; evidence for this is the special symbol of the four quarters of the heaven—the cross—which the Spaniards were highly astonished to find everywhere in the Maya temples, as an object of particular veneration. Moreover, an influence upon the motions of the earth was certainly attributed to the morning and evening stars and to the Pleiades. Perhaps also the periods of revolution for Venus, Mercury, and Mars were approximately known and employed in calculation.

Astronomical Laws known to the Maya

The knowledge of these minute astronomical calculations was the exclusive possession of the highest priesthood, though at the same time they exercised a certain influence upon the whole national life. Upon these calculations the priests arranged the worship of the gods. The Maya worship is sharply divided from that of the Nahua, and in particular from the bloody idol-worship of the Aztecs, which

has been erroneously considered as almost the typical form of Central American worship. However, human sacrifice does not seem to have been entirely excluded from the Maya religion. But in earlier times, before communication with the Nahua peoples and their lower forms of civilisation had exercised a deteriorating influence upon the Maya culture, human sacrifice was practised most rarely, and the Maya knew nothing of the cannibalism which, even among the Aztecs, accompanied these sacrifices. It was only on the high festival, when, at the outset of a new year, the Maya kindled the fire anew to symbolise the commencement of a period, that a human victim was offered to the gods. The Maya were certainly fully aware of the high value of blood as a sacrifice; only the power of atonement was not inherent in the blood of a slaughtered victim, but in that of a living man.

Cannibalism Unknown to the Maya

The blood was shed in honour of the god, with fasting and discipline, by tearing the tongue or some other sensitive portion of the body with thorns or other instruments of torture. Yet this happened only upon high occasions. The usual offerings were of a wholly inoffensive kind, and consisted of the first-fruits of the huntsman's spoil or of the produce of the ground. The most widely spread of all forms of offering was the censing with burning copal resin, a religious use which continued to the time of Christianity, and, in individual cases, until recently; upon the discovery of outlying Maya ruins, traces of such incense offerings of quite recent time have been found. Peacefully, with no shedding of blood, the life of this people passed by; under the unlimited but mildly exercised administration of a priestly aristocracy they passed a life that was laborious but free from care. Upon their memorials, weapons of war appear only as attributes of the gods.

Amid the blessings of prosperity and advancing civilisation they came to know the dark side of life. Long and careful cultivation of the fruitful tropic soil had given them a kingdom which they increased by an extensive trade. It may have been a merchant ship from a harbour in the Maya district that met with Columbus and his comrades upon their fourth voyage over the Atlantic between Jamaica and the mainland; its sails, its well-clothed crew, and its cargo may have pointed to the existence of a higher civilisation behind the district of the Antilles and the naked savages who inhabited it. But prosperity was fatal to the nation. Phallic worship, reverence to a divinity of unnatural lust, are signs of moral decay among the ruling classes of this people; and so it is intelligible that they went down before an external shock, though it was the shock of an enemy which was by no means of overpowering strength.

Prosperity Fatal to the Nation

STATUE OF TLALOC, THE GOD OF RAIN, FOUND AT CHICHEN-ITZA

AMERICA BEFORE COLUMBUS

ANCIENT CIVILISATIONS OF CENTRAL AMERICA III

END OF THE MAYA CIVILISATION
AND THE COMING OF THE SPANIARDS

IT was about the ninth century of our era—perhaps a century or two earlier—that the peace of the Maya states of Chiapas and Tabasco was broken by the invasion of the Nahua peoples. A manuscript of Kuikatec origin informs us of a wave of conquest which passed from the south-west of Central America to the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, then turned towards the east, troubled some part of Guatemala, and finally penetrated to the Acalan district, directly bordering on the Yucatan peninsula. The enemy was then situated in the rear of that group of states to which Palenque, Menché, and other centres of Maya civilisation belonged.

The reason that we cannot recognise these ancient names in the lists of the Kuikatec conquest is, perhaps, simply because the documents have not been deciphered. At any rate, invading hordes of the kind did not spare the Maya district, which was easy of access and possessed all the allurements of a high civilisation. It is doubtful whether hard fighting took place or not between the unwarlike Maya and the fierce, invading Nahua. The ruins of Chiapas and Tabasco show scarce a trace of wilful destruction such as is unmistakable in the case of Mayapan (Yucatan). It was far less difficult for this people to give up their wonted habitations than it would have been for a more civilised race. It was only for their gods that they built permanent edifices; they were themselves satisfied with frail thatched huts in which they slung their hammocks, almost their only furniture, for the night.

Invasion of the Nahua Peoples

It is just possible that Copan, with its one century of flourishing civilisation, was only a temporary halting-place of the Maya peoples, who had abandoned their more northerly settlements in the Usumacinta lowland before the invasion of the advance guard of the Nahuatlac migration. If this be the case, then there also they were left only a few generations in peace. The later devastation of this district by numerous and compact bodies of Nahua races would show that the conquerors followed later the tracks of their flying adversaries, and there also put an end to their peaceful existence. The final result, however, of the struggle between these two different races, a struggle which apparently lasted a considerable time, was to shatter the old Maya civilisation and to divide the races belonging to it into two essentially distinct groups, the Maya people of Yucatan and those of the Guatemala branch.

Shattering the Old Maya Civilisation

Upon their invasion the Maya found Yucatan still uninhabited, whether this invasion followed upon their flight before the Nahua peoples or was an event of earlier times. Probably Yucatan offered no great or immediate attractions to them. Thanks to its position between two seas, the climate of the peninsula was healthy; the sea-breezes also brought moisture sufficient for the needs of a luxuriant vegetation. But running water—that indispensable condition of a permanent settlement—is scarce to be found on the whole peninsula.

A search for the precious liquid in subterranean caverns, the collecting of it in reservoirs, and the transport of it often to the height of three or four hundred feet up steps and ladders, is an undertaking not lightly entered upon by any people that can find more suitable ground at its disposition. Undoubtedly, Yucatan was first settled by the Maya far later than Chiapas or Tabasco. All the remains that have been brought to light by the manifold excavations, even those from the lowest strata, point to the highly advanced civilisation of the inhabitants; traces of a gradual development of this civilisation there are none. The immigrating people must therefore have gained their culture elsewhere, as is demonstrable in the case

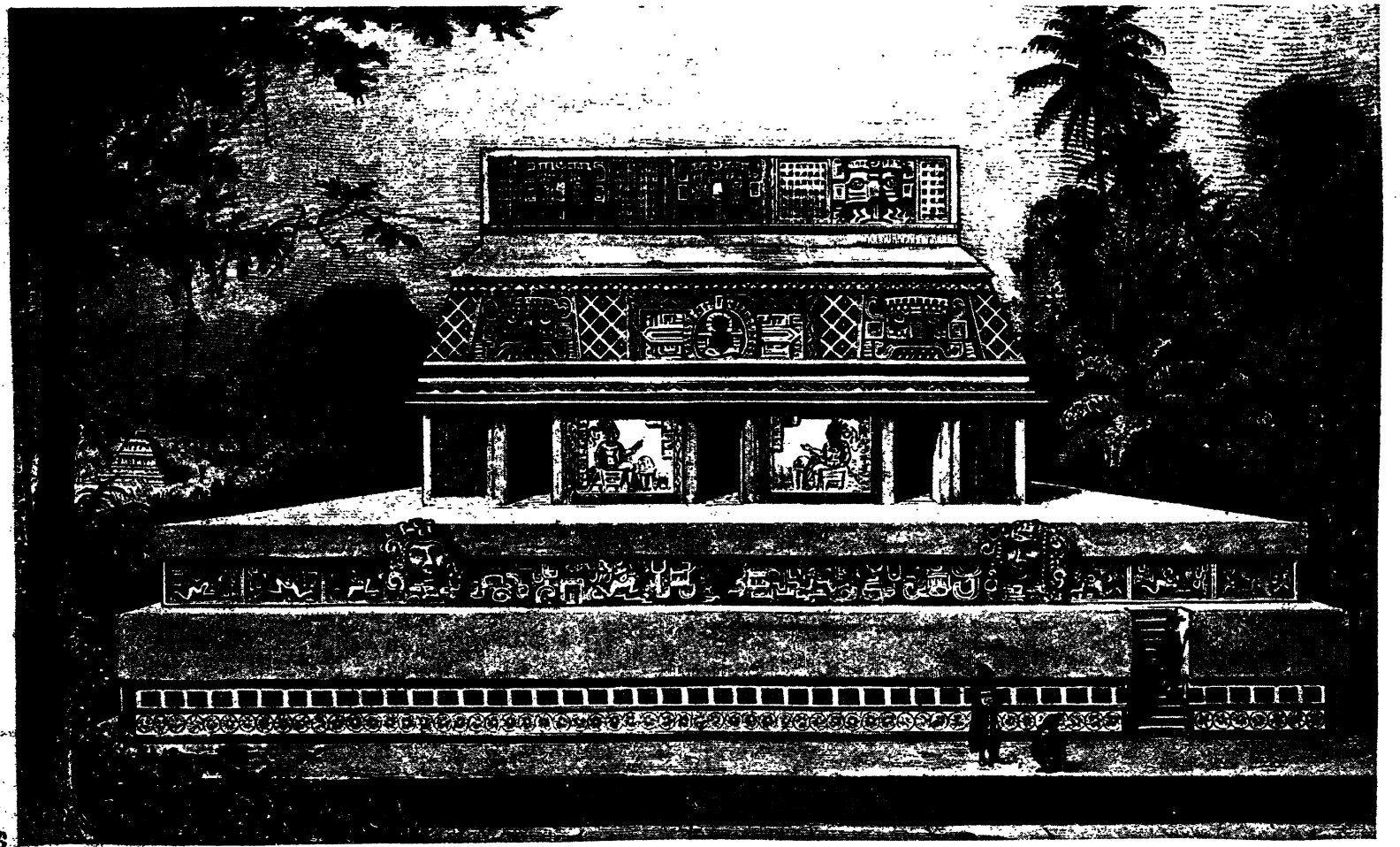
What the Excavations Reveal

of the Maya in the neighbouring districts farther west. In Yucatan, also, a considerable portion of the civilised districts was in ruins at the time of the Spanish invasion; but other towns and temples, which fully correspond in character with those destroyed, were then in full perfection. And tradition was certainly able to give a more or less connected account of the cities that had been abandoned and destroyed. The Yucatan buildings display an art of an undoubtedly late period compared with the art of the more westerly states; the execution is not so careful, and there is a certain admixture of foreign elements. In place of the simple design of the old monumental buildings, where the sole decorations were the carved slabs and their accompanying inscriptions, we have here, partly resulting from the nature of the material employed, an excess of ornamental detail, a wilfully exaggerated symbolism, the existence of which is far more intelligible in the case of an older people than it is in a nation advancing by the strength of youth. The lavish employment of stereotyped forms leaves but meagre space for inscriptions, so that this valuable adjunct of the ancient Maya art is here almost entirely wanting.

Features of the Ancient Maya Art

GIGANTIC MAYA SCULPTURE AT ITZAMAL IN MEXICO

In the sculpture and wall paintings the influence of elements of Nahuatlac origin is unmistakable; this brings the foundation of the Yucatan ruins nearer to the time when the two races came in contact. The calendar of the Yucatan Maya also shows traces of a later origin, and diverges in many points from that of the Maya race of Chiapas. These differences have a particular importance, as they show the Yucatan people in concord with the Nahua, who certainly developed their civilisation later, and in divergence from their own original race. Tradition also—though often, after the manner of tradition, returning upon the creation of all things—does give grounds for that supposition that the occupation of Yucatan was the result, in the first instance, of the collapse of the old Maya civilisation. Yucatan appears to have been originally divided into a number of small individual states, each with its own separate traditions; consequently the history of the peninsula contains a large number of different traditions which cannot be traced to a common source, and do not show sufficient points of contact among themselves to enable us to construct a general history of the Maya race. We may, however, conclude that the emigrations and the settlements in Yucatan were not the result of one uniform leadership, but that separate little bands, independent of one another, had fled beyond the thick woods that bound Yucatan. Individuals among these groups retained the old institutions under which they had seen happier times in their more western home. The god Itzamna was named as the founder and the first ruler of the sacred town Itzamal. Similarly Kukulkan, who was certainly only the incarnation of a similar group of ideas, is said to have been the first king of Mayapan to have carried on for many



RESTORATION OF THE MAYA TEMPLE OF KAB-UL AT THE SACRED TOWN OF ITZAMAL IN MEXICO

On a pyramid to the east of Itzamal rose a temple dedicated to Izamat-ul, Izamna, or Zamna, the great founder of the ancient Maya empire. "To him were brought," says one historian, "the sick, the halt, and the dead, and he healed and restored them all to life by the touch of his hand," hence the appellation Kab-ul, the Miraculous Hand, applied to him.

years a rule of peace and prosperity, and to have been the origin of the princely house of the Cocomes. This means that the bands of Maya who chose Itzamal and Mayapan for their new abode were still under the government of their old priestly caste. On the analogy of Mexico we may conclude that these priests had marched at the head of the emigrants with the holy images of the gods, and had finally given them commands, presumed to be from heaven, for the colonisation and the building of the new towns. In Itzamal the priestly caste seems to have been pre-eminent until the town was absorbed in the neighbouring states, which were rapidly extending under a secular rule. Mayapan in the course of time took a predominating position among these. The fact, however, that the race of kings in that town traced their origin from Kukulkan himself is a proof that this royal house either owed its origin to a secularisation of its priestly rulers, or, at any rate, was founded with the help and approval of the priesthood of their national god.

The Sacred Town of Itzamal

Circumstances seem to have been somewhat different, even from the beginning, with those bands of the Maya who were known as Itzaes, and who founded and gave its title to the town of Chichen-Itza. In this case, even at the outset of their emigrations, a secular government appeared in place of their priestly leadership; for although the Tutul Xius are occasionally mentioned as holy men, they appear everywhere as a family of warriors and princes. Their traditions most distinctly point to their origin from the Maya states of the west; the land of Nonoual is particularly mentioned as a starting-point of their migrations; that is, the Nonohualco of the Nahua, the coast-line of Tabasco. Starting at that point, they arrived, after long wanderings, at Chacnouitan, the most southerly part of Yucatan, and they founded their first important town in Ziyan Caan on the lake which was afterwards called Bacalar. In later times, as also appears in the annals of the Tutul Xius, the historical interests of Yucatan gravitated to the north of the peninsula; only on the lake Bacalar the Spaniards, under Montejo, met with a numerous Maya population in several extensive towns. For something like sixty years the rulership of the Tutul Xius lasted in Ziyan Caan; then they also marched northward and eventually chose Chichen-Itza for their residence. Chichen-Itza is a town which has played a considerable part among the sacred places of Yucatan, a part resembling that of Teotihuacan in Anahuac; its fortunes had no lasting connection with the race of the Tutul Xius which had founded it.

Settlements of the Maya Peoples

In the meantime, the territorial principalities in the whole neighbourhood had been greatly strengthened, and their conflicting interests brought war and destruction upon the rising towns. It seems to have been the Cocomes, the rulers of Mayapan, who overthrew the throne of the Tutul Xius in Chichen-Itza after a government of 120 years; the town itself they made loosely dependent upon their own state, but the governors and their followers were obliged to start upon a fresh emigration. According to these traditions, Yucatan owes to this same race of princes another of its noblest towns and the rich artistic decorations with which it is adorned. At any rate, the Tutul Xius fled in a slanting direction across the whole peninsula as far as the northern coast, and settled in Champoton, where they are said to have ruled for more than 250 years. This fact is confirmed by the extensive burial-grounds of a Maya people which have been discovered on the little islands which lie opposite to the town of Champoton, or Potonchan, known later as a site of Nahuatlac population.

Nahuatlac Soldiers in Yucatan Wars

Apparently it was here that the Maya people who were subjects of the Tutul Xius entered into relations with the Nahua people, who had gained accessions of strength in the meantime. In the fourteenth century troops of Nahuatlac soldiers played an important part in the internal wars of Yucatan; and that it was not, as tradition relates, only the Cocomes of Mayapan who availed themselves of the services of these strangers is proved by the artistic style of the productions with which we meet even in the territory of the enemies of the Cocomes, especially in Chichen-Itza; here chiefs and warriors are repeatedly immortalised in an art the style of which betrays its affinity to the pictorial art of the Aztec manuscripts at the very first glance.

Such confederations as these enabled the Tutul Xius to extend their rulership from Champoton towards the north and east. They entered into treaties of peace

with the princes of Mayapan; and families of ruling princes again held the sceptre in Itzamal and Chichen-Itza. At this time the Tutul Xius changed their residence from Champoton to Uxmal (pronounced Ushmal). Their splendid state buildings in that district are sure evidence of a long period of peace, which they utilised to advance further their civilisation.

The different little states were under a rulership that was at least mild, but forced them to keep peace with one another; the artistic energy resulting from this peace expended itself in the countless monumental ruins with which we meet upon the soil of Yucatan. It was in this period, too, that the country was opened up, as was formerly the district between Palenque and its neighbouring towns, by the extensive and carefully made system of highroads, remains of which have been found in the most widely separated places.

Religious purposes were the chief object of this work. According to the traditions, the roads led from the chief temple of Chichen-Itza and Itzamal out into the country in all directions, as far and wide as people prayed and made pilgrimages to Kukulkan, the feathered snake, unmistakably the chief among the Maya deities of later times. Chichen-Itza was specially connected with Cozumel, an island town not far from the eastern coast, which seems to have formed a wide circle of temples in the whole of its extent; it was here that the Spaniards first found the cross, the symbol of the god who ruled the four quarters of the heaven.

Chief of the Maya Deities

The Indian summer of the Maya civilisation was not fated to last long in Yucatan. The yoke of the Cocomes was heavy upon land and people. At the beginning of their rule, in order the better to secure their position, they had created an aristocracy which was obliged to give personal service to the government; for this, however, they were recompensed by rich grants of land and people, which they ruled—or, more exactly, plundered—through their representatives. The result was that the Cocomes introduced, probably in imitation of Nahuatlac predecessors, the institution of slavery, which had hitherto been unknown to the Maya. They based their rights on the principle of conquest. The state of Mayapan owed a considerable portion of its extent to the sternness of this rule; in this way Chichen-Itza became tributary to the government of Mayapan. The iron hand of government growing heavier and heavier may very well, in the course of time, have brought it about that the position of the common people, who were subject to the tributary caciques, degenerated into a kind of subjection not very different from slavery. Moreover, the ruling classes abandoned themselves to the unlimited enjoyment of life; even the legends of the founding of their state speak of acts of dreadful immorality. The result was that the rulers did not feel their position secure, though they were situated in the midst of a nobility bound to themselves by common interests.

Revolts Against the Cocomes

After the manner of tyrants, they thought they would find their surest protection in a foreign bodyguard, and they took warriors of the Nahua race from the district of Tabasco into their service. Even with this help they were not entirely successful in suppressing manifestations of dissatisfaction. One of the first to revolt against the tyranny of the Cocomes was the prince of Uxmal, but the fortune of war decided against him, and factions which broke out in Uxmal itself resulted in the abandonment of the royal town by its inhabitants, though not in its destruction. The remainder of the Tutul Xius were again obliged to retreat and founded a new principality in Mani, which, however, never attained the splendour and importance of the imperial towns of Chichen-Itza and Uxmal.

The rising of the Tutul Xius had, however, set the example of revolt, and soon found imitators among the petty kings who were hard pressed by the Cocomes, though not so hard as had been the aristocracy of Mayapan. The next to refuse the respect he owed to the tyrant of Mayapan was the prince of Chichen-Itza. But he also was brought to punishment. A man of extraordinary energy sat upon the throne of the Cocomes. Hunac Eel was certainly an even harsher tyrant than his predecessors had been, but he was also a far-seeing politician. He knew very well that he could not rely upon the fidelity and dependence of his subjects; therefore he sought protection for his rule outside of his kingdom. The chronicles speak of a treaty which Hunac Eel had made with the governors of the kings of Mexico in Tabasco and Xicalango; this is certainly

Hunac Eel the Tyrant of Mayapan

rather of a series of revolutionary combats than of a continuous war is certainly to be inferred from the change in circumstances which had taken place. Even the hated Nahua body-guards were not involved in the tyrant's fall, but were spared by the conquerors. They were even allowed to settle in the province of Aculan, in the neighbourhood of Campeche, and there to form a little Nahua state. But this was apparently soon absorbed by the Maya, who surrounded it on all sides, for, a century later, at the time of the conquest, not a single Nahua-speaking inhabitant was to be found on the peninsula.

Fall of the Cocomes' Power

The conquerers, too, left equally unmolested a last branch of the Cocomes race, which was in Ulua at the time of the revolution, apparently attempting to enlist fresh Aztec reinforcements for the help of its mother state. It may have collected around itself the last surviving dependents of the old dynasty, and have founded another small state with their help; by this means the name of Cocomes survived to future generations. The province of Zotuta, with its capital Tibulon, situated deep in the forests of the central regions, was the scene of its rule until the Spaniards made their way there also.

It is not easy to explain the nature of the influence which the fall of the Cocomes power exerted upon the two rival priestly towns of Itzamal and Chichen-Itza. Under its king Ulmil, Chichen-Itza had been for a long time the central point of the resistance offered to the kings of Mayapan; consequently the vials of the royal wrath had repeatedly been poured out upon town and land. In spite of this, up to the time of the destruction of Mayapan, the king of Chichen-Itza invariably appears as a powerful ally of the revolted party. One would have expected that the holy town of the feathered snake would now increase in strength and vigour. On the contrary, its name entirely disappears from the traditions; upon the division of Yucatan into seven little kingdoms, a condition of things which the Spaniards found upon their conquest, Chichen-Itza appears no longer as an independent kingdom. The abandoned ruins of the town, which were speedily covered by a luxuriant vegetation, were offered by the kings of Itzamal as a resting-place for the first small Spanish troop which made its way into Yucatan. A possible explanation of this remarkable fact may be found in the legend that a prince of Chichen-Itza had abandoned the land, with the greatest part of his people, in one of the many revolutions which disturbed the last days of the Mayapan dynasty.

Yucatan Split into Kingdoms

He is said to have turned again to the original dwelling-places of the Maya in the far west, hoping thus to avoid these scenes of war and oppression. The Maya state of Peten-Itza, on the lake of Peten, in Guatemala, is reputed to owe its origin to him. On his expedition to Honduras, Ferdinand Cortes visited its capital, which was situated on the island of the Peten lake called by the Spaniards the Isla de Flores. In this district, also, ruins of Maya towns have been recently discovered which would not disgrace the architects of Chichen-Itza, supposing them really to have been the founders of a second younger civilisation in this district, which was, for the Maya, classic ground.

Another curious tradition is connected with the little kingdom of Peten-Itza. The favourite horse of Cortes is said to have been so ill in that place that it could go no farther. It was, therefore, handed over to the Maya, with orders to look after it carefully, that it might be given over to the next Spaniards who should come that way. But the Indians, whose reverential awe of the horse—an animal with which they were entirely unacquainted—is known to us from many episodes of the conquest, thought that the best way to look after the horse was to pay him the honours due to a god, to quarter him in a temple, and to feed him with sacrifices. This worship continued until the noble charger was killed by this unusual food, and must then have been replaced by a facsimile in clay.

The Coming of the Spaniards

The Maya state of Pente was the longest to maintain its independence against the Spaniards. The remoteness and isolation of the district in which the last Itzaes had set up their habitation were their best protection. Here, for more than a century after the visit of Cortes, the worship of the old gods, the practice of the ancient art, and the study of the old sacred books were maintained; more than one attempt on the part of missionaries and governors to destroy this last retreat of heathendom came to an inglorious end in the extensive jungles which

spread their sure defences around the little kingdom of Peten on all sides. It was only in 1671 that a simultaneous attack upon different sides succeeded in uniting a sufficient force at the lake of Peten; even then the Maya, who had learned the arts of war in their century of battles, resisted with the courage of despair; but the Indians and their rude and almost primitive implements of destruction could not make head against protective armour and better weapons. And so destruction came upon the last town in which the most ancient civilisation of the New World had gained a respite for its independence.

RUINS OF A BEAUTIFUL TEMPLE AT UXMAL, SHOWING THE ELABORATE CARVINGS

Long before this time a similar fate had befallen all the other Maya kingdoms. Strangely enough, that town had gained the most profit from the revolution against Mayapan, which should have been most deeply involved in the fall of the Cocomes, as being their closest ally. The greatest part of the district which formed the old kingdom of Mayapan did not fall into the power of the Itzaes of Chichen, or the Tutul Xius of Mani, but to the old priestly town Itzamal; and the race of the Cheles, from which the high-priesthood of the kingdom of Mayapan had been drawn for many generations, also provided secular rulers for the newly rising principality. The Cheles did not probably attempt to revive the aggressive policy of the Cocomes.

Nevertheless, their state, next to the state of Zachi, was by far the most extensive which the Spaniards found in the peninsula, and embraced, with the exception of the little Nahua territory of Campeche, the whole of the north and east. The district of this principality, in which the Spaniards found a friendly reception from the outset, became later the germ of the Spanish province of Yucatan; Merida, the capital of this province, was built upon the site of the ancient Tiho, only a few miles from Itzamal. Chiefly in consequence of their foolish conduct, the Spaniards had many a hard battle to fight before they subjugated the whole Maya district of Yucatan; but when once peace and order had been firmly re-established in the country, the native population, which was even then numerous, displayed all the virtues peculiar to the ancient race. The docile, pliable, and frugal Maya-Indians tilled the soil for their Christian lords and priests with the same industry which they had displayed under their ancient masters,

and the clever architects and sculptors now erected temples and palaces upon modern designs with all their ancient skill.

It is doubtful whether the Maya kingdom of Guatemala, and the later kingdoms of Quiché, of Kakchiquel, and of Tzutuhil, were first populated when the inroads of the Nahua race menaced the old civilisation of the Tzendal district. It is far more probable that the acquisition of these territories by Maya peoples belongs to an earlier period. The connection of kindred nations in their immediate neighbourhood in so momentous a fashion naturally could not fail to have an influence upon these kingdoms; at any rate, the people of the western highland gained then a strong additional element, which was more advanced than they in civilisation and consequently must have had a considerable influence upon these races.

Ancient Maya Kingdoms

The Maya people of Guatemala also had a full share in the important acquisition which the civilisation of their race had gained. They were well acquainted with the art of writing in the hieroglyphic signs peculiar to the Maya civilisation. Their legendary traditions, which have come down to us in even greater number than have those of their most advanced kinsfolk on the east, show the same number of religious conceptions; the same gods, with now and then even the same names, are prominent here as there. The complicated astronomical calendar, which must count among the most important scientific achievements of the Maya peoples, was for them also the governing principle in religious and civic life.

But the habits of their daily life, and the buildings thereby developed, were different, and resulted in a sensible difference in the artistic character of the district. This is especially the case with their architecture, which cannot but surprise us, supposing it to have been exclusively derived from the architects of Palenque, Menché, etc. The highlands of Guatemala, in which the capital town of Quiché and its related governments were situated, offered, for the expression of their artistic tendencies, a material of the same value and nature as the Maya had at their disposition in the lower districts. Nevertheless, the architecture of the western races never even approximated to the rich decorations of the east, and the number of memorials in the plastic art, the highland origin of which is indisputable, is very small. However, from the numerous examples of pottery found in the highlands and in the western district of Guatemala, we observe that these Maya peoples did not break away, as did the Huastecs, from the specific Maya civilisation of the original race, but that they had shared in every form of its development. On pottery ware from Quiché and related towns inscriptions and calendars have been transmitted to us which we are accustomed to find carved in stone or moulded in stucco as architectural decorations among the other Maya races.

Architecture of the Western Races

The number of sites in the western Maya district, the ruins of which have been discovered, is by no means small, and remains of massive stone buildings, though without the usual artistic decoration, are by no means lacking. But the preponderance of fortifications in the sites of the west distinguishes them in a marked way from those of the lowlands and the Yucatan peninsula. Among the buildings of the lowlands are to be found many the position of which was certainly chosen with a view to resisting hostile attacks. But consideration of strategical necessities is nowhere very conspicuous, and in many places entirely wanting. In Guatemala quite the contrary is the case. The choice of site here shows that strategical considerations were generally of the first importance. Walls, fortresses, and citadels, often of considerable extent, which could have been reduced only by the combined attacks of large forces of men, are the most remarkable remains in the district of Quiché.

Maya Wars With the Nahua Peoples

The Maya in the lowlands were of a distinctly peaceful disposition; possibly in the course of time an entire change in their national character was brought about by their continual wars with the warlike Nahua races, some of which can be demonstrated to have made their way even as far as Nicaragua. It is, however, more probable that from the outset differences existed between the peaceful races of the flourishing coast-land and the more primitive peoples of the mountains, differences derived from the internal divisions of the district, which did not manifest themselves within the historical epoch. The old town Tulan continually appears

EXAMPLES OF THE EARLY RELIGIOUS SCULPTURES OF CENTRAL AMERICA

Religious worship played an important part in the lives of the Santa Lucians, one of the early races who inhabited America. Among their many deities the most prominent were the sun and moon, both of which in works of sculpture were represented with human forms. The bent staff emanating from the mouth of the worshipper in the first picture represents a petition or prayer which he is making to an aged divinity. The second picture shows a worshipper, the image of death reminding him of the end of his days, adoring a flaming deity, probably the sun.

as a source of all emigrations, and must be sought for in the district of Tabasco, if by Tulan we may understand an individual town. From this town Nima-Quiché—the great Quiché—emigrated with three brothers, and turned his steps westward to the mountains, as we learn from the traditions of the western peoples. The brothers are said to have then divided the land so that one obtained the district of Chiapas (Quelenes), the other obtained Verapaz (Tezulutlan), and the third the district of Mames and Pocomams (on the north-west of Guatemala), while he himself gained the land of Quiché, Kakchiquel, and Tzutuhil; the royal house of this kingdom traced its origin from him.

Tradition of the Western Peoples

In spite of its Nahua influences this tradition clearly shows the consciousness of a national unity, even among such Maya peoples as have played no further part in history; and it also refers their origin to a time when this national consciousness had not been so wholly deadened as it afterwards was. Chiapas now appears as one of the four Maya kingdoms, and there is nothing to show that this district had already fallen into the hands of foreign conquerors; therefore this division of peoples must be regarded as belonging to a time long before the flight of the Maya from Chiapas.

The later history of the race is hopelessly confused. Continual internal wars, constant emigrations and change of place, revolts against tyrannical power, and confederations of peace are its chief constituents. The very dynasty of the Quiché race is by one historian given as consisting of eleven generations, by another as consisting of seventeen, and even sometimes as of twenty-three. However, the kings of Quiché certainly held an important position among the ruling races of Guatemala, and a chronicler declares that the Quiché kings date back to the era of the Aztec rulers of Mexico-Tenochtitlan, adding at the same time that the Quiché kingdom was not merely equal to the Aztec kingdom in extent, but that it was even far superior to it. For the disruption of the small kingdoms of Kakchiquel and Tzutuhil, different reasons are suggested. The succession to King Acxopil, the successor of the Nima-Quiché, the real founder of the Quiché kingdom, may possibly have led to the disruption. The rulers of the smaller kingdoms remained, however, in honourable relations with the chief kingdom of Quiché, and were even interested in the maintenance of the supreme power in consequence of the mode of succession peculiar to these American kingdoms.

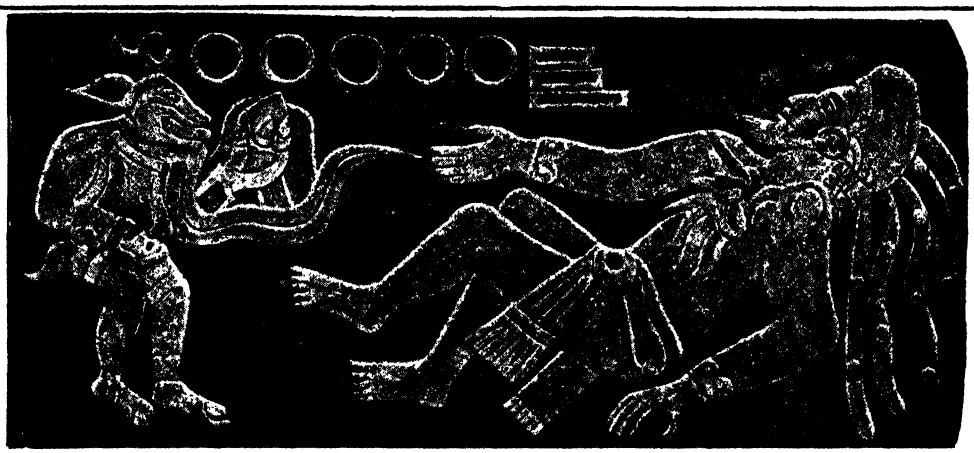
Founder of the Quiché Kingdom

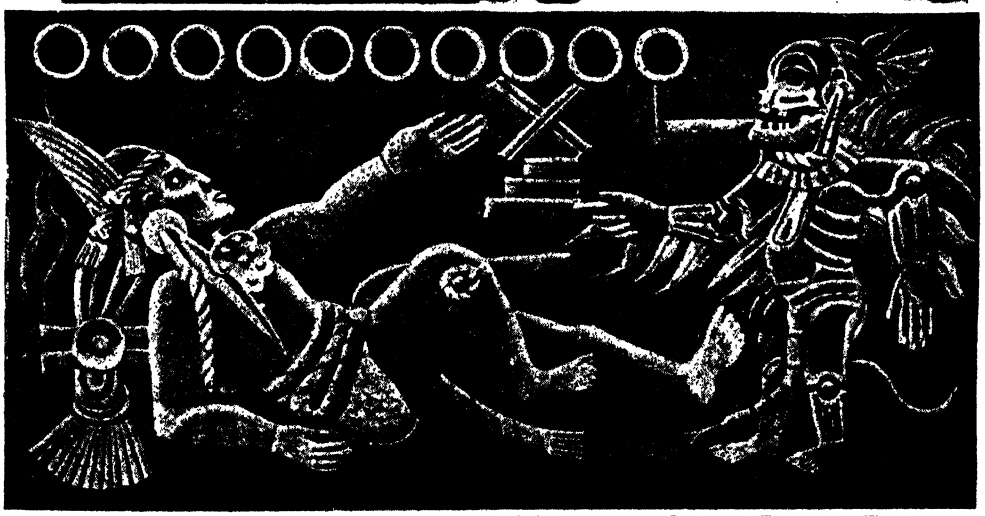
Acxopil during his lifetime handed over to his eldest son the government of the kingdom of Kakchiquel, and to the younger the government of Tzutuhil, with the stipulation that after his death the elder son should govern the whole kingdom, including Quiché, the second son should govern Kakchiquel, and a third should rule over Tzutuhil. The object of this arrangement was that each ruler, before obtaining the highest position in the state, should undergo a training for supremacy in positions of gradually increasing importance. It does not appear, however, that this regulation was strictly observed after his death.

Icutemal, the elder of the sons of Acxopil, got possession of the throne of Quiché; but he handed over the rulership of Kakchiquel to his own elder son, and not to his brother. This was a signal for the outbreak of protracted internal struggles, which lasted uninterruptedly almost up to the Spanish conquest. In this case also the neighbouring Nahua races were enlisted as allies in the wars of these related Maya kingdoms. Their influence was here so strongly pronounced that the bloody human sacrifices and the cannibalism practised by the Nahua were also adopted by the Maya. At any rate, all our information testifies that the Maya people in Guatemala were far more extensively commingled with Nahua elements than in Yucatan.

An Era of Internal Struggles

The three kingdoms continued mutually independent and in a state of constant internal struggle until the arrival of the Spaniards. In 1492 a number of the chiefs of Kakchiquel revolted against Cay Hunahpu, who had again attempted to extend his empire at the expense of his neighbours. He was defeated, and atoned for his aggression by his death. In this there is nothing extraordinary; but the Kakchiquel attached such importance to this victory that they made it the starting-point of a new chronology. In true revolutionary style they abolished the whole of the old priestly calendar and created a year of 400 days, divided into twenty months of twenty days each. They are





THE SYMBOLICAL SCULPTURES OF THE SANTA LUCIANS

That the Santa Lucians had attained a highly developed state of culture is evidenced from their works of art. Although most of their sculptures represent some form of worship, there are many depicting scenes of ordinary day life. To the latter belongs the centre picture, where two men of the nobler classes are seen conversing. The other two show sick men, one of whom is visited by a medicine man in the guise of a deer, which is a reminder of the moderate number of years he has lived, thus bidding him be of good hope; the other an elderly man finding himself in the presence of death.

the only race of Central America which abandoned the scientific astronomical calendar of the Maya. It requires no great penetration to see that their new year was no advance upon the old one, but was an act as futile as it was arbitrary.

The Years of Aztec Dominion

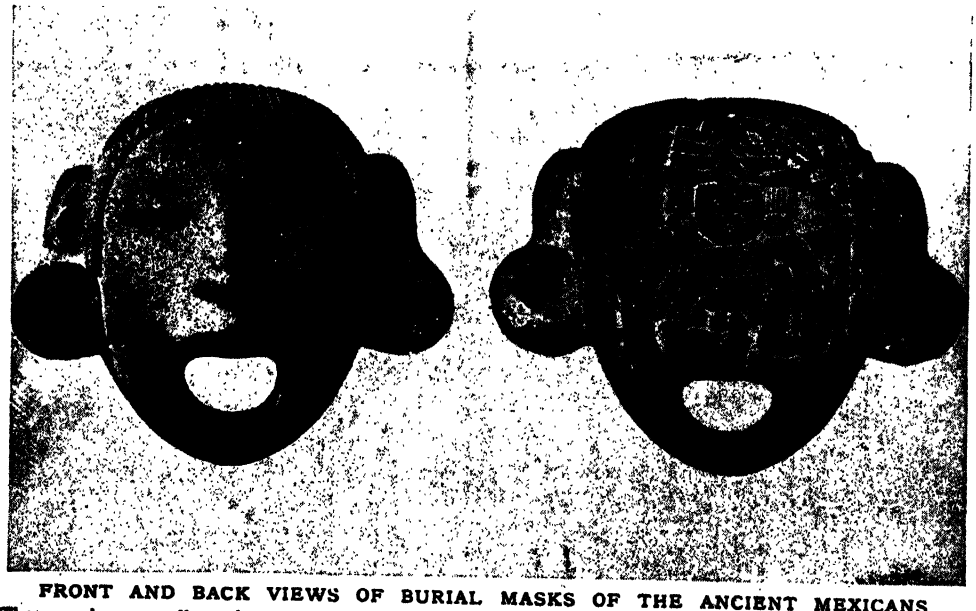
In spite of numerous relations with the Nahua races, there seems to have been no real connection between the Maya kingdom and the Aztec kingdom of Montezuma. The existence of each was known to the other, and embassies may have been exchanged between them even before the arrival of the Spaniards. The Aztec conquests certainly came extremely close to the boundaries of the Maya kingdom in the last ten years of Aztec dominion; this did not conduce to any close connection between the two groups of states.

The Quiché were so much occupied with warding off the attacks of hostile kinsfolk within the boundaries of their own kingdom that they could not turn their attention to foreign conquest, which might have brought them into conflict with the Aztecs. When the Spaniards began to encroach upon the Aztec kingdom, Montezuma II. is said to have sent a great embassy to the king of Kakchiquel; they do not, however, seem to have been able to come to an understanding. Before the Spaniards had undertaken the subjugation of the Maya kingdom of Guatemala, emissaries of the king of Kakchiquel appeared in Mexico, which was the first kingdom to fall before Cortes, and asked for his help against the Quiché.

Naturally this help was gladly lent in view of future possibilities. In the year 1524 the Adelantado Pedro de Alvarado appeared in Iximcat, and, in alliance with the Kakchiquel, began a war against the Quiché, and conquered them in several bloody conflicts. The Tzutuhil had remained neutral, trusting to the inaccessibility of their kingdom, and had refused their help, not only to the Quiché, but also to the Spaniards. This fact provided a pretext for Alvarado to turn his forces against them; and neither the resources of Nature nor those of art could avail to protect the Tzutuhil against the power of Spain. The Kakchiquel learned too late that they had gained a Spanish alliance, for which they had so much sought, at the price of their own freedom.

Alliance at the Price of Freedom

When they tried to shake off the yoke which was imperceptibly laid upon them, the moment had long since passed when their resistance could have been attended with any hopes of success. The blood that they shed in vain could only expiate their criminal action in being the first to throw open their country to the foreign invader



FRONT AND BACK VIEWS OF BURIAL MASKS OF THE ANCIENT MEXICANS

These masks, generally made of copper or wood, were used among the Maya peoples for the purpose of covering the face of the dead, thus keeping away the demons while their wearers made their journey to the "abode of the clouds."

ADVANCE OF THE NAHUA PEOPLES

THE LEGEND OF TOLTEC CIVILISATION

IN the sixteenth century the Spaniards found a numerous population of Nahua, people who had been settled for many hundreds of years, in a territory which lies upon the north of the districts of Maya civilisation, and stretches to the borders of the Pueblo Indians—that is, from the Isthmus of Tehuantepec up to the boundaries of Texas and New Mexico.

These peoples did not, however, consider their country as their original home; in fact, there was there a remnant of a foreign population which had, in general, followed the steps of Nahua civilisation. The migration legends which were widely extant among the Nahua give very consistent narratives, and point to the home of the race having been situated in the far north upon a great water. In this legend the place-names Aztlan (the Town on the Water) and Chicomoztoc (the Seven Caves) play a great part. This legend has evoked a whole literature. From the coast of the Pacific Ocean to the North American lakes, from Bering Strait to the Plain of Mexico, scarcely a spot can be found which one or another inquirer has not connected with the emigrations of the Aztecs from Aztlan-Chicomoztoc to Mexico-Tenochtitlan.

Emigration of the Nahua Peoples

The traces of emigration of the Nahua peoples in a northerly direction, other than those of a legendary nature, are extremely inadequate. The district which lay a little to the north of the later centre of Nahua civilisation—that is, the plateau of Anahuac—was populated in comparatively early times by the race of the Pueblo Indians. Their civilisation shows some points of resemblance to the Nahua culture; but the fundamental differences are so striking or extreme that it is impossible to suppose a Nahua migration through this region even in remote times. Traces of the Nahua language have certainly been found in proper names, or, as it were, fossilised in the dialects of the Pueblo peoples in Sinaloa, and as much farther north as the Hopi or Moqui or Tusayan. Even in the district of Maya civilisation we are surprised to find in the chronicles of the sixteenth century many names of places derived from the Nahua speech. But we are well assured that the reason for this is not that the Nahua district extended into this territory, but that the Spaniards were guided into this district by Indians who were only acquainted with Nahua power and with Nahua names for the places. These names have thus been stereotyped by tradition, and confirmed by the preponderance of the Nahua element in the midst of the Spanish colonisations. A similar state of things must undoubtedly have come to pass on the north also.

Indians as Guides to the Spaniards

The historical traditions of the Nahua race invite the conclusion that their original home was certainly situated in the northern portion of the district in which the Spaniards found their race predominant. Not only the hieroglyphic designs, which were partially complete before the period of conquest, but also the Spanish chroniclers, who collected their information from the natives, point to the fact that the Nahua races had long lived as a wholly uncivilised fishing and hunting people within those boundaries where they were discovered in the sixteenth century. Even then there were individual related peoples who had not yet obtained a share in the civilisation of their more favoured brethren, and only a short time had elapsed, if we may believe tradition, since certain races who at the time of the Spanish conquest stood high in the scale of general civilisation had given up their wandering lives and turned to agriculture and the blessings of progress.

Wandering Races Turn to Agriculture

The desire for a settled life was certainly not prominent among the Nahua, and least of all among the Aztecs, and it is a

tendency which we cannot consider to have been gained by imitating civilised predecessors, even in the case of the most civilised peoples of America.

Like the Maya, the Indians of Central America made no difficulty about abandoning their habitations, where for generations they had been settled and had worked, supposing their political circumstances to have altered for the worse. The wanderings of the Aztecs are of themselves evidence that they were the last to leave their common home, Aztlan-Chicomoztoc. For at least ten years in historical times they wandered among the different nations of the Nahua race, which ages ago had obtained a secure settlement and made great advances in civilisation. That tradition should have remained pure in the case of such inequality of development, under the unfavourable circumstances which the nomad life of an uncivilised people involves, is wholly incredible; mythological and religious conceptions have much more probably formed the basis of the legends of the migration of the Nahua from Aztlan-Chicomoztoc. Constantly and for all time the Nahua have been an inland race. Both on the Atlantic and also on the Pacific coasts at a late period they drove out an older population which does not seem to have been akin to themselves. But even after some of their peoples had settled in the tropical climate of their coast-land they still retained the objection of an inland race to the "great salt water." The Maya engaged in an extensive maritime commerce from their own harbours; the Nahua peoples engaged in commerce, too, but their extensive traffic was carried on exclusively on the high-roads, although many of the Nahua people were acquainted with the construction of fishing-boats. Yet in their history we find the Nahua, with all their objection to the sea, unmistakably associated with the water. A legend which places their birthplace on a great water is evidence of this, and in their history the lakes on the highlands of Anahuac play a most important part. Even without this lake district a number of centres of Nahua development were also situated on the shores of lakes—as, for instance, Tezcuco, Chalco, and Tenochtitlan. Over and over again, in history and in legend, we meet with the water and that which it brings forth.

A PYRAMIDAL BUILDING OF THE AZTECS IN OAXACA
The western slopes of the Cordilleras are particularly rich in architectural antiquities, relics of the early Aztecs, who at one time inhabited these regions. Our knowledge of the significance of these relics is necessarily limited, as for centuries they remained buried, and have only been excavated within recent times.

The nature of their environment had made the Nahua a people of hunters and fishers; it had also created in them a further characteristic, a fierce warlike spirit. It is true that under the snowy peaks of the Cordilleras an everlasting spring reigned in the deep valleys of Mexico; the climate was far more suitable for a people of careless enjoyment than for a race of ferocious warriors. Hunting, moreover, could not have exercised a very hardening influence; in the

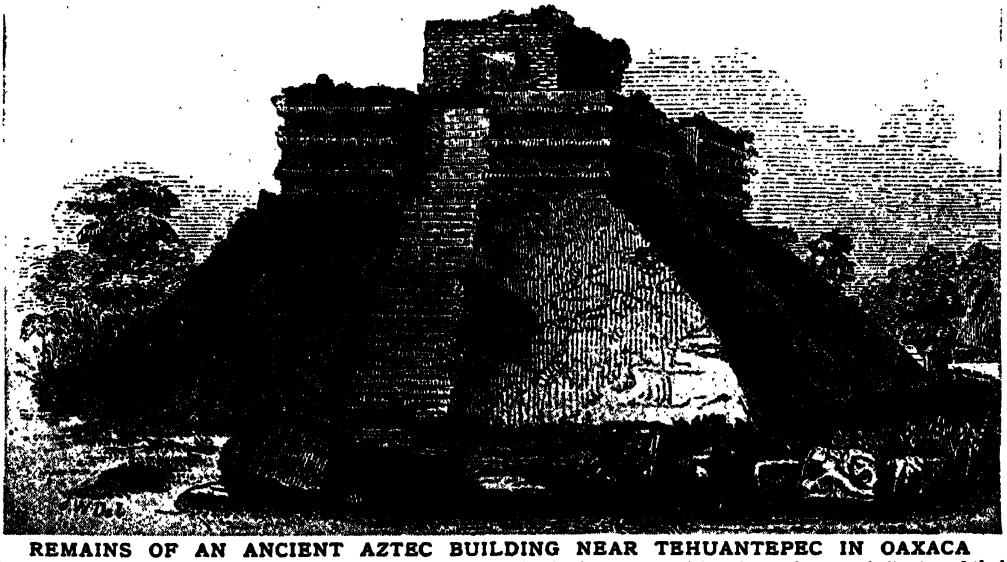
whole kingdom there was no wild animal which could have been particularly dangerous to huntsmen, when armed even with the simplest of weapons. It was the ancient inhabitants of the land that made the Nahua a nation of warriors.

Upon their immigration they did not find their future country uninhabited, as the Maya had done in Yucatan. That they found there a trace of inhabitants foreign to themselves may be concluded from the traditions, although the inadequacy of our information makes it impossible to establish the ethnological character of this race. In the myths of the Nahua giants of superhuman size and unbounded strength appear, and though we cannot put a literal interpretation on this, as did the old Spanish chroniclers, who identified the bones of antediluvian animals with the skeletons of this giant race, we may none the less conclude that the Nahua had a long and bitter struggle with a powerful enemy, and that they must have exerted their utmost resources and carried on a war of unceasing destruction before they succeeded in winning a territory where their race might develop to its full strength. It was in this warfare that that fierce warrior spirit was implanted in this untutored people.

The Nahua a Race of Warriors

We find the Nahua everywhere a race of warriors, alike fearful and feared, and we come across some of them outside their later district, as, for instance, in Yucatan and Guatemala; but the traditions within their own territories are of an equally warlike character. Battle and victory, conquest and destruction are the dominant features of their art; and in their case war was closely connected with religion—religion in its most horrible and frightful form, as it appeared in the bloody worship of the Aztecs for their national god Huitzilopochtli. In the strange horrors of this worship inquirers have attempted to trace the influence of peoples earlier than the Nahua; they have ascribed the cult to the temporary stay of the Aztecs in the district of Tarasca. But even leaving out of sight the fact that a remote branch of the Nahua race was possibly settled even in Tarasca, this cruel worship, with its numerous human sacrifices, is by no means peculiar to the Aztecs.

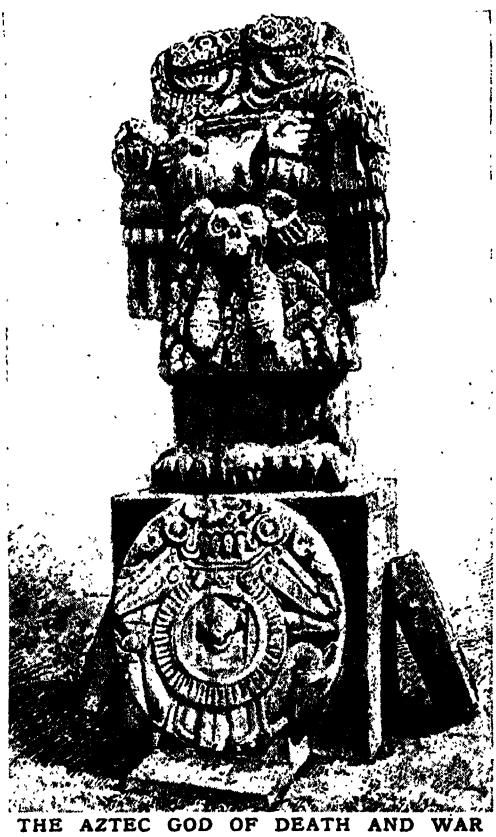
It appears in a more or less horrible form among almost all the Nahua people, and it is no external accessory of divine worship; it is rather the typical form of that worship. Let us suppose that the majority of this race were not under the influence of similar conceptions; we have then to ask by what possibility that compact could have been brought about between Mexico, Tlazcala, and Huexotzinco, the provisions of which regulated wars for these three states, with a view to providing a sufficient number of captured enemies for sacrifice to their gods



REMAINS OF AN ANCIENT AZTEC BUILDING NEAR TEHUANTEPEC IN OAXACA
That the ancient Aztecs possessed many claims to civilisation is demonstrated by the majesty and dignity of their architectural designs, which often attain enormous dimensions. The specimen on this page was concealed for ages within a luxuriant growth of vegetation, so dense that people living in the near vicinity were unaware of its existence.

upon given occasions. War, human sacrifice, and ceremonial cannibalism are characteristic of the Nahua. The special influences that led the national character of the race in this direction must certainly be placed in a period long anterior to the disruption of the Nahua people into its separate branches, and still further anterior to the supposed stay of the Aztecs among the people of Tarasca.

At the time of the Spanish invasion the Nahua certainly were no longer that nation of fishermen, hunters and fierce warriors which had begun to develop at the outset in the highlands of Anahuac. On the contrary, a development, lasting for centuries, had resulted in a civilisation which in many districts could compete with the civilisation of the Maya, and the external splendours of which completely dazzled the Spaniards. This civilisation, however, as almost all our sources of information consistently assert, was not the result of slow development on the part of the people themselves, but was acquired and imported from without. The Nahua races of the valleys of Mexico, the traditions of which are known to us, were proud to consider themselves Chichimecs, and almost all the Chichimec races appear originally as half-wild, wandering, ill-clothed tribes of huntsmen, who received their first introduction into the ways of civilisation by communication with older nations who were already firmly settled in confederate towns and states, and were occupied in agriculture. The different histories of the race, which were not confused by any attempt to harmonise the Christian and old American chronologies, go back some six or seven centuries into the past. Many a race which has later played an important part in the history of Central America must have given up its wild and wandering life, and have gained its first impulse to civilisation within that short period; these traditions, which almost without exception avail themselves of long dynasties to serve their chronological necessities, imply the previous existence of several civilised states.



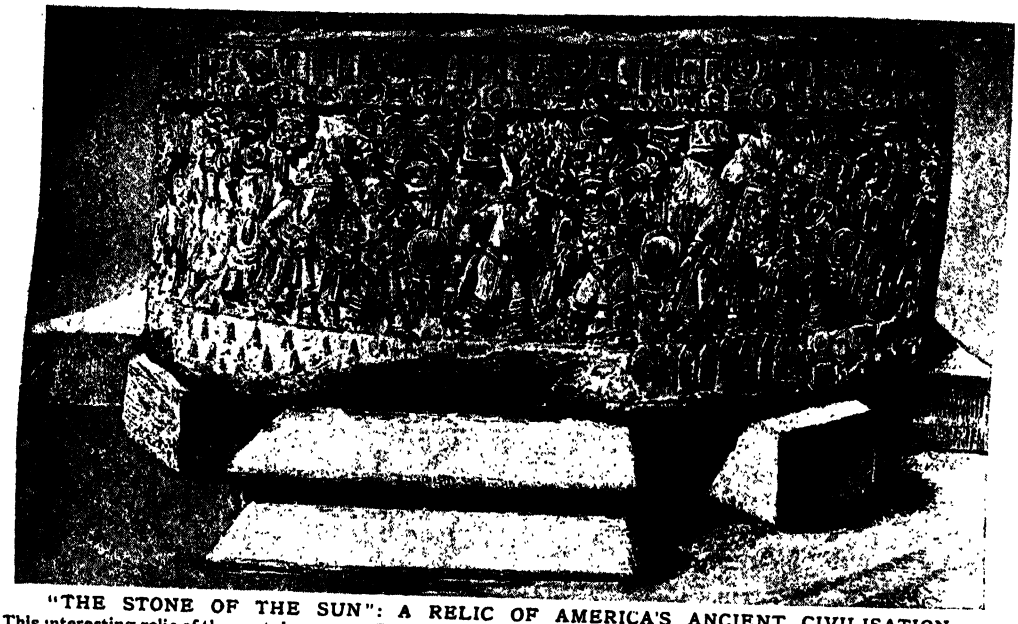
THE AZTEC GOD OF DEATH AND WAR

The Toltecs, as the chief exponents of Nahua civilisation, appear to some extent in the more ancient sculptures, and still more often in the later histories which were modelled upon European examples. According to the later legends which have come down to us, the Toltecs were a branch of the Nahua race, and also came from the north, from Chicomoztoc to the town Huehuetlapallan, about the fourth century of our era. At the beginning of the sixth century they are said to have been settled on a tableland of Mexico, Tula being the capital of their kingdom, and soon to have risen to a fabulous development of civilisation. Here all their esoteric knowledge is said to have been acquired, and it was also here that the scentific regulation of the calendar, which became an example for all other peoples, was carried out by the Toltec priests and kings. Moreover, the Toltecs are also said to have compiled the history of the past and to have established an authentic text of it. But, above all, they are reputed to have been the teachers of all later nations in the sphere of art, especially in architecture and sculpture.

The buildings which adorned their settlements displayed a splendour and a magnificence almost unrivalled by the famous palace towns of later times, such as Tezcuco and Tenochtitlan. After an existence of several centuries the Toltec

A TOLTEC KING SEATED ON HIS THRONE

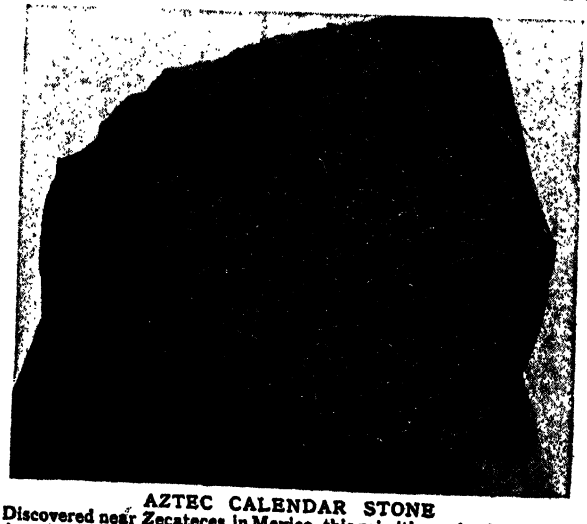
To recent research we owe much o. our knowledge with regard to the Toltecs, a prehistoric people of Mexico and Central America who had attained a high level of civilisation, and were advanced in arts. The above picture, by a French artist, is based upon the suggestions as to costume and decorations, as well as the actual physical characteristics of the people, obtained from their sculptured remains.



"THE STONE OF THE SUN": A RELIC OF AMERICA'S ANCIENT CIVILISATION

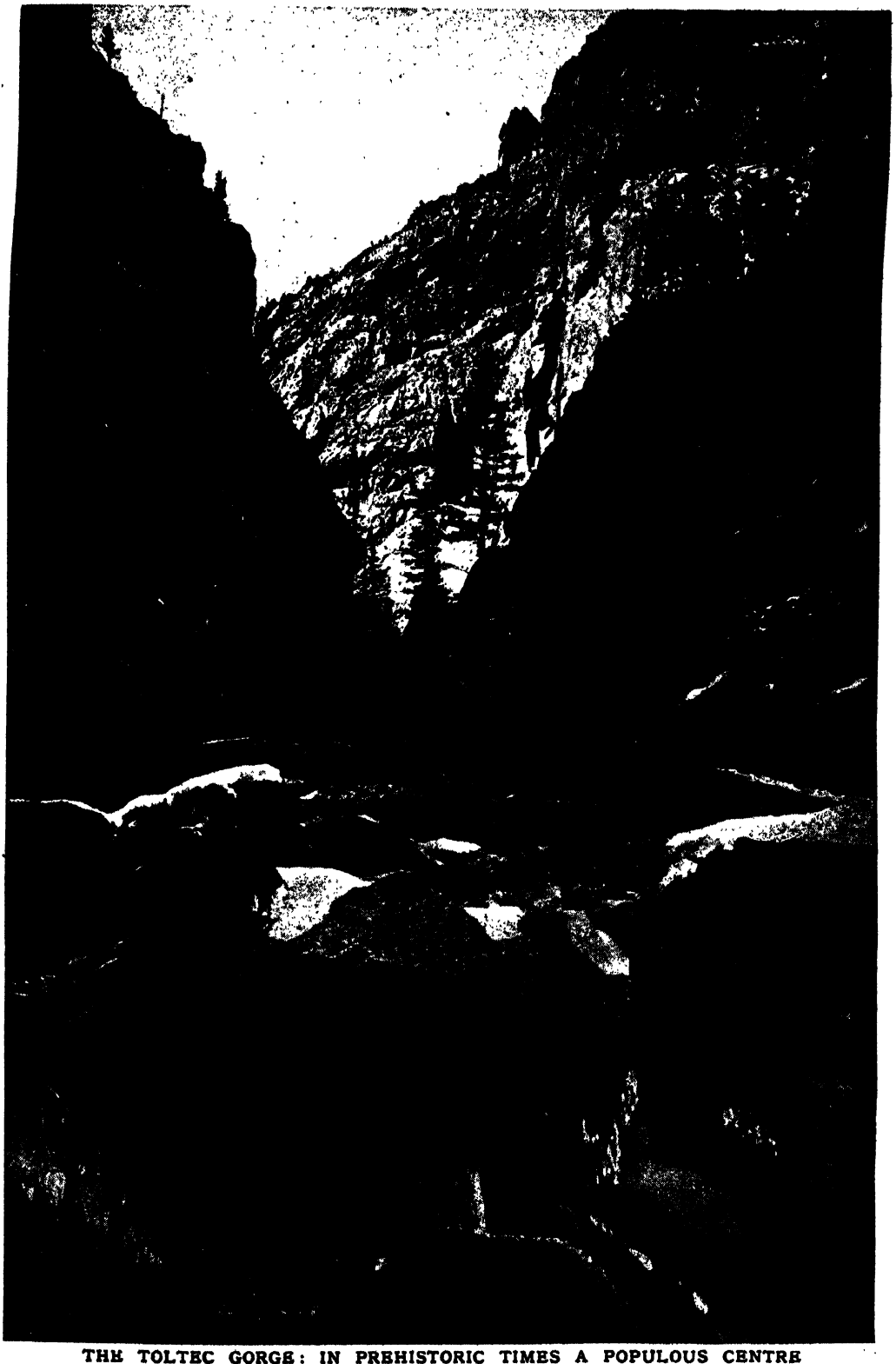
This interesting relic of the past, known as Tizoc's Stone, or the Stone of the Sun, consists of a block of trachyte measuring over eight feet in diameter, thirty-one feet in circumference, and two feet six inches in depth, the surface being ornamented with two figures ingeniously portrayed in fifteen different attitudes, recalling the victories of the Emperor Tizoc, who in every one of the groups is represented holding the vanquished by the hair.

kingdom is supposed to have collapsed, about the year 1055, as a result of internal struggle and external attacks. Its territory fe'l into the hands of the other neighbouring states. The Toltec nobles, however, who fled into every district of Anahuac upon the fall of the kingdom, were everywhere the missionaries of that advanced civilisation which was acquired by the other peoples of the Nahua as a direct result of the fall of this kingdom. These are the general features of the legend; the details, however, are terribly confused. Even in the case of the Indian historian Ixtlilxochitl, the author of the Toltec legend, who has depicted it in two different places, the chronology of the names and the details are anything but consistent in his two accounts. A great part of the Toltec stories is mere legend, in which we can unmistakably recognise a strong mythological element. For instance, there is said to have been a decree that the rule of each individual monarch should last neither more nor less than fifty-two years; if he lived longer, he was obliged, after a reign of fifty-two years, to abdicate in favour of his eldest son; supposing he died before that period, a council of the elders continued the government in his name until the legal term was fulfilled. Ffty-two years, however, was the period of the great Mexican cycle of years which was used to make the ritual calendar coincide with the solar year; at the beginning of this period, the holy fire was again kindled with ceremonial festival, under the belief that by that means the existence of the world was again insured for a like period. The further we retrace the story, however, the more doubtful do the facts become, and the



AZTEC CALENDAR STONE

Discovered near Zecateces in Mexico, this primitive calendar of early American civilisation is now in the National Museum at Mexico City.



THE TOLTEC GORGE: IN PREHISTORIC TIMES A POPULOUS CENTRE

At the Toltec Gorge, so called because of its association with the Toltec civilisation of Central America, large quantities of instruments and weapons have been discovered, these throwing considerable light on the customs of the past.

stronger is the mythological element. Excavations have certainly laid bare ancient ruins upon the site of the presumed settlement of that famous Toltec kingdom in the town of Tula, some miles north of Mexico, but these ruins are neither extensive nor imposing. The artistic value of the ruined buildings upon the soil of the old Nahua states sensibly diminishes as we advance from north to south—a fact in opposition to the Toltec legend. Moreover, with the exception of the foundation and destruction of cities, almost everything that we know of the Toltecs centres round the personality of a king, Quetzalcoatl.

Quetzalcoatl King of the Toltecs

But this name, denoting the feathered snake, like the Maya Kukulkan, is also the name of a divinity which in later times was worshipped far and wide throughout the Nahua kingdom; his appearance makes us the more suspicious, as other names in the dynasty also coincide with the names of gods, and several kings have been deified by tradition. For these reasons the historical substratum of the Toltec legend becomes more and more hypothetical. Once, perhaps, there may have existed a Toltec principality, with Tula for its capital, which may have played a certain part in the racial feuds of the little Nahua kingdom; but the Toltecs have no right to the importance which has been ascribed to them as being the chief civilising influence of Anahuac.

The name "Tulan" also appears in the original legends of the Maya; it does not, however, denote any one particular place, but it is a general designation for a large royal settlement richly adorned; the legend also alludes to no less than four Tulans existing at the same time. If we could venture to identify the Tula of Nahua tradition with the similarly named Maya towns, and could then consider the Maya people themselves as the Nahua Toltecs, this would be the easiest solution of the problem. Unfortunately there are great difficulties in the way of such an explanation. The Toltecs are invariably a people related to the Nahua, and therefore speaking their language; and their habitations upon the north of the later Nahua district—the plateau of Mexico—are in accordance with this fact; neither of these can be brought into connection with the Maya by any means. If, however, we cannot venture to identify the Maya with the Toltecs, we may consider the connection between Maya and Nahua civilisation as indisputable. We have now to ask in what manner the advance in civilisation which the Maya had gained also fell to the share of the Nahua peoples, and how these peoples advanced from the coast of Tabasco up into the northern heights of the Mexican tableland.

The Toltecs Related to the Nahua

The political circumstances which the Spaniards found on the Mexican tableland at the conquest have brought it about that we possess reliable information concerning the history only of those people who lived in Anahuac; that is, in the neighbourhood of the Mexican lakes. The numerous related nations that had settled on the north, and even more extensively on the south, of the tableland were almost as much strangers to the Aztecs and their related nations of Anahuac as the Maya peoples were. In historical times the immediate neighbours of the Maya of Guatemala were the Zapotecs, the Mixtecs, and the Kuikatecs. Even if their habitations remained unchanged, as they apparently did, throughout the period that the Nahua settlements of Anahuac lasted, we can, nevertheless, suppose a long-existing connection between the Maya and this branch of the Nahua nation, and this all the more because the necessary indications which we have at our disposal for the reconstruction of the earlier history of this race point to a close connection.

Facts from a Recent Discovery

An illuminated manuscript of Kuikatec origin that has only recently been discovered informs us that the Kuikatecs, under the guidance of their racial god, apparently entitled "Maollin," wandered and fought for six centuries in the district which formed the boundary between the Maya and Nahua peoples in ancient times. The localities mentioned in the manuscript cannot all be certainly identified, but they point to the districts of Guatemala and Chiapas. The migrations then continued in a southerly direction not far from the Pacific coast.

There the Kuikatecs finally met with an insurmountable obstacle, and therefore turned aside in an easterly direction, crossed the north of Guatemala, and finally arrived safely in Chiapas, in a territory of Acalan, a district immediately bordering upon Yucatan. Probably these

and similar migrations of the Nahua races brought about the fall of the flourishing Maya towns of Chiapas and Tabasco. The majority of the Maya peoples may have abandoned their old home to this enemy; but some of their members there certainly were who either became the subjects of the new arrivals, as their tributary vassals, or were prevented by force from escaping the new dominion. It is in these causes that we must seek the interchange of civilisation between the Maya and the Nahua

AN UNDECIPHERED PAGE FROM THE VIENNA NAHUA MANUSCRIPT OF ZAPOTEC ORIGIN
The page here reproduced belongs to the series of Codex Viennensis, in which regular pictorial designs appear in connection with dates. It is, therefore, presumed that these hitherto inexplicable designs are of a historical character.

races. The well-known precedents of the Germanic migrations upon our own continent make us familiar with the fact that a people in a high state of civilisation may collapse helplessly before the vigorous attacks of a less cultured race, but that in a short time their own higher culture leavens the mass of the conquerors and again brings the old civilisation to the front. How far the Kuikatecs were influenced by Maya civilisation we cannot exactly define; but in the case of the Zapotecs this influence is very characteristic. Their invasion into the district of Maya civilisation cannot be affirmed with the same certainty; but in later times we meet with them in the immediate neighbourhood of the Maya, and settled upon a portion of that district the antiquities of which indisputably point to a previous settlement of the Maya peoples. On the Zapotecs the influence of Maya civilisation was extremely powerful. Even their language has undergone a strong admixture of Maya words and forms. It would, however, be a mistake to dispute their connection with the Nahua race; for the Spanish chronicles regard the Zapotecs as a nation foreign to the Maya and connected with the peoples of Mexico.

Moreover, even the scanty accounts which we learn from this people themselves show that they must be placed among the nations of the Nahua race. Among these nations, however, they were at any rate one of those peoples who very early gave up the savage life of the old hunting races for a more civilised mode of existence;

for centuries they have unmistakably taken a leading position in all the acquisitions of civilised progress among the Nahua peoples. A considerable portion of the literary treasures which have come down to us from the time when the Nahua civilisation was developing independently belongs to the Zapotecs. Their manuscripts are not written in Maya script, but, with the exception of some small characteristic divergences, coincide with the mode of writing found in Aztec and other undoubtedly Nahuatlac documents. Probably the Zapotecs, or their kinsfolk, formed their mode of writing, which later became the property of all the Nahua peoples, under the influence and in imitation of that with which the Maya had made them acquainted.

The Maya Religious Calendar

A further relationship is visible between the Maya manuscripts and those of Zapotec origin in the extensive representations which are concerned with the religious calendar, in which, as we know, the Maya have given proof of astonishing astronomical knowledge. The peculiar sacred calendar system of the Maya shows the combination of the numbers 20 and 13—a combination which appears nowhere else in the world. This system was adopted in its main elements by the Zapotecs and four other Nahua peoples.

Moreover, careful examination has established the fact that the titles for each particular day, which are invariably taken from the objects of daily life, are essentially the same in the case of every language the calendar names of which are known to us. So close is this coincidence that even the names of the days with which the sacred or ritual year might begin (a year composed of 13 by 20 equals 260 days, in combination with the solar year) hang together, in the case of Maya and Nahua peoples respectively, in such a way that a more ancient group of names in combination among the Maya of Chiapas and Tabasco, and the Zapotecs and related nations, can be distinguished from a more recent combination in use among the Maya of Yucatan and the Aztec-Nahua. It is plain that these are no chance coincidences, and when we consider the remarkable development which astronomical science had reached among the Maya, it is equally plain in this case who it was that gave and who it was that received. Finally, the Zapotecs were instructed by the Maya in another department—that of architecture. The old Zapotec district, which is to-day the Mexican province Oaxaca, contains ruins of ancient Indian buildings in different places; but most of these are so dilapidated that we can draw only the vaguest conclusions as to their original condition.

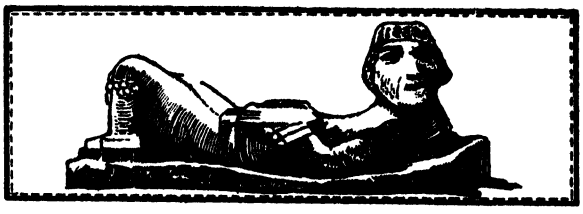
Science Among the Maya

The ruins of Mitla are an exception to this rule, chiefly because their stronger buildings made them more capable of resisting the attacks of time. Mitla is only the Mexican name for the town which the Zapotecs themselves called Yopaa; both names mean "the Place of the Dead." Possibly the Xibalbay of the Maya, which also means "Town of the Dead," is the most ancient name of this town, and goes back to an epoch when this district was also in possession of the Maya peoples. At any rate, there is no particular proof of this in the paintings which exist in the rooms of the temple-building of Mitla and are still in good condition; they are undoubtedly of later origin and belong to the Nahua civilisation. On the contrary, the architectural style of the building—partly below and partly above ground, with its decorated rooms and its roof of over-hanging courses—resembles far more nearly the Maya architecture than that of the younger Nahua peoples. For instance, the temple buildings of the Aztecs consist almost entirely of high pyramids artistically faced, on which there are no buildings at all, or erections of only a temporary nature.

Mitla in Ruins

Our historical information about the Zapotec kingdom goes back only a few decades—certainly not a century—before the Spanish conquest. When the Aztec kingdom began to extend in a south-westerly direction, the Zapotecs appear in the circle of the Aztec princes. About the year 1484, Ahuitzotl, the seventh king of Mexico-Tenochtitlan, made an invasion far into the Zapotec district in the direction of Tehuantepec, and in the fortress Huaxyacac he laid the basis of further conquest. At that time different Zapotec towns or principalities became either subject or tributary to the Aztecs; and on this occasion Mitla also, the sacred town of the Zapotecs, was conquered and destroyed by the Mexicans.

AMERICA BEFORE COLUMBUS



ANCIENT CIVILISATIONS OF CENTRAL AMERICA V

NAHUA RELIGION AND MYTHOLOGY

THE GODS AND HUMAN SACRIFICES

THE Central American civilisation, with the changes which the Zapotecs had imposed upon it, made its way northward, and finally became the common property of almost all the Nahua peoples. The individual steps of this progress cannot be recognised in the scanty remains which have come down to us from the Nahua races which were settled between the Zapotecs and the highland of Anahuac.

As to the Mixtecs, we know that they also built terraced pyramids, on which were raised the altars of their gods; they too had learned to hand down to posterity the histories of their gods and princes in those written characters with which we first meet among the Zapotecs. They measured the lapse of their days and the recurrence of their festivals by a calendar founded upon the same principles as that of Central America. It is impossible, however, to give any more accurate description of the position which this race held among the advancing civilisations. As we go farther north, this civilisation assumes a more general character, and can be designated as the Aztec offshoot of Central American culture. It is a civilisation which certainly has affinities with the ancient Maya, though it struck out a line of its own in those centuries when its progress was free from external influence.

Culture of the Mixtecs

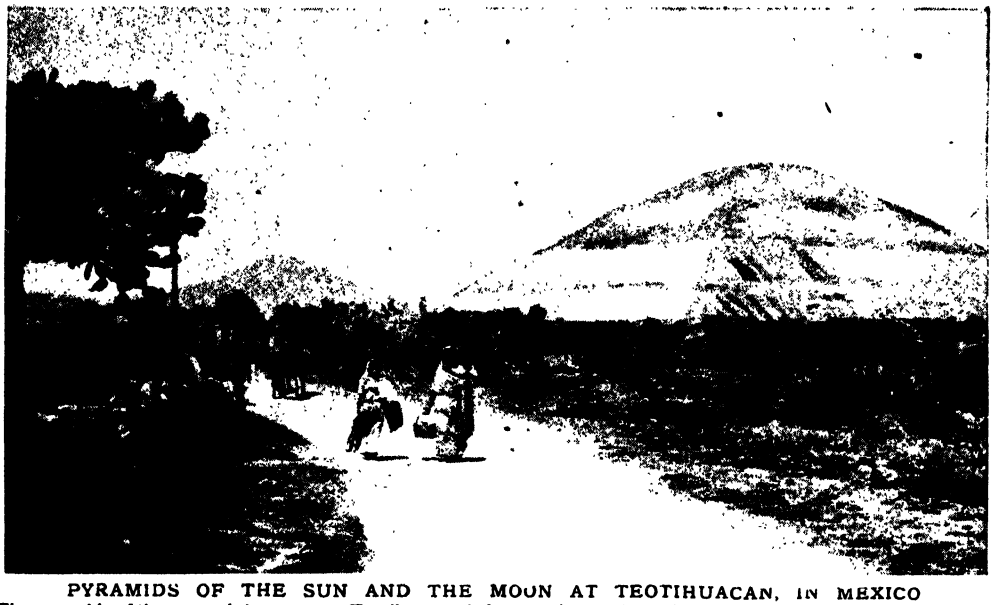
Once more in the northern districts we meet with traces which recall to our minds the southern origin of the Mexican civilisation; these are in the town of Cholula. The famous pyramid which has been named after this town, and which excited the astonishment and amazement of the Spanish conquerors, has been for a long time in such a ruined condition that it is impossible to assign its position in American art from its artistic style. The old chroniclers, however, inform us that, unlike the Aztec temple pyramids, which were usually crowned by an open altar of the god, this pyramid bore a roofed-in building on its summit. This reminds us of the architectural style of the more southern races, and the name of the god to whom the temple was dedicated points in the same direction; his name was Quetzalcoatl—that is, the feathered snake.

God of the Feathered Snake

The religious conception on which the symbol of the feathered snake is based is so widely spread over American soil that we cannot at once assume it to have been borrowed from any similar neighbouring worship; the analogous development of the mythological conceptions of the American peoples would lead us to a complete explanation of this occurrence of identical symbols. However, in Cholula, and in the cult of the god Quetzalcoatl, we have to deal, not only with an observed similiarity to the Kukulkan or Gukumatz of the Maya, but we have also to consider the complete identity of the god, his mythology and his worship, which could not be established without some internal communication.

According to Mexican tradition, Quetzalcoatl came to the country in a boat, passing over the western ocean with a few companions; he is said to have landed upon Mexican soil in the far north of the country, on the River Panuco. To the naked savages who then inhabited the land he was a marvellous apparition, a figure clothed in shining raiment, and wearing a beard, an appendage unusual among the natives. Quetzalcoatl soon taught them the arts of peace, in particular agriculture and weaving; he gave them writing to preserve his teaching, and the calendar to regulate his worship. After he had established a well-ordered state in the land where formerly only wandering huntsmen dwelt, he disappeared, with the promise that he would again revisit his people. This legend in every particular coincides so exactly with the Maya legend of Kukulkan that we cannot doubt the

The Legend of Quetzalcoatl



PYRAMIDS OF THE SUN AND THE MOON AT TEOTIHUACAN, IN MEXICO
The pyramids of the sun and the moon, at Teotihuacan, belong to that early period when, like Mitla, Teotihuacan was not only a place of pilgrimage for the living, but also a sacred place, in which to be buried was to be sure of salvation.

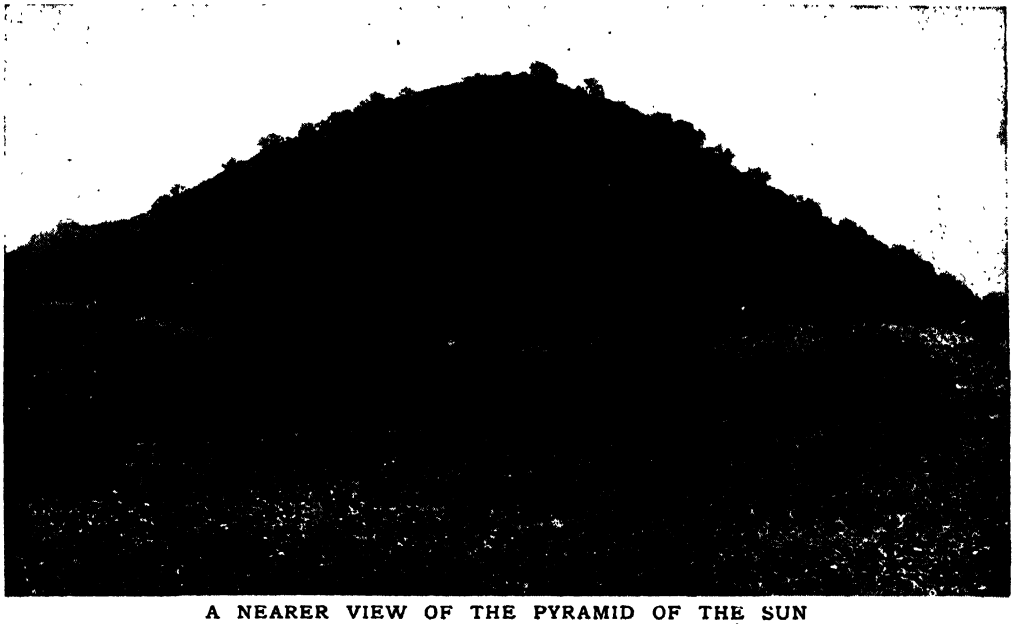
one being borrowed from the other. There is a further point to be considered. The custom of human sacrifice is a characteristic feature in Nahua worship; at the bottom of it was the religious belief that the offering to the god was sanctified by its sacrifice, and that to some extent transubstantiation into the divine essence took place. Consequently the sacrifice—often before its death—became an object of veneration. Thus, too, it was that the corpse was eaten, in order that everybody who tasted of it should assimilate a portion of the divine substance; and for this reason again the skin of the victim served as a sacred covering for the image of the god himself, or for his earthly representatives, the priests.

Human Sacrifices in Worship

These ideas are entirely Nahuatlac, and are altogether wanting among the Maya of ancient times who had not been influenced by the Nahua; also among younger nations of the same origin, among whom the custom of human sacrifice was in restricted use, the particular Nahua adoptions of it are nowhere to be found. Quetzalcoatl, in Maya consciousness, has always been a divinity who not only objected to human sacrifice in his own worship, but entirely abhorred the characteristic Nahua use of the offering, and this at the time when it gained its highest importance and extent under the Aztec dominion. The worship of Quetzalcoatl was carried on in a closed temple-chamber with penance and discipline, but only with inoffensive victims. It formed a kind of secret worship in opposition to the bloody sacrifice openly made to Huitzilopochtli and Tezcatlipoca; and to it the last king of the Aztecs, Montezuma, resorted as soon as his own gods and their priests had proved helpless before the stranger who had come forth from the waters of the west, with his beard and his armour of gleaming brass.

In one other place we find a wide district of Mexico thickly covered with the ruins of old buildings—that is, on the eastern coast-line, north of Vera Cruz, in the district of the Totonacs. It is possible that these Nahua architects also had Maya neighbours upon their borders; these must have been the Huastecs, who had been driven northward far from the mass of the Maya people. But the ruins that have been found in their own district are very inadequate, and our knowledge of their history is extremely scanty; it would therefore be a bold conclusion to assign the existence of the numerous architectural remains in the district of the Totonacs to the influence of their civilisation. Moreover, the position of the buildings is here of a different character from those in the Maya district. The terraced

The Work of Nahua Architects



A NEARER VIEW OF THE PYRAMID OF THE SUN

This closer view of the pyramid of the sun illustrates the striking manner in which Nature has regained mastery over the works of man, the huge mound being now entirely covered with shrubs and other natural growth.

pyramid here, too, forms the foundation of that space which was consecrated to the worship of the gods, following the universal character of the pyramids in the Maya and Nahua territories. But the heavy flights of steps, and a wall running round the upper terrace, are a distinct divergence from the normal type; they excite particular attention, as they remind us of the strategical purposes so strongly marked in all the Totonac cities.

Generally the Totonac pryamids do not seem to have been crowned with a massive temple of stone, and in this respect they have approached the Hahua type; but in the few cases where the upper platform is decorated with a stone temple, a coincidence with the style of the Central American architecture is apparent in the unusually heavy roof rising above a building which is low and narrow in comparison with the main mass of the erection; the impression of heaviness thus given is only dispelled by the prominent facade which crowns the whole. We should be the better able to decide how far the Nahua peoples succeeded in independently developing their highest civilisation and their artistic style after the Spanish arrival if more extensive ruins had been left of those great towns which the astonishment of the conquerors has painted for us in such brilliant colours, at the time when a systematic examination of them was at length undertaken. The few antiquities that have been found upon these ancient centres of progress are so little consonant with the glowing descriptions of the conquistadores that we must either suppose their surprise led them into considerable exaggeration, or we must assume that a large portion of the ornamental buildings was constructed of far more perishable material than was the case elsewhere. Of the ruined sites of pure Nahuatlac origin only two are worth particular consideration, namely, Teotihuacan and Xochicalco.

Towns that Surprised the Spaniards

Sacred Town of the Nahua Races

Teotihuacan is a striking example, clearly demonstrating how short was the historical recollection of the different Nahua royal families in spite of all the long genealogies that have been put forward. This town has already become mythical to the generation with which the conquerors came into contact, and yet for centuries it had been the religious centre and the sacred town for the Nahua races of the tableland of Anahuac, even as Mecca is for the Mohammedans, or Jerusalem for the Christians. Our historical sources give us no information as to whether it played any part in politics under the most ancient Chichimec dominion; but they ascribe its foundation to the remotest antiquity; they put it

forward consistently and invariably as the holiest and most venerated of temples, with the most influential priesthood. The question may be left undecided as to whether the modern designations of the most important pyramids of Teotihuacan —as "the hill of the sun," "the hill of the moon," etc.—have been justified by archæological inquiry; at any rate, the name "path of the dead" is correct for the long range of little hills which stretches out behind the larger pyramids. Teotihuacan was, like Mitla, not only a place of pilgrimage for the living, but also a sacred place, in which to be buried was to be sure of salvation. Even in the most recent times the neighbourhood of the ruins has been an inexhaustible hunting-ground for the little pots and clay figures which formed the offerings with which the dead were usually committed to the earth. Moreover, the other names mentioned are in entire accord with the ancient Nahua civilisation.

The Striking Pyramids at Teotihuacan

The Nahua religion was founded upon those startling manifestations of Nature which have struck the imagination of men in every part of the world. Nature-worship, under later influences, was wholly changed to an anthropomorphic realisation of religious conceptions, and by degrees many accessory notions fastened themselves around individual divinities. Yet, almost without exception, the gods of the different Nahuatlac nations can be traced back to particular phenomena of Nature. Even Huitzilopochtli, the fearful war-god of the Aztecs, whose worship was accompanied by a shedding of human blood that has never been equalled elsewhere, originally sprang from an entirely inoffensive conception of Nature.

He is the incarnation of the sun's beneficent power, which in the early spring begins a fruitful reign, and in the autumn fades away and dies before the burning heat and the drying winds. Legend tells of his miraculous procreation, of his battle with the hostile twins, and of his death, proceeding in exactly the same manner as among the most different peoples in the Old and New Worlds. The sacred symbol of Huitzilopochtli is the colibri, the feathers of which decorated the god's left leg, according to the legend, to remind him of the fact that his mother Coatlicuë received him in the form of a bunch of feathers which she carried unwittingly in her bosom. To the Mexican highlands, however, the colibri is what the swallow is to the temperate zones—the messenger who announces that Nature again awakes from her winter sleep. In autumn the image of the god was every year destroyed by a priest of another godhead by shooting at it with an arrow to the accompaniment of particular religious ceremonies; this was the end of the good part of the year, the return of which was celebrated in the spring as the return of Huitzilopochtli.

War God of the Aztecs

Under the form of the colibri he had also been the guide of the Aztecs on their migrations; he had continually called them on with his cry: "Tiui, tiui!" until they had come to the seat of their power. Here was the first impulse to anthropomorphism; for along with the bird, the image of the god and his representatives, the priests, had accompanied the people. These conceptions then became so confused that the belief finally arose that Huitzilopochtli was only a casual historical personality who had been exalted to the height of a racial god. Human sacrifices played an essential part in all Nahuatlac worship; but the great extent to which they were carried in the Aztec worship of Huitzilopochtli arose from the unusually ferocious disposition of the Nahua national character.

The Nahua People's Chief God

The real chief god of the Nahua people is Tezcatlipocá. He is much more easily recognisable as an incarnation of the sun, and this not in its beneficial character as the bringer of all good, of light and warmth and fruitfulness, but also in its dangerous and destructive power, as hot drought and devouring fire. In its first character Tezcatlipocá was no doubt originally to the Nahua that which Kukulkan-Quetzalcoatl had been to the Maya people—the father of civilisation and culture. But when in the course of time the worship of the feathered snake as Quetzalcoatl made its way among the Nahua, then the legend began to be formed of the enmity between these two divinities; with a recollection of the previous power of Tezcatlipocá, the legend ends with a victory of this god over the foreign intruder, but shows him more and more in the light of a hostile, cruel god, while all the ideas concerning beneficent kindly powers group themselves around Quetzalcoatl, notwithstanding his defeat.

RUINS OF THE PYRAMID STEPS OF XOCHICALCO IN THE DISTRICT OF CHOLULA IN CENTRAL AMERICA

The ruins of Xochicalco, shown in the above illustration, are the remains of an extensive fortified position. Investigations have shown that the pyramid consisted only of a foundation, and of a temple which rose thereon and was perhaps unroofed, its sloping outer walls giving the appearance of a second pyramid. The whole building was overlaid with large, highly sculptured plates of trachyte, while the space within was filled with rubble. On the western side a flight of steps, now largely ruined, led up to the temple entrance, while the entire exterior of the building was adorned with rich decorative work, which covered the sloping walls of the two pyramidal erections, and also the horizontal frieze which lay between them.

The numerous gods of the beneficent powers of Nature and of the fruitful soil are a peculiarity of the Nahua religion. On the one hand they show the important influence of animism on the conceptions of Nahua mythology; upon the other hand they make it evident how important was the part that agriculture played in the life of these peoples at the time when their conceptions of the gods were coming into existence. In this there is matter for surprise, inasmuch as in later historical times we meet with individual Nahua races upon a lower plane of civilisation.

Influence of Agriculture on the Peoples

A confusion of the divinities of different races had unmistakably taken place in a considerable portion of their mythology as it existed at the time of the Spanish conquest and has come down to us. Every people that rose to an important position in this civilisation contributed its own national divinities to the common stock of conceptions; in worship and legend it created for them an important position, but side by side with their worship it worshipped and preserved all the more ancient deities. This is the simplest mode of explaining the extraordinary number of the gods in the Aztec Olympus, which the ancient historians have also described with expressions of astonishment.

After the power of the sun, which warms the earth and makes it fruitful and flourishing, the most important element of the Mexican highland climate was the rain. The success of every crop depended entirely upon the opportuneness and the sufficiency of this heavenly gift. The old historical sculptures of the different Nahua races of the east often describe the pregnant effects upon the general life of the people consequent on years of drought.

Hence we need not be surprised if the gods of water, of moisture, and of the clouds that pour forth rain, take a significant place in the national worship. There are but few divinities of which we have so many and such extensive sculptures as of Tlaloc, the god of rain. He was depicted in a peculiar position, semi-recumbent, with the upper part of the body raised upon the elbows, and the knees half-drawn up, perhaps with the intention of symbolising the fructifying influence of moisture upon the earth. By his side there was also a goddess with similar essential characteristics; as a symbol of fruitfulness she had presented him with numerous children. In addition to this, the fruitfulness of the soil was represented by a large number of independent divinities, for the most part of the female sex. Coatlicuë, who had brought up Huitzilopochtli, as being the mother of the colibri, was the goddess of flowers and fruit. The legend of the Aztec goddess of the fruitful corn-land, Centeotl, was especially detailed. In the narrower sense she represents—and to a larger extent than Xilonen, who appears as her daughter—the maize, the staple food of the Americans, the yellow colour of which was sacred to her. The fact that the maize plays a large part in the hieroglyphic writing of both the Maya and the Nahua testifies to the importance of this grain in the domestic economy of ancient America.

Tlaloc the God of Rain

As the goddess of fruitfulness, Centeotl is also the protector of women in childbirth; in spite of this her worship was accompanied with far more human sacrifices than were customary for all the remaining Nahua divinities. The idea which runs throughout the Aztec sacrifice —namely, that the victim, even before his death, by being dedicated to the god, becomes a part of the god and is one with him, is especially to be recognised in her worship; in this the numerous female victims received a share of the reverence paid to the goddess in a complicated ceremonial which took place before their death.

The Sacred Town of the God of Death

The god of death has already appeared among the Zapotecs; his sacred town, Yopaa (or Yapooh), became famous under its Mexican title, Mitla. Mitla is a popular reduction of the form Mictlan, and is at once the name both of the god of death and of his kingdom. He also is accompanied by a female goddess, easily to be recognised in the pictorial representations of Mitla by the invariable death-mask with its prominent row of teeth. As in the case of most peoples, the conception of death is connected with the ideas of the north and of darkness. His kingdom is situated in everlasting darkness within the earth; his worship was carried on by the priests at night, clothed in black or in dark-coloured raiment.

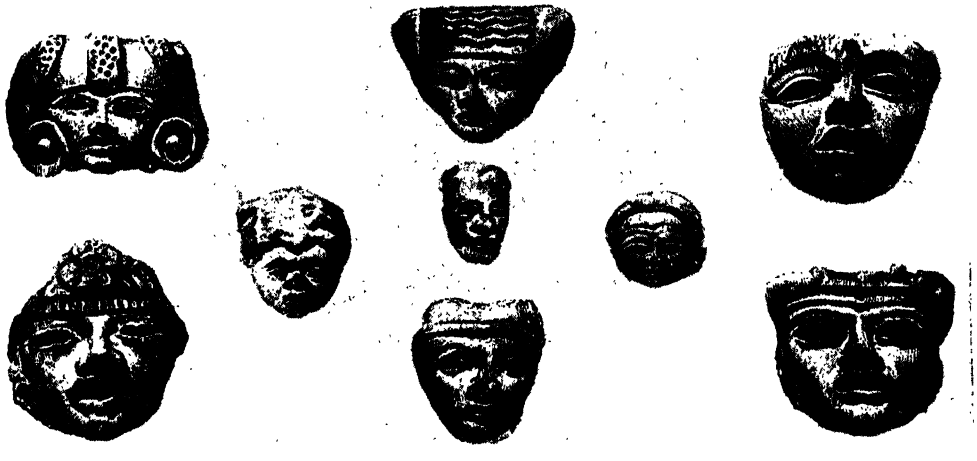
According to Aztec ideas the kingdom of death was not the inevitable end of all life. The common herd—that is, everybody who had not been able during his

life upon earth to make good his claim to a better lot—found his way to Mictlan sooner or later. It was not, however, as in the Christian hell, a life of endless torture which was there prepared for the departed. The journey was certainly long and surrounded with every kind of danger. For this reason they never forgot to bury food, drink, and all kinds of amulets—especially strips of aloe paper—together with the corpse; but of the final fate of the dead man, who passed after all his journeyings into the ninth division of the lower world, the Mexicans themselves could give no adequate account.

Far different was the fate of those who, according to the conceptions of these peoples, had shown particular merits in life or death. All the offerings brought to the gods entered, as we know, into immediate and close connection with the godhead; this connection was naturally continued in the future life, where such victims shared in the joys of heaven, in the service and the company of their gods.

The nature of these pleasures had been fully detailed for us in the case of those who entered into connection with Tlaloc. They went up to the summits of the highest mountains, the abode of the clouds, where a splendid garden awaited them, in which all the waters of the world had their source and cooled and refreshed the whole neighbourhood. There they lived among everlasting feasts and games, and could even descend again to the earth upon the most important festival of their gods in order to be witnesses of his honour. There came into the kingdom of Tlaloc not only those who were sacrificed to him, but also all those who were drowned or struck by lightning. The manner of their death was a sign that the god loved them and took them to himself. The highest heaven—for the heaven also rose in nine divisions above the earth—was that of the sun and his incarnations Huitzilopochtli, Tezcatlipocá, and Quetzalcoatl.

Hither came the souls of the kings and the mighty, of the priests and the nobles, who had been able during their earthly life to approach more nearly to the gods than common men; but, above all, the souls of those went to the sun who had fallen in battle; and by these means many were able to lay claim to the heaven from which they would have been naturally excluded. Hither, too, came all those who had been sacrificed to the sun-gods as prisoners of war or had fallen in religious struggles; and this conviction of the meritorious nature of death in battle contributed not a little, as among the Mohammedans, to nourish the warlike spirit of these peoples. Finally, there came to the sun the souls of all women who had died in childbirth. There they all carried on a life of unending pleasure; with song and dance they accompanied the sun on his course; and when he sank in the west, in holy sleep, they renewed their strength to begin their work anew upon the morrow.



COLLECTION OF MASKS AND HEADS FOUND AT TEOTIHUACAN, IN MEXICO

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As we see, the religion of the Nahua peoples was by no means without its mild and kindly side. Their peculiar conception of the consubstantiation of the victim with the divinity deprived human sacrifice of much of its native horror, and the desire to win a life of everlasting joy induced many to offer themselves as willing victims to the god. The continued practice of cannibalism rested upon a similar conception. By tasting the victim, which had become to some extent divine, the eater of it also shared in the godhead; similarly, with certain ceremonies, an image of the god which was not offered in sacrifice, but formed of eatable material, was broken and consumed by the worshippers. The greater refinement of manners which the advance of civilised development brought to many of the Nahua races may also have had a share in opposing the horrible human sacrifices.

Willing Victims to the Gods

When the Aztecs first invaded the particular district of the Nahua peoples they had but little civilisation but were a race of bold warriors of great physical development. In the district of the lakes of Chalco, Tezcuco, and Zumpango they found other races springing from the same stock who had developed a highly cultured civilisation as a result of centuries of residence. Here, as everywhere, civilised progress had not made these races either stronger or more capable of resistance; and the attacking Aztecs, though of similar origin to the other nations, saw in their refinement a falling away from the old customs—a degeneration. Their consciousness of their superiority, the success that invariably attended their efforts, were to them proofs of the good-will of the gods, who preferred to be worshipped in the old fierce manner rather than with the modern milder cult; and by degrees this idea tended more and more to bring back the dreadful form of worship. The Aztec Power extended over countries containing the most different peoples, who had been more or less subjugated; from these their religious ideas led them to exact that awful tribute which made them hated by every nation that was dependent on them.

Wide Range of the Aztec Power

These peculiar circumstances were neither of long historical duration nor very widely spread, but have none the less greatly contributed to throw back our knowledge of the preceding history of the Central American district, and to spread abroad false ideas concerning it. The chief task, at the moment, for Mexican archæology is to distinguish what is transitory and isolated from what is characteristic and universal.

The name Teotihuacan, representing the company of the Nahua gods, leads us naturally to the consideration of their religious conceptions; similarly, the name Xochicalco, the last of the ruined towns that we need mention, affords an excellent opportunity for some remarks upon Nahua art. In their general character the ruins of Xochicalco are very similar to those in the district of the Totonacs. Spurs running out into the plain from the main mountain range have been made defensible by stonework and trenches on every side; and these works of art are erected in terrace-fashion over a considerable extent of the mountain side. In the immediate neighbourhood of these there seems to have been an ancient settlement, a village or a town; but the fortified space itself contained only temples and palaces and the dwellings of the garrison, and served as a refuge for the inhabitants of the place in time of danger. Within the fortifications, though not on the summit of the hill, stands the temple pyramid which certainly gave the name to the place—for Xochicalco means "in the house of flowers."

Temple of the Flower Goddess

There stood a house of flowers, the temple of the flower goddess, Xochiquetzal. In spite of the destruction to which it has been subjected in the course of centuries, this building is still one of the finest that has been discovered upon American soil. Ancient chronicles would have us believe that at the time of its completion the temple pyramid of Xochicalco had five storeys; examinations of the position have proved that it never had more than one, and that the storey which can now be seen. Upon this, following the sloping rise of the pyramid, a building without a roof, running round three sides of the pyramid, but open in front, contained a sacred temple space, but was not itself a properly enclosed temple. This particular form of building is certainly connected with the worship of the Nahua peoples, whose religious ceremonies were almost entirely carried on under the open heaven and in the full light of day.

THE CHICHIMEC SUPREMACY

NAHUA DOMINION IN LEGEND AND HISTORY

IT was within the boundaries of the civilisation described that the history of the Nahua peoples was developed. If we would pass a right judgment upon this history, we must, above all things, keep one point in view—the extreme narrowness of the conditions within which the early ancient history of Mexico was brought to a close.

The limits of the older historical traditions nowhere overpass the mountain range which on almost every side surrounds the valley of Mexico proper; places like Tula and Tulancingo, only a few miles distant from the central point of Nahua history, the Lake of Tezcuco, are lost in avenues of distance. The main portions of those peoples who spoke the Nahua language were entirely unknown to this tradition; in the last century, at the time when the Aztec warlike expeditions penetrated into more remote districts, one or two names of individual kings are mentioned. The district in which the ancient Mexican history ran its course according to tradition is little more than 6,500 square miles in area. Separated by a distance of but a few miles were here situated the capitals of all the states which succeeded to the empire of the district of Mexican civilisation during the last century of the ancient régime, and it is these towns which the Spanish historians describe as the seat of so many empires and dominions.

The Seat of Empires and Dominions

According to tradition the oldest inhabitants of Anahuac are the Olmecs—or Ulmecs—and the Xicalancs. These apparently were regarded as the giant people the conquest of whom cleared the way for the settlements of the Nahua race; more often, however, the Olmecs and Xicalancs are considered as the conquerors of the giants, and as the founders of the oldest sacred towns Teotihuacan and Cholula. That these names were invariably used to designate the Nahua peoples at large is proved by the fact that their names are always to be found in that district whither the seven races were led who left their common home, the seven caves of Chicomoztoc, in order to seek the promised land. The Olmecs are said to have been accompanied on their migrations by the Zapotecs and Mixtecs; to these are occasionally added the Totonacs, and even the Huastecs, who spoke a Maya dialect. By this we may understand that the settlement of the Olmecs in Anahuac was supposed to be contemporaneous with the settlement of the other people of the same race who did not form the focus of the Nahua interests; that is, the people with whom we meet as intruding upon and shattering the Maya civilisation. Beyond this, tradition has nothing to say of the Olmecs and Xicalancs; no royal name, no event, was preserved in their history. But the fact that they were closely connected with the seat of the highest and most ancient priestly knowledge shows that we must not think of them as a rude hunting tribe, but that their arrival marked an epoch of civilisation for the highland of Anahuac.

The Olmecs Settle in Anahuac

The next group of Nahua races that found their way into Anahuac and became of historical importance were the Chichimecs. The ancient historians employed this name in a double sense. In its general meaning it denotes the whole group of the later Nahua people; in this sense our historical sources speak of the Teo Chichimecs—the inhabitants of the district of Tlazcala—the Toltec Chichimecs, the Colhua Chichimecs, and the Aztec Chichimecs. In this case the name means neither more nor less than those peoples who were of true Nahuac origin and belonged to a great group of Nahua-speaking races; these races were called savages—this is the sense of the word—when other related races had already undergone the influence of civilisation, and

Races of Nahuac Origin

so had grown out of their ancient national characteristics. These changes took place under the influence of a foreign nationality —that of the Maya, as we already know; hence the name Chichimec gained the meaning of "unadulterated," "pure," and in this sense it was a term applied to all the Nahua peoples who could claim purity of origin. We learn that no individual Nahua race was originally called by this name from the fact that the Teo Chichimecs, the Toltecs, the Colhua, the Aztecs, but never the Chichimecs, are mentioned as having come among the seven races from the caves of Chicomoztoc.

Emperor of the Chichimecs

In spite of this, in the course of time, and as a result of long traditional transmission, the name Chichimec came to be the designation of a race, or, more properly, of a certain body politic. For a time this body must have played an important part among the peoples of Anahuac. We have mention of kings of the Toltecs, of the Colhuas, and of the Aztecs; but in the case of the Chichimecs an emperor is mentioned, and the title Chichimecatl Tecuhtli —"the lord of the Chichimecs"—was the highest to which a governor of the different Nahua states could lay claim.

Eleven kings, including Chichimecatl, had apparently already reigned over this people when the Toltecs of Tula sent an embassy to the Chichimec court and offered the government of their country to the king's second son; there is here a vague recollection of some family connection between the Chichimecs and Toltecs. The first Chichimec prince who is said to have ruled after the fall of the Toltec kingdom—the king Xolotl—is said to have had a reign of nearly 300 years. The artistically conceived system of ancient Mexican chronology has been traced far into the past by native writers who were influenced by Christianity, and for this reason they went back only far enough to make the chronologies of the Old and New Worlds coincide, and to connect their people with the confusion of tongues at the Tower of Babel. The chronologies proposed for the history of the old kingdoms have no scientific value whatever.

Legendary Kings in Anahuac

The tradition of numerous peoples of Anahuac preserved the legend of a long row of kings or princes who are said to have ruled the land; and in many cases these genealogies are connected with the gods, or include such gods in the genealogical tree. Certain authors like Ixtlilxochitl, and probably many before him of whose writings he availed himself, arranged a number of such dynasties in a vertical line instead of in parallel columns; however, by their means we have been able to trace back Mexican history right to the beginning of the Christian era, or even further.

The kingdom of Toltec civilisation is one of the unhistoric legends which originated in the manner we have described; its legendary source is betrayed by the fact that its kings constantly bear the names of gods, and that the town Tollan (Tula), from which the name Toltec is supposed to have been derived, can scarcely have been the capital of a Toltec kingdom. In the Toltec legend is reflected a recollection of the historical importance of a state the central point of which was Culhuacan.

This cannot be traced back into those remote times in which the Toltec kingdom has been placed, but belongs to an historical period; at that time a large number of other Chichimec states, together with Tezcuco, had a flourishing existence, and then it was that the youngest branch of the Nahua race, the Aztec, began to attract attention to itself. Such knowledge as has come down to us of the ancient kingdom—extending over a period from the sixth century, in which tradition places its beginnings, up to the thirteenth century, in which its historical period begins—is of importance in only this respect: it shows us in abstract form, little influenced by the realities of the time, those conceptions and ideas which the Nahua people themselves held concerning their common civic life. Thus far the legends throw light on the internal history of the race, both in ancient and in more modern times.

Flourishing Chichimec Communities

The tradition of the oldest times, speaking as it does of numerous reigning deities, would of itself show us the important influence of the priestly caste among the older Nahua races, even if we had no examples from historical times of the energy and tenacity with which the priests struggled against the inevitable inroads of a secular power. The gods, partly under their own sacred names, and sometimes appearing as princes who ruled for centuries and were canonised

after their death, are the constant guides of the Nahua races on their migrations, or laid the foundation of particular prosperity and unusual growth during their periods of settled existence; this fact proves that theocracy and a rule of priests under the special protection of heaven was a typical characteristic among the Nahua, and also among the Maya peoples, for a long period of their development.

It was at this time that most of the great temple pyramids were founded; and their foundation under such a government explains to us why tradition has considered them, for the most part, anterior to the founding of a secular state, or has ascribed them to some earlier people. As long as nations of a common origin and similar religious conceptions were in exclusive contact with one another, so long were the priests able to keep the peace without great difficulty. There was certainly rivalry among the priests of divinities belonging to different races, and this now and then led to those animosities which the legend represents as the battles of the gods among themselves; at the same time peace and prosperity were well-nigh universal and gave every necessary encouragement to a rapidly spreading civilisation. But the spread of this civilisation, however, threatened the priestly states with a two-fold danger. Among their subjects there were to be found now and then certain people outside of the sacerdotal caste who realised the true state of affairs and objected to a monopoly of profit on the part of the priests. Moreover, increasing prosperity invited attacks from less civilised neighbours, with which the priestly power alone could not cope.

Gods Fighting Among Themselves

Thus there grew up, side by side with the priests, the class of "caciques," the military power. The importance of this class increased in proportion to the growth of danger from without, and to the value of their services in repelling it, until at length the military leaders recognised that they were indispensable and declined to surrender to the priests that power which they had with difficulty acquired. Civilisation thus enters upon a fresh struggle—that of the secular and religious powers. At the outset the priestly caste often succeeded in frightening their superstitious people with threats of divine wrath; every defeat in battle, every failure of the crops, every devastating plague, enabled them for a time to keep the balance of power between the secular and the religious forces. Here we have the cause of those repeated long interregnums with which we meet at the beginnings of almost every dynasty. In many cases the secular power attempted to win over the religious power and to reconcile it to the new state of things by means of liberal concessions; but the natural result everywhere came to pass. The military class, when once they had gained the upper hand, concentrated the power more and more in themselves, declined to resign it in times of peace, and by degrees created a military nobility which acted as a counterpoise to the priestly power and invariably led to the establishment of a dynasty in which succession was regulated either by election or by inheritance.

Secular and Religious Powers in Conflict

Among the related peoples these changes were accomplished in a gradual and uniform manner. The mere fact that one little race had shaken off the priestly yoke and chosen a king for itself demanded a similar development on the part of its neighbours, and at an early period the Caciques became connected by a community of interest with the dynasty, both in their political and family relations. Only when their common enemy, the priestly caste, had finally been forced into a secondary position did the desire for empire on the part of the secular rulers become obvious. This ambition led to the wars of conquest among the petty princes who from time to time rose from one or other of the nations of Anahuac to be a dominant power.

The nations of Mexico were incompetent to organise a large empire, and, like almost all the peoples of the New World, remained thus divided up until the Spanish arrival. Even the greatest monarchs exercised lordship over only the immediate neighbourhood of their residences. The outlying districts, even when closely connected with the central state, were invariably ruled by feudal princes, whose fidelity was not proof against many external temptations. If the ruling monarch were strong enough to subdue his disobedient vassals, then his kingdom not only extended over his own territories, but included those lying without it; but, the larger the

Mexico's Divided Nations

number of these subject kings, the greater became the danger that this loosely constructed political organisation might entirely collapse. As a matter of fact, it is in this fashion that one empire after another, Chichimec, Colhua, and Tezcucan, came into existence and fell to pieces again; and if the Spaniards at the beginning of the sixteenth century had not brought the whole system to an end, the Aztec empire would undoubtedly have suffered a like fate.

The Supreme Power of the Kings

Naturally, under these circumstances, the yoke of the central government was generally light. When a disobedient vassal was subdued, or when the king with his army passed through the subject province to make fresh conquests, then his hand was heavy upon the land, and the life and property of his people were at his disposal.

But the contributions which in time of peace were sent up to the seat of power in acknowledgment of subjection were in few cases more than nominal gifts, and were generally only a half-voluntary tribute, rather symbolic than real. So easy was this rule that the lords of neighbouring, and also of more distant, districts occasionally preferred to recognise the dominion of some other prince, and to pay him a voluntary tribute, in order to assure themselves against the possibility of his forces being turned against themselves. This is the explanation of those kingdoms, nominally of large extent, being so often overthrown by a mere handful of people in a very short space of time.

For as soon as the prestige of the king, which was founded upon the imagination of his people, had been shattered, then all who had paid him tribute shook off his feeble yoke and declared themselves independent until a new potentate from another race succeeded in making himself a terror in the land. Although numbers of princely houses imagined, as we have said, that they could trace their genealogy uninterruptedly through six or seven centuries, yet it is only at the beginning of the twelfth century that history begins. At that time a number of so-called kingdoms were already in existence in Anahuac; among these the Chichimec kingdom, with its capital Tenayocan, on the west side of the lake of Tezcuco, held the leading position. The next in importance was the kingdom of Acolhua, with its capital Culhuacan, lying to the north of the lake of Chalco; it had apparently inherited the Toltec civilisation and was the chief centre of the culture of the time. Its ruling dynasty traced its origin to Topiltzin, the last Toltec king. In the middle of the century this line of kings had to struggle against an unexpected attack from the Chichimec power, and to make way for a dynasty from that race, which paid a nominal allegiance to the lords of Tenayocan.

Kingdoms and Their Capitals

Atzcaputzalco, Coatlichan, and Xaltocan are named as being other kingdoms under the protection of the one we have mentioned; all these places are to be found in the immediate neighbourhood of the central lakes. Moreover, the states of Tlazatlan, Zacatlan, and Tenamitec are also named as being countries which were subject to the authority of the Chichimec dynasty, so that this Chichimec power seems to have extended nearly over the whole valley of Mexico. All these principalities had made long strides in civilisation, an advance generally attributed by the chroniclers to Toltec influences. The invasion of fresh Nahua races still living in unreclaimed savagery threatened this civilisation with unmistakable dangers towards the end of the century. The Tecpanecs and Chalca obviously were sprung from Chicomoztoc—"the seven caves"; the consciousness of their relationship with the Nahua races already settled in the valley of Mexico had never been lost, and consequently Tollan also appears as one of the resting-places of their migration.

Nahua Races Living in Savagery

Then they appear in Anahuac proper, at Chapultepec, but in spite of their numbers they do not seem to have pressed the Chichimecs either very long or very hardly. A short time later they formed a political community completely organised in the most southerly portion of the lake district, and here the Chalca states attained an importance in the next century before which the fame of the Chichimecs and of Acolhua began to pale.

At that time also the youngest of the Nahua races—the Aztecs—had appeared in the lake district; their own traditions relate that they had been the last to leave the "seven caves," and that their migrations had lasted longer and their wanderings been more extensive than those of the other races related to them. At that time

they were entirely under the government of their priests, who carried the image of their national god, Huitzilopochtli, upon a litter before them, and issued their orders as commands from heaven. The race cannot have been numerous when it first obtained permission from the Chichimec lords to make a settlement in Chapultepec, but the addition of numerous related tribes and the acquisition of friendly contingents from neighbouring towns increased their importance every year, and their warlike prowess began to make them famous—even notorious—in the unending wars of the different dynasties, in which they played a considerable part as allies of one or the other party.

Up to this point they had remained true to their institutions; in spite of all the chances of war, and the changes which it brought, the priests of Huitzilopochtli continued to hold the power. It was then that this god began to undergo a metamorphosis from the character of sun-god to that of war-god. But even the Aztecs could not resist the influence exercised upon them by the exigencies of their position and the example of neighbouring races; and in spite of the vigorous objections of the priesthood they chose their first secular monarch, Huitzilihuitl, about the year 1250. Like the princes of the neighbouring states he had a king's title and exercised a king's power within his own race, but he was not successful in founding an Aztec dynasty.

Aztecs' First Secular Monarch

He had entered into an alliance with the Cacique of Zumpancoa gainst the Tecpanecs of Xaltocan, had started upon a campaign, but had only succeeded in exciting the opposition of the other Tecpanec princes to his Aztecs. As he declined to pay tribute to the Tecpanecatl Tecuhtli, the ruling monarch of the race who resided in Atzcaputzalco, he was attacked on every side by the subjects and the allies of the Tecpanecs, and after numerous losses and a vain attempt to summon to his aid the Chichimec king of Tezcuco, he was obliged to abdicate. The priestly caste again obtained the power and succeeded in making peace with their neighbours, though at the sacrifice of that independence which Huitzilihuitl had defended.

The ruling powers of Anahuac had meanwhile become more or less weakened; the Chichimec ruler, Tlotzin Pochotl, and his successor, Quinantzin, did not succeed in keeping their territory intact. Their inclinations were rather towards arts of peace than feats of war. They had turned their attention chiefly toward the decoration of their capitals, and had neglected to protect their boundaries, so that the reins of power fell from their hands. The ties which bound the subject kings of Atzcaputzalco, Xaltocan, and other states, to the central government grew looser and looser. Owing to the circumstances under which the Aztecs appear among these states, scarcely any traces are left of a defensive alliance between the Tecpanec states and the kingdom of the Chichimecs. The direction which their development took was largely influenced by the change of settlement from Tenayocan to Tezcuco under Quinantzin.

Royal Court in Tezcuco

Tezcuco, under the preceding government, had become a dangerous rival of the old capital, while the Chichimec princes were devoting their attention to the decoration and adornment of their palaces and gardens. The government of the important province of Tezcuco fell into the hands of the presumptive successor of the emperor, Chichimecatl Tecuhtli. As governor, Quinantzin had already held a royal court in Tezcuco; while still in Tenayocan he had established his position as emperor, and had then entrusted the government of his present capital to another's hands and gone back to his chosen Tezcuco. In consequence of this change of capital from the western to the eastern side of the lake the whole Chichimec kingdom naturally enough gravitated in that direction.

At that time the boundaries of the Chichimec kingdom stretched far away over the valley to the east. Tlazcala, Huexotzinco, and other states upon the eastern tableland, were then governed by princes of Chichimec race. But as the kingdom gained ground in the east it became enfeebled on the west and abandoned the field to the Tecpanec states. The change of residence to Tezcuco did not entirely commend itself to all the Chichimecs, and as Quinantzin could not rely on the fidelity of his satraps a great confederacy was soon formed against him, which was secretly fostered by the Tecpanecs and tended to the separation of the whole of the western portion of the kingdom of Tezcuco. Once again a Chichimec

Lost Ground of the Chichimec Kingdom

state was formed about the ancient capital Tenayocan, in which a relation of Quinantzin usurped the title of Chichimecatl Tecuhtli. The emperor himself seemed little disturbed at this occurrence. He made sure of his power in the east; on the west he allowed things to take their course, as he was not strong enough to control them. The rival state was, however, of no long duration; within a short time the opposition king was attacked by the Tecpanecs, who had succeeded in bringing the Aztecs to their help. After the fall of Tenayocan the Chichimec power was firmly established in the western districts.

Chichimec Power Established

This state of affairs very soon after received the sanction of an international confederacy which was formed between the Tecpanec king of Atzcaputzalco, as emperor of all the Tecpanec states, and Quinantzin. To Quinantzin the Tecpanec king yielded the predominant position of Chichimecatl Tecuhtli, but by thus cleverly renouncing the appearance of power he gained a signal advantage in reality, for Quinantzin in return admitted all his claims to the ancient territory of the Chichimecs and confirmed him in their undisputed possession.

These battles had so entirely broken up and confounded every element in the Nahuatlac nationality that the new kingdoms were founded on a territorial far more than on a national basis. Thus we find Tezcuco the capital of districts that had been named by the different Nahua races. Tecpanecs, Aztecs, Colhua contributed at least as much to their population as did the Chichimecs and the eastern races.

The Aztecs were in the worst position; their habit of offering their services in war to the highest bidder, the wild ferocity with which they carried on their warfare, which had been the chief factor in forming their religion with its infamous sacrifices of human blood, made them the objects of universal hostility. The wars which ravaged the country on the north of the lake district at the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century brought destruction upon their capital Chapultepec; and the Aztec race, like many another, was broken up and dispersed. Scattered companies of them entered again into the services of the neighbouring states as mercenaries, with the intention of gaining permission to form fresh settlements as a reward for their prowess in war. But only two races—the Mexica and the Tlatelulca—kept their lineage sufficiently pure in the following ages to have a clear remembrance of their origin, until their turn for rule also came in the course of time. They had, however, much ground for thankfulness to the prince of Colhuacan, who had offered a refuge for their wanderings in Tizaapan or in Iztacalco.

The Aztec Race Broken up

The Tecpanecs had gained the chief advantage from the troubles of these times. The western portion of the lake of Zumpango from the north, as far as Chalco on the south, had become their almost undisputed territory. The eastern portion belonged similarly to the kings of Tezcuco. But the weak point of all these American states—their inability to organise a government over a large extent of country—became apparent here also. Atzcaputzalco, as the early centre of the whole Tecpanec kingdom, for some time retained considerable importance, and for a number of years its kings bore the title of Tecpanecatl Tecuhtli. But imperceptibly the centre of gravity of the political world shifted more and more toward the south. While the ancient Culhuacan again flourished next to Atzcaputzalco and Tenayocan, and quickly surpassed them both in importance, Chalco, Tenanco, and Amequemecan rose in the south as fresh centres of Tecpanec government.

Centres of Tecpanec Government

Circumstances threw the leadership into their hands when, about a century later, a common enemy of all the states of the lake district appeared in the Mexica people. At the time of their greatest development the Tecpanec states are said to have been no fewer than twenty-five in number; many of these were closely bound together by ties of relationship. A feeling of close connection was certainly alive among them all, and this sentiment became the more vigorous when the very existence of the race was threatened. But, in the meantime, individual Tecpanec kings had been fighting as furiously among themselves as the princes of the Chichimec race under similar circumstances had fought and were continuing to fight with all other kings.

In the first half of his reign, Quinantzin, the Chichimec emperor, was apparently indifferent to the loss of the western province of his kingdom; but he had not

finally renounced his claims upon it. For the time being he had concentrated all his powers on strengthening the newly formed kingdom on the eastern tableland. When signs of insurrection became visible even there, he met them with an unusual display of energy, and was generally able to restore order. When this was done he again turned his attention to the province he had lost. His first attack was upon the prince of Xaltocan, whose kingdom, owing to its inaccessible situation, had never been made tributary to the Tecpanecs. The well-organised forces of the united kingdom of Tezcuco easily overcame all attempts at resistance on the part of the Xaltocans.

After this victory the Tecpanec emperor did not think it expedient to allow the possession of this loosely connected province to be contingent upon the uncertain results of a war. With a view to strengthening this connection he offered peace and alliance to the Chichimecs, and declared himself ready to recognise their claims to the dominion of the whole lake district, and to acknowledge their overlordship, which was in his case to be merely formal. Quinantzin was satisfied with this result. He allowed the Tecpanecs the possibility of pursuing their peaceful and statesmanlike projects while he exercised at least a nominal suzerainty over a district which was far wider than any that his forefathers had possessed. When he died, in the year 1305, no less than seventy subject kings were present at the magnificent ceremonies which attended his burial in Tezcuco; no less than seventy kings paid homage to Techotl, the youngest son of the deceased monarch, whom he had nominated as his successor, for the elder brothers had lost all claims to the throne by participation in an attempt at revolt.

Death of the Great King Quinantzin

The most remarkable feature of the government of Techotl is that he first in Central America attempted to introduce a general change in the organisation of the states, which had hitherto been of a loose and wholly unstable character. Hitherto every subject king had reigned in his own province as free and unfettered as the Chichimecatl Tecuhtli himself had in his government of the central portion of the kingdom; so long as he paid the moderate tribute and in time of war offered no opposition to the passage of an army through his dominions, he might be sure that no heavier burdens would be laid upon him by his feudal lord. Quinantzin's reign had repeatedly displayed the serious dangers to the continuance of a united kingdom which were involved in such a state of affairs. The old king himself had, by sternly suppressing any attempt at insubordination, done much to increase the security of the political unity. Techotl energetically followed out these views. He contrived to gather most of the vassal kings together in Tezcuco, and to keep them in his immediate neighbourhood, under the honourable pretext of forming a council of state; their representatives, who ruled in their places, owed even greater allegiance to their feudal master.

Techotl's System of Government

Moreover, a new division of the country was arranged, the old racial boundaries were definitely abolished, the number of districts for the purposes of government was increased almost threefold, and thereby the danger that local insurrections might spread far and wide was largely diminished. Finally, Techotl, by means of a number of ordinances that were binding throughout his realm, kindled a spirit of unity among his people.

All these arrangements could only have been valid for his dominions on the east of the lakes; the west, which was almost as closely united, though perhaps not so strictly organised, under the Tecpanec king Tezozomoc, was almost beyond the reach of any kind of aggression. The state of nominal vassalage which Quinantzin had established remained undisturbed under the rule of Techotl; but after an energetic and ambitious monarch, in the person of Tezozomoc, had ascended the Tecpanec throne the danger of rivalry between the Chichimec kingdom, now known as Acolhuacan, and the Tecpanec kingdom became gradually more threatening. It was under the son and successor of Techotl, the king Ixtlilxochitl, that the storm broke. The satraps whose powers had been limited by Techotl's reforms, and who entertained for him an animosity not difficult to comprehend, made all kinds of excuses to avoid taking part in his funeral ceremonies.

New King on Tecpanec Throne

Their passive resistance was of little danger; more important was the attitude of the Tecpanecatl Tecuhtli. Tezozomoc openly declined to recognise the suzerainty of the young Chichimec prince, and was

unmistakably striving to throw off a yoke that had been sensibly relaxed. With the careless patience, which for generations was a striking characteristic of the Chichimec rulers, Ixtlilxochitl bore with the equivocal behaviour of his most powerful vassal. On the other hand, however, he appeared to be firmly determined to settle his dubious relations with the Tecpanec king in the spirit of his father's reforms. Tezozomoc met this straightforward policy with craft and dissimulation of every kind. As soon as Ixtlilxochitl threatened to enforce his demands, Tezozomoc declared himself ready to fulfil all claims.

Intrigues Against the King

But as soon as he had appeased him by a show of submission he declined to fulfil the responsibilities he had accepted, under pretexts of the most trivial kind. It was a mistake fraught with important consequences that Ixtlilxochitl permitted these intrigues to continue year by year. He shook the confidence of his own friends and allies, and gave his opponent time, not only to make proper preparations in every direction for a decisive conflict, but also to make allies of some of those vassals whose fidelity was weakening.

According to tradition, Tezozomoc, in three successive years, had sent a heavy tribute of raw cotton to Tezcuco, and had first requested, then required, and finally commanded that this tribute should be redelivered at Atzcaputzalco ready woven into stuff. Twice were his commands fulfilled; but the third time an embassy was returned to the effect that the Chichimec ruler had received the tribute with thanks, and would use it to arm his warriors, who were determined to punish their disobedient vassals.

Even then Ixtlilxochitl proceeded to wait for the attack of the Tecpanecs. Tezozomoc sent his army twice across the lake into the district of Tezcuco, but twice suffered a heavy defeat at the hands of adversaries whose numbers continually increased. In spite of all this he unconditionally rejected all the offers of the Tezcucan emperor to make peace on condition of recognising his superiority, and now openly advanced the claim that the title of Chichimecatl Tecuhtli belonged to him, in the first place, as being the direct successor of the founder of the Chichimec empire, the king Xolotl. In spite of this he would undoubtedly have been defeated if Ixtlilxochitl could have made up his mind to follow up with vigour the advantages he had won. Repeated victories brought to his side many of the little kings who had hitherto remained neutral; and many of the allies of Tezozomoc were beginning to weaken in their fidelity.

Tecpanecs Defeated in Battle

Thus when Ixtlilxochitl made his attack, he could easily collect a considerable army; and in the province of Tepotzotlan he won a brilliant victory against a hostile army of 200,000 men. It is difficult to understand how Ixtlilxochitl allowed himself to be again befooled by the cunning Tezozomoc. After a four months' siege the capital of Atzcaputzalco was incapable of offering further resistance. Tezozomoc agreed to an unconditional surrender and begged for pardon, appealing to the sentiment of kinship. Although he had been so many times deceived, Ixtlilxochitl was once again satisfied with mere promises. Without completing the work of conquest he withdrew his victorious army from the walls of his enemy's capital. This was a signal for a general collapse. Expectation of booty or reward in some form or other had brought certain waverers to his side to fight against the dreaded Tecpanecs; but they had no idea of exposing themselves to the revenge of Tezozomoc, who had been left in possession of his princely power, without themselves gaining any corresponding advantage.

Conquering Chichimec Emperor

An ominous stillness greeted the Chichimec emperor when he returned to his capital. Reports soon began to come in that Tezozomoc was making fresh preparations; and when he at last invited the king and his son, Nezahualcoyotl, to come to Chiuhnauhtlan to receive his oath of allegiance, the king no longer dared to trust himself in the traitor's hands. But his prudence came too late. When Tezozomoc perceived that his cunning plan had been laid bare, he hastened to Tezcuco by forced marches. While defending his capital, Ixtlilxochitl was captured and expiated the many mistakes of his life with his death. His son and heir, Nezahualcoyotl, only with the greatest difficulty escaped the sentence of death which Tezozomoc, the newly crowned Chichimecatl Tecuhtli, passed upon him.

THE RISE OF THE AZTECS

AND THE FORTUNES OF THE MEXICAN KINGDOMS

THE fall of the Chichimec kingdom of Acolhuacan took place in the year 1419. We must, however, go back for a century to pick up the threads required for the understanding of its further development. We have seen that the Mexica had been deprived of their refuge, Chapultepec, which they gained upon the change of the Chichimec capital to Tezcuco, and that it was with difficulty that they obtained from the Tecpanec ruler permission to settle elsewhere.

The Mexica in Peace and War

The priests may have explained their misfortunes as due to the wrath of the gods at the deposition of the theocracy and the choice of a king; at any rate, they did not succeed in regaining the favour of heaven for their people, though for a considerable time they had been in undisputed possession of power. While the Mexica were feared among all their neighbours for their plundering raids, they were constantly sought for as allies in time of war. But in times of peace the chief anxiety of their neighbours was to keep these restless strangers as far off as possible. They probably then paid the Tecpanec princes an unusually heavy tribute, and submitted to a certain measure of degradation, for their presence was barely tolerated, and they were sent about from one settlement to another.

Thereupon Tenoch, a priestly guide of the Mexica, once again exhorted them to migrate in the name of the god Huitzilopochtli, and led the scanty remnants of his people forth from their flourishing towns into the marshy coast-land on the west of the lake of Tezcuco. There, being warned by an omen from heaven, he probably founded that town which in the course of time became the capital of the Aztec kingdom, Mexico-Tenochtitlan. Almost at the same time the related Tlatelulca withdrew from the tyrannical oppression of the Tecpanecs, and founded a second settlement in their immediate neighbourhood. Tlatelulco, which later on became a keen rival of Tenochtitlan, but was at last outstripped by and incorporated into the rival town. This migration to Tenochtitlan, which is placed in the year 1325, had not gained independence for the Mexicans. There, too, they found themselves within the dominion of a Tecpanec king, were obliged to obtain his permission to settle, and continued to owe him tribute. As they had fixed their capital at a distance and settled in an uncultivated district considered almost uninhabitable, they did, however, by degrees, free themselves from his crushing tyranny.

The Aztecs Strengthened by Fugitives

In spite of its unfavourable situation the sister town developed with unexpected rapidity. The Mexicans were not the only people who were trying to escape from the dominion which had so long oppressed them. The reforms of the Tezcucan kings were felt to be as unsatisfactory as the tyranny of the Tecpanecs, and from both kingdoms numerous fugitives streamed into the barren wilderness and were readily received by the Aztecs of Tenochtitlan and Tlatelulco, eager to increase their strength. Thus these towns entirely lost their national character, and their population was composed of elements more and more diverse. The new arrivals, while they gladly fell in with the civilisation and the customs of the ancient inhabitants, exerted a refining influence upon the harshness of the Aztec customs, began to amalgamate the latter with their own institutions, and contributed in no small degree to soften the deep hatred with which the worshippers of Huitzilopochtli were regarded by all their neighbours. From the outset Tlatelulco far outstripped the neighbouring Tenochtitlan.

Refining Influences on the Aztecs

It was to Tlatelulco that the emigrants from the country of the Tecpanecs turned by preference, and we can easily understand that the relations of the ruling prince

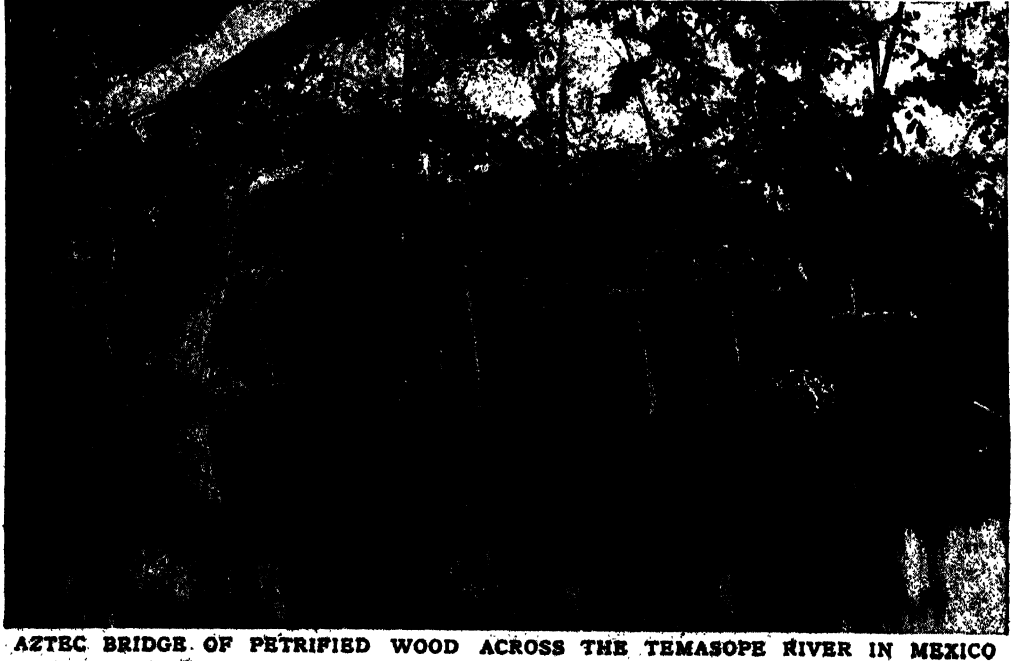
gained concessions more easily than outsiders. Thus it was a special mark of favour that the king of Atzcaputzalco agreed to set up a member of his family as a feudal prince in Tlatelulco when the town was strong enough to demand a king of its own. On the other hand, numerous emigrants from Culhua turned their steps toward Tenochtitlan. The ancient Culhuacan capital had long ago obtained an almost independent position under the suzerainty of the Tecpanecs, and had repeatedly played an important part in the political history of the whole kingdom.

Internal dissensions had broken out at last somewhere about the time when the Mexicans had founded their new capital. Numerous peoples of the Culhua, who had been driven from their homes by that revolution, made their way to Tenochtitlan, where within a short time their nationality was more strongly represented than was that of the Aztecs. The newly founded state owed to these circumstances its first important revolution. Mexico had been founded under the guidance of the priests; the name of Tenochtitlan (the town of Tenoch) was derived from the priestly guide who had led the people thither. But the traditions of centuries had made the Culhua accustomed to a monarchy; and though in religious matters they yielded to the custom of the country, in temporal affairs they declined to submit permanently to priestly government. Several members of the old royal family had come to Mexico among the fugitives.

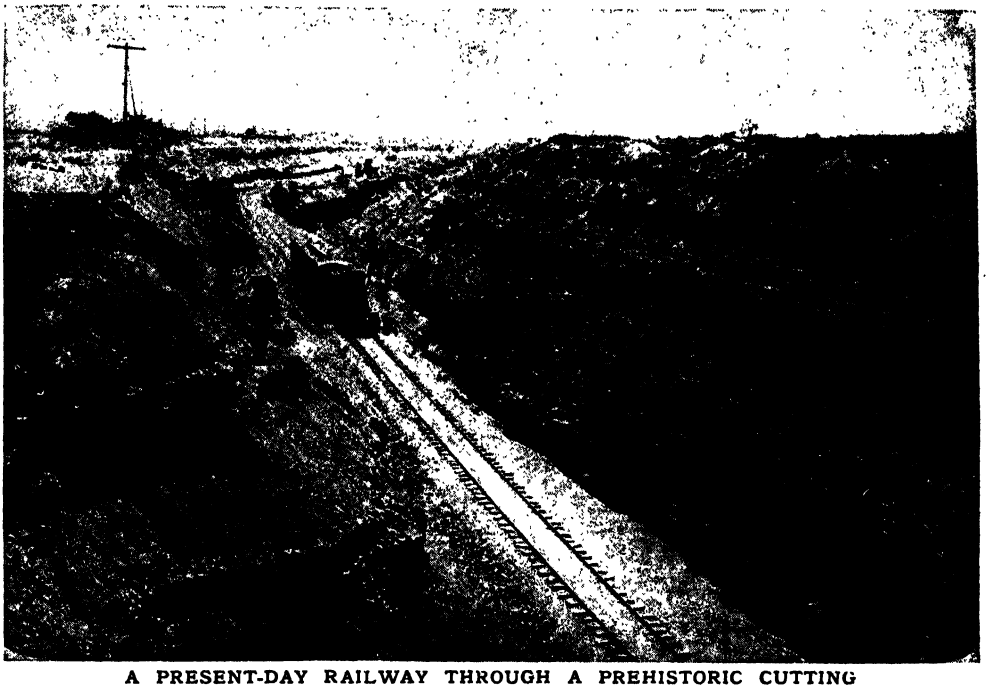
A compromise between the old inhabitants and the new colonists finally led to the choice of a king in the town of Tenoch, and the colonist element was sufficiently strong to bring about the election of Acamapichtli, the son of the king who bore the name of Culhuacan. After the fall of his father's dynasty he had fled to Tezcuco, and had there married a princess of Chichimec race, Ilancueitl. The connection of these dynasties has an extraordinarily strong influence upon all the later history of the Aztec kingdom of Tenochtitlan, and we have here the primary explanation of many facts that would be wholly unintelligible if we were to consider the town and the kingdom only from the Aztec point of view.

Mexico a Vassal Kingdom

Mexico now remained, in spite of its friendly relations with Tezcuco, a Tecpanec vassal kingdom. Acamapichtli was obliged to obtain the confirmation of his election in Atzcaputzalco; it was in the service of Tezozomoc that the young king of Mexico made his early expeditions, which were so successful that he soon became highly respected among the vassal kings. The first campaign that he undertook in the Tecpanec service was in a southerly direction against the Chalca.



AZTEC BRIDGE OF PETRIFIED WOOD ACROSS THE TEMASOPE RIVER IN MEXICO



A PRESENT-DAY RAILWAY THROUGH A PREHISTORIC CUTTING

This illustration depicts a striking section of the Mexican Nochistlan railway, which, according to a recent report, rejoices in ebony sleepers, and ballast of silver ore drawn from prehistoric and disused mines beside the track, these ancient mines being of Aztec origin, as is also the remarkable hand-hewn cutting shown in the picture.

These people, although related to the Tecpanecs, had founded a kingdom on the southern shore of the Lake Tezcuco, and on the lake which they called the Lake of Chalco. This state had grown so large that it had split up into numerous vassal states. The Mexican chronicles of these wars describe them as the exploits of the Mexican kings only, but, until the fall of the Tecpanec kingdom, the kings of Mexico acted only as allies in these wars.

Acamapichtli died in the year 1403, without having left any commands as to the succession; this fact probably marks the ascendancy of the priestly caste, which was once again making despairing efforts to restore the theocracy. But foreign elements, accustomed to a dynasty of monarchs, had already become too strong; though the priestly caste succeeded in making a succession dependent upon a new election, they could not prevent the choice from falling upon the son of Acamapichtli, Huitzilihuitl. We are particularly told of him, too, that he was obliged to obtain a confirmation of his election from the Tecpanec ruler. As subject to Tezozomoc he took part, in the following year, in the war which led to the overthrow of Ixtlilxochitl and of the Chichimec kingdom, although this king was closely connected with him by his marriage with his sister. Even allowing for the exaggerations of the chroniclers, we see very plainly that the kings of Mexico had become at that date most important vassals, from the fact that the king of Tlatelulco was commander-in-chief of Tezozomoc, and therefore also of the troops of Huitzilihuitl. These two kings did not live to the end of the wars. The ruler of Tlatelulco fell in one of the battles in which the Tezcucans were victorious; Huitzilihuitl died in 1417 in Tenochtitlan, the town which he had striven to extend without and to organise within. The result of his efforts was that his half-brother Chimalpopoca succeeded to the throne unopposed, representing his country upon the fall of Ixtlilxochitl.

The Early Races at War

We must suppose that it was only by force of circumstances that Huitzilihuitl and Chimalpopoca continued to fight on the side of Tezozomoc, for they had far greater advantages to expect from the success of Ixtlilxochitl, who was their friend and connection by marriage, than from the victory of their tyrannical emperor. They could not, however, have given the

Tecpanec king the smallest grounds for suspicion. When this monarch proposed to increase and organise his kingdom by uniting it with the Tezcucan territories, the Mexican Chimalpopoca was regarded as one of the six subject kings, together with the rulers of Chalco, Tlatelulco, Acolman, Coatlichan, and Huexotla.

Tezozomoc's intention to make his kingdom more secure both within and without was only incompletely realised. The conditions imposed upon the vassal kings were most oppressive; two-thirds of the income from their provinces they were obliged to send to the king, retaining only a third for themselves. Consequently they felt the unjust burden of this tribute far more than the honour of their promotion, and they expressed their dissatisfaction with no attempt at concealment. The newly crowned Chichimecatl Tecuhtli was not successful in obtaining recognition of his power throughout the kingdom of Ixtlilxochitl.

The distant provinces on the north and east, however, gladly seized the opportunity of refusing all payment of tribute and declaring their independence; and so strong was the hostility of the Tlazcalans against Tezozomoc that they received the exiled heir of Tezcuco, the prince Nezahualcoyotl, and offered him a refuge in their mountains until the intervention of the Mexican king Chimalpopoca was successful in obtaining the repeal of the sentence of death that had been passed upon him. Tezozomoc was already advanced in years when he united the whole of Anahuac under his rule; he enjoyed the fruits of victory for eight more years before his death, and named his son Tejauh as his successor. But by this act he sowed the seeds of dissension in both his family and his kingdom. Among all the sons of Tezozomoc, Maxtla, who had been appointed regent of Coyohuacan, was unquestionably the one who was most like his father, though he had not inherited his tenacity and his calmness in addition to his energy, bravery, and cunning. He took it as an insult that he should have to content himself with a second place in his father's kingdom, and the indifference of Tejauh enabled him, after a few months, to drive his brother from the throne, and to set himself up as Chichimecatl Tecuhtli, the king of the whole of Anahuac. This revolution was bloodless, but not so its results.

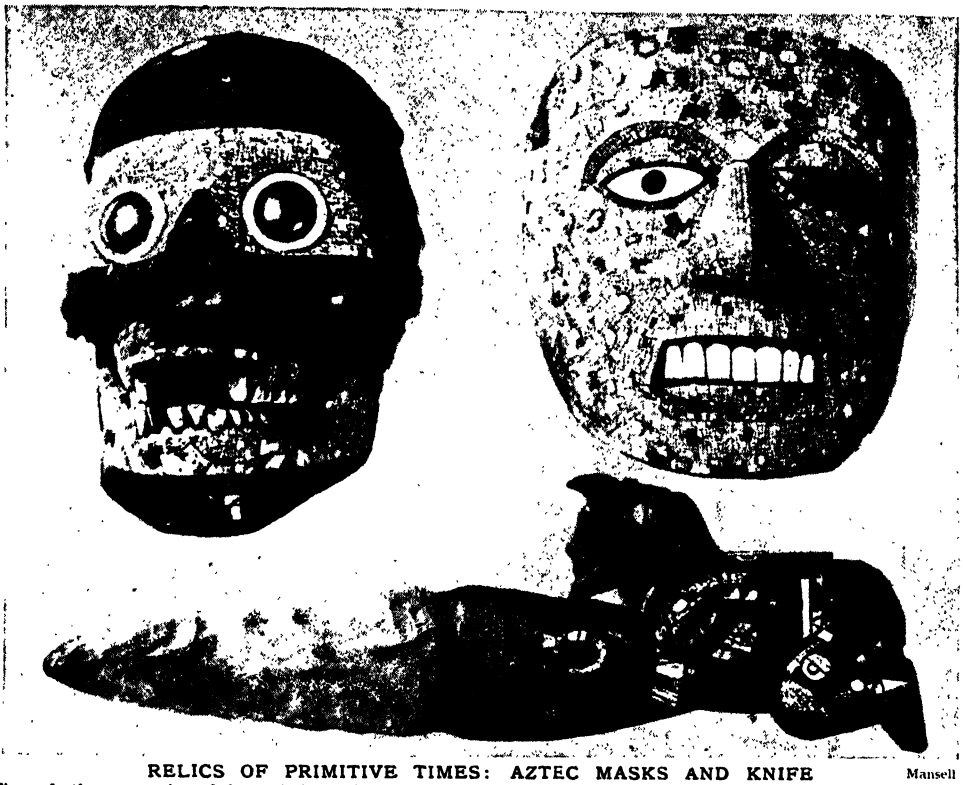
A Bloodless Revolution in Anahuac

The vassal kings had already borne the yoke of the aged Tezozomoc, the hero of a hundred fights, with the greatest impatience, and they considered it wholly intolerable to become the vassals of Maxtla, a young prince who, in his own government in Coyohuacan, had only succeeded in making himself thoroughly hated by his subjects and the neighbouring princes.

It was by an act of violence against the legitimate ruler that he had thrust himself into his place. The kings of Mexico and Tlatelulco placed themselves at the head of the dissatisfied subjects; Tejauh had fled to Tenochtitlan, and so it was there arranged to surprise Maxtla at a festival, to overthrow him, and to reinstate Tejauh. But the conspiracy was betrayed, and the victim of it was not Maxtla, but Tejauh. Maxtla did not know with which of the Aztec kings he would have to deal first; without waiting, therefore, for further developments, he attacked with swift decision first the Mexicans and then

A CHARACTERISTIC EXAMPLE OF AZTEC CARVING

This colossal head carved in stone is part of an Aztec ruin discovered at Itzamal, in Yucatan, and illustrates the high quality of the artistic work of this very early and, in many respects, primitive race of people which inhabited Central America in the pre-Columbian days. The design was probably executed with blunt flint.



RELICS OF PRIMITIVE TIMES: AZTEC MASKS AND KNIFE Mansell

These further examples of the artistic workmanship of the primitive Aztec peoples represent mosaic death masks and a flint knife with ornamental handle, set with stones. The mask on the right is encrusted with turquoise mosaic.

Tlatelulco. So successful was he in each of these campaigns that both kings were overthrown and their cities and countries laid waste. They would, perhaps, have been destroyed for all time if revolt had not broken out in every part of Maxtla's kingdom against his rule of lawlessness and oppression. The sympathies which a large portion of the eastern provinces felt for the ancient royal house were greatly strengthened by Maxtla's aggrandisement. As his hands were entirely tied by the wars, the Chichimec Nezahualcoyotl considered that the time had come to make some attempt to regain his father's kingdom. Tlazcala and Huexotzinco willingly placed their bands of warriors at his disposal.

Maxtla's Rule of Lawlessness and Oppression

The feeble opposition with which he met in most of the provinces of his father's kingdom enabled him to reconquer a large part of it, but the capital, Tezcuco, offered an unconquerable resistance. Tezozomoc had here set up the prince of the old royal house as his representative. This prince knew very well that he had nothing to hope from the mercy of the lawful heir of the Chichimec kingdom if he were once defeated; he therefore made the most vigorous and ultimately successful efforts to maintain himself in the capital. But as long as he remained unsubdued the position of Nezahualcoyotl was untenable, chiefly on account of the moral impression conveyed. The campaigns that had been begun with such brilliant success ended in a manner not very far removed from defeat.

The first result of this half success was that a number of allies began to weaken in their fidelity, so that Nezahualcoyotl must have begun to fear that attack of Maxtla which he would certainly have to withstand. In this dangerous position the allies whose aid he most desired—the Aztecs—offered their help. After Maxtla had retired from Mexico they had at once re-established the empire. For a moment their choice had wavered between Itzcopuatl, the brother of Chimalpopoca, and his nephew Montezuma, who, though young, had already been crowned with the laurels of many victories. Fortunately, their constitution was wide enough for more than one vigorous man

to make himself useful in it. The kingdom still bore unmistakable traces of its development from an aristocracy. Apart from the priesthood, still most influential, the king had by him two high temporal dignitaries, the tlacatecatl (lord of the armies) and the tlacochcalcatl (lord of the arrow). Montezuma was called to the first of these two positions; he was able thereby to satisfy his ambition and also to expend his energy in acting with his royal uncle for the good of the realm. Recent events pointed with sufficient clearness to the direction his energies should take, for Maxtla unconditionally refused to recognise the choice that had been made, and was threatening a new attack. Thus a common enemy again brought the Mexicans and the Chichimecs together.

Confederacy Against the Tecpanecs

Montezuma went to Nezahualcoyotl and formed a confederacy with him against the Tecpanecs, which confederacy was at once joined by the newly chosen king of Tlatelulco. It was immediately agreed that they should carry the war as soon as possible into the enemy's country. Nezahualcoyotl openly announced his intention of re-establishing the old royal house in Tezcuco, thereby certainly estranging many friends who had hoped to gain their own independence if they stood by him in the hour of misfortune. But by entering into alliance with all the enemies of the Tecpanec tyrant he was fully compensated for the dangerous elements in his own situation. The campaign which he led in person along with the Mexicans was finally decisive after many victories on either side. With the support of the king of Tlacopan the allied Aztecs and Tezcucans gained a complete victory over the Tecpanecs.

Atzcaputzalco was captured and destroyed, and Maxtla fell, either in battle or afterwards, beneath the blows of his opponents. Those who had thought that with the fall of the Tecpanec tyranny freedom had come for Anahuac were cruelly undeceived. The more prudent of the dependents of Nezahualcoyotl had remained neutral in the decisive battles, and now they openly revolted. But the power of the allies increased no further; and the division of political power which had been arranged after the capture of Atzcaputzalco, at the festivities which took place in Tenochtitlan to celebrate the victory, was now immediately carried out. Anahuac was divided between the kings of Mexico and Tezcuco. Nezahualcoyotl, who had not even yet been able to effect an entrance into his ancient capital, obtained the whole of his father's kingdom, which had embraced the eastern half of Anahuac, and also the title of Chichimecatl Tecuhtli. The historical importance of this title still gave its recipient the right to claim the first place and the highest rank among the allies. The part played by the Mexicans had hitherto been of too little importance to enable them to dispute about this position; they had to thank their long friendship and relationship with the monarchs of Tezcuco for the fact that an important portion of the booty fell to their share.

The Fate of Anahuac

With the exception of the district of Tlacopan, which had been exempted from destruction to provide lands for those who had given their help against Maxtla, the whole kingdom of the Tecpanecs, in which the Mexicans themselves, like the other kings, had hitherto been only vassals, now fell into their power, which at first they were obliged, no doubt, to enforce with arms. Their position in the councils of the allies became still more prominent; here they were considered as having equal rights with the Tezcucans, while the king of Tlacopan, the third member in this new triple alliance, remained independent, but was obliged to recognise the unconditional superiority of the two other members. In the future these conditions were to remain unchanged; it was arranged also that all future conquests should be divided between the allies, so that the king of Tlacopan should obtain a fifth part of the spoil and the rest should be divided in equal portions between the rulers of Tezcuco and Tenochtitlan. Such were the contents of the treaty between the leading nations of Anahuac.

Conquered Kingdom of the Tecpanecs

These political relations continued to the time of the Spanish invasion; the confederation that would eventually have broken up remained undisturbed until the time of the conquest. The three allied kings carried on a number of wars, especially against their immediate neighbours on the south; no doubt the booty was then divided in accordance with the

provisions of their compact. The Mexicans seem, however, to have gained greater accessions of territory even in these cases of common conquest. But each of the allied kings undertook isolated wars of conquest against adjoining territories. Consequently, the division of the kingdom into eastern and western territories is not strictly adhered to; we meet with the Tezcucans on the west and on the coast of the Pacific Ocean, and similarly we find the Aztecs on the east as far as the shores of the Gulf of Mexico.

The most important change which the lapse of time brought about within the confederacy consisted in the fact that the kings of Tenochtitlan began more and more to take a leading part. Though keeping strictly to the legal conditions of the confederation, the kings of Tezcuco allowed themselves to be pushed into the background by the kings of Tenochtitlan; the reason lay solely in a national peculiarity of both peoples and their leaders.

A Famous King of Tezcuco

The kings of Tezcuco had always been more renowned for the care they expended upon the internal well-being of their kingdom than for their warlike expeditions. This reputation was supported by both of the kings who held the throne at the time of the confederation, Nezahualcoyotl and his son Nezahualpilli. It was not that they were lacking in warlike vigour; when it was a question of maintaining their authority or preserving the integrity of their kingdom, they were fully equal to the task; but they never undertook wars of conquest. Under no circumstances was war an end in itself to the kings of Colhuacan; it was invariably the means to higher ends.

During the first ten years Nezahualcoyotl concentrated his attention upon the reorganisation of his kingdom, which had been greatly shattered by revolutions following upon the death of Ixtlilxochitl. He kept in view that feudal system which his father, and his grandfather, Techotl, had introduced; and this in spite of the sad experience which both he and his predecessors had had of it. Similarly he followed the steps of his ancestors with regard to the organisation of a judicial system; his decrees were long respected by the Spaniards as being particularly valuable. Above all, he resembled the earlier kings in his love for the fine arts; temples and palaces, gardens and baths, streets and bridges, arose under his care, both in the capital and in the provinces. Wherever in the whole valley of Mexico more important artistic buildings were taken in hand, the finished art of Nezahualcoyotl and his architects became the guiding principle of their construction. He showed his thankfulness to the Mexicans for the support which they had given him in the hour of necessity by his erection of the aqueduct which brought spring water in pipes of clay enclosed in stone from Chapultepec to the capital of the Aztecs situated among the marshes; and when, in the year 1445, continuous rains had made the lake rise to a threatening height, and had almost flooded the whole of Tenochtitlan, he it was who built a wide mole of a semicircular form, and kept the low-lying water round the town from uniting with the lake which was threatening danger.

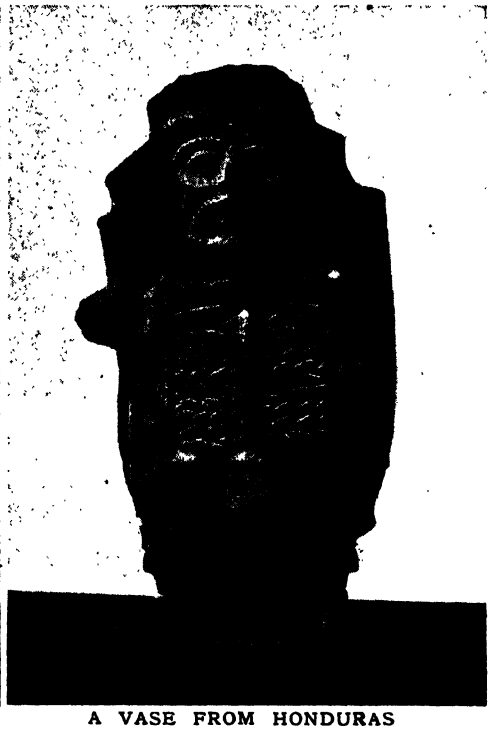
Songs of the Poet King

Nezahualcoyotl also devoted uninterrupted attention to intellectual progress. He was himself one of the foremost poets that the ancient American civilisation produced; his melancholy songs passed from mouth to mouth long after his race and his kingdom had disappeared from the face of the earth. The maturity of his intellect is to be seen in the traditions that we have of his religious ideas. His predecessors had been accustomed to exercise a wide tolerance toward the religious conceptions of their various subjects, which often differed materially from one another. But in this matter Nezahualcoyotl far surpassed the fame of his ancestors.

In the very capital of his kingdom, in the city of Tezcuco, he allowed temples to be erected to the most different divinities, even a temple to Huitzilopochtli, although he was as averse to the blood-stained worship of this divinity as were his forefathers. Being thus convinced of the inadequacy and incompleteness of the worships of his people, he arrived at the conception of the one God who created and sustains the world. Perhaps it would be a bold comparison to call the Tezcuco of Nezahualcoyotl the Athens of Central America; but in his time Tezcuco certainly was the one great centre of all the intellectual life, progress, and learning to be found in these kingdoms.

The Centre of Intellectual Life and Progress

A MEXICAN DIVINITY



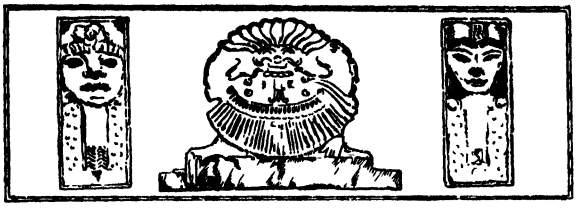
A VASE FROM HONDURAS

FEMALE FIGURE IN VOLCANIC STONE

Mansell

MEXICAN STATUE IN VOLCANIC STONE

EXAMPLES OF ANCIENT CENTRAL AMERICAN CARVING IN STONE



THE MEXICAN SUPREMACY

AND THE POWERFUL EMPIRE OF MONTEZUMA

ALTHOUGH Nezahualcoyotl had a large number of sons by different women, it was only in the year 1463 that he entered upon lawful wedlock with the princess Azcaxochitl of Tlacopan. There was one son of their union, Nezahualpilli, who was eight years old at the death of his father, which took place in 1472.

Brought up under the care of the king Axayacatl, in Mexico, he remained the true son of his great father in his intellectual capacities. He was not allowed to take the same important position in the triple alliance as his father had held, who was older than his Aztec confederates, and whose age and intellectual endowments had been a check on the encroachment of the neighbouring kingdom. His son was obliged to take the second place within the confederacy; for now not only might and splendour, but also the preponderance of age and experience were on the side of the Mexicans.

Mexicans Held in Fear

The development of the kingdom of Tenochtitlan was different in many essential details. Its equality with Tezcuco in the confederation of 1431 had not been entirely deserved; immediately before the gates of the capital lay the sister state Tlatelulco, governed by its own independent monarch. And although the Mexicans were more feared for their prowess in arms than respected over a wide district, they yet had first to subdue that kingdom before they could lay claim to suzerainty over the Western Anahuac.

A famous line of royal heroes, the sons and nephews of Huitzilihuitl, had devoted themselves successfully to this task. At first their expeditions were directed chiefly toward the south; after Xochimilco and Cuitlahua had been incorporated, the endless wars against the states of Chalca began. The Mexicans had already overcome the people of Chalca many times when they were in the service of the Tecpanecs; but these had not yet been entirely subdued, and at the time of the revolution they had again recovered their independence, as had many other portions of the Tecpanec kingdom. Even now the people of Chalca offered an invincible resistance to the Mexicans alone. But their provocations had also driven Nezahualcoyotl into the ranks of their enemies; and the numerous Chalca states were unable to offer any prolonged resistance to the united armies of the three allied kingdoms. For nearly twenty years—1446–1465—three successive kings of Mexico took the field yearly against the Chalca with varied success, until they succeeded in reducing their last fortress, the town of Chalco. From 1465 the Chalca were reckoned among the states tributary to Tenochtitlan.

Mexican Kings on the Battlefield

In the year 1440, Itzcohuatl, who had helped to found the confederacy of 1431, died, and his nephew Montezuma (more correctly "Mocteuzoma") Ilhuicamina, succeeded him on the throne; this was the king who did most to extend the Aztec dominions. The war against Chalco, which was brought to a successful end in the last years of his reign, claimed most of his attention, but at the same time he extended the boundaries of his kingdom in other directions also. Moreover, he made most important improvements in the internal organisation of the state.

Even under the government of Itzcohuatl his high position enabled him to exercise great influence, for he had been at the same time commander-in-chief of the army and high-priest of Huitzilopochtli. Nor was it for nothing that he had been the intimate friend of Nezahualcoyotl. The capital owed to him the most important of those buildings which excited the astonishment of the conquerors; the dykes which connected the town with the mainland; the canals which served as its high-roads; the temples, and in particular the temple of Huitzilopochtli, to which

Montezuma's Great Work for his Kingdom

generations had made additions, and which was not even ended on Montezuma's death, although he brought out the final plans. In religious matters Montezuma showed some sympathy with that toleration practised by the kings of Tezcuco. In Tenochtitlan there were already numerous temples to foreign divinities, and it speedily became the custom to celebrate every victory over another race by transplanting its gods and its worship to the capital. As a matter of fact, these importations exercised no material influence upon the peculiar character of the Aztec worship; on the contrary, the higher the power and the fame of the Mexicans rose, the more eagerly did they continue their horrible sacrifices of human blood.

The Mexicans' Blood-stained Hecatombs

They were possessed with the idea that their successes, which became more brilliant year by year, were owing to the favour of heaven, which they had gained by their numerous sacrifices; and in order to retain this favour they increased their blood-stained hecatombs in proportion to the growth of their power. Every national festival, every victory, every recommencement of the cycle of years, every coronation, and every dedication of a temple was celebrated with bloody sacrifices; the greater the occasion, the more numerous the victims. Nor was it only a question of thankfulness to the gods whose favour they had won; by these means they attempted to make atonement to those whose anger they had incurred.

When, in the year 1445, a famine which lasted several years came upon the whole of Anahuac, the Aztec desire for sacrifice rose almost to the pitch of frenzy. At first they were themselves sufficiently strong to make captives of their foes in border warfare; the brave hearts of these prisoners, which were torn still palpitating from the breast which the obsidian knife had cleft, were considered as the most welcome offering to the gods. But at length their necessities became greater, and their warriors thinned in number, and, exhausted by famine, were neither available for sacrifice nor equal to the fatigues of a campaign. The rulers of the state, trembling before the wrath of heaven, then conceived an idea unparalleled in the history of the world. They concluded a formal contract with the warlike states of the east, the Tlascalans and the Huexotzincos, upon whom the famine had pressed less severely, to hold an annual sham fight in a particular place, between an equal number of warriors, apparently with the idea of providing the necessary victims for the services of the gods from the prisoners who should then be taken. As a matter of fact, during the years of famine such battles took place several times; but after that time had passed by the warlike disposition of the Aztecs provided a number of sufficient victims from real warfare, and mimic warfare became superfluous.

Anahuac Under a Great Famine

The greater the power and prestige of the Mexicans grew, the more oppressive they found it to have exactly in front of the gates of their capital an almost independent community ruled by its own kings, the sister town of Tlatelulco. The time when this state could have rivalled Mexico in glory and splendour had long passed away, but there remained a hostile disposition which was apparent in all kinds of little animosities. The Mexicans, naturally, only waited for a favourable opportunity to take their revenge for these; but, considering the number of enemies that they had both within and without their realm, it was a hazardous act to endanger peace at the gates of the capital by any show of aggression. It fell out exactly in accordance with their wishes that the king of Tlatelulco entered into a most traitorous compact with their enemies at a time when the wars against the Chalca claimed the undivided attention of the Mexicans.

The King of Tlatelulco Overthrown

When Montezuma again returned to Tenochtitlan from the successful campaign in the south, he turned his overpowering forces on Tlatelulco; and, in the battles which followed, the allies, as usual, failed to come to the help of its short-sighted king, who lost his throne and his life. In spite of this the Mexicans were satisfied with setting up a vassal king of Tlatelulco in the person of a governor who was unconditionally subject to themselves. But although Moquihuix owed his elevation entirely to his uncle, Montezuma, the deeply rooted aversion of the people of Tlatelulco from their more fortunate rivals won him over in the course of time.

When Axayacatl, in the year 1468, ascended the throne of Tenochtitlan after the death of Montezuma, Moquihuix made the attempt to win back the independence

of his little state by force of arms. The struggle is said to have lasted full five years before the powerful Mexicans succeeded in definitely crushing the resistance of their neighbour. We see by this fact how the singularly loose organisation of the states allowed a little band of brave and determined warriors to threaten the existence even of a powerful kingdom, so long as they could rely upon the sympathies of its remaining subjects. After the subjection of Moquihuix, the Mexicans did not again commit the folly of planting the seeds of disunion so close to the centre of their kingdom. Tlatelulco ceased to exist as an individual town; it was incorporated with Tenochtitlan, from which it had long been divided only by a canal, and those of its inhabitants who did not submit to the new order of things were banished.

Tenochtitlan, by its union with Tlatelulco, now acquired a considerable extension of territory, security against continually threatening danger, and an extraordinary increase of power. In the whole of Central America down to the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, and northward from that point, the Tlatelulca had been energetic traders, and nearly all the commerce between the north and the south had passed through their hands. Of all the states in and around Anahuac the Tlazcaltecs were almost their only rivals in this department, although their traffic was carried on rather among the states upon the gulf than upon the Pacific coast.

Extent of Mexican Power

Hitherto the feeble character of their home policy had at times unfavourably influenced the commercial undertakings of the Tlatelulca, but after the Mexicans had gained possession of the town the business interests of its inhabitants were also under Mexican protection. From this time onward the Mexican merchants play an important part as forming the reconnoitring and intelligence department of the Mexican armies, and as opening the way for acts of aggression in all their wars.

Under Axayacatl the kingdom of Tenochtitlan reached its widest extent. The Mexican power went at least so far northward as to overpass the mountain range which surrounds the high valleys of Anahuac. Here Tula and Tulancingo represent the extreme outposts, the connection of which with the Aztec kingdom was neither firm nor lasting. Moreover, upon the west the Mexicans made conquests at a late period and of no great extent. Only the portions of Michuacan on their immediate boundaries were subject to their rule; with the Tarascos, who dwelt farther west and extended to the seaboard, they never really measured their strength. On the Pacific coast the influence of the central states spread first toward the south. But it was not exclusively the kings of Tenochtitlan who made towns and princes tributary to themselves in this district; the Tezcucans also had vassals here. It has been already observed that the Mexican power was confined to a few fortified towns in the Zapotec country; but on the north-west and south, beyond the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, numerous vassal princes seem to have recognised their suzerainty.

Widespread Aztec Influence

On the east wide districts were subject to the central power. If originally the kings of Tezcuco had here overshadowed the Aztecs, yet the latter, in course of time, had gained the upper hand, owing to the peaceful inclinations of the princes of Tezcuco, and by availing themselves of every opportunity which the Mexicans afforded them. The king of Tenochtitlan undoubtedly may be reproached for having traitorously employed his regency during the minority of Nezahualpilli to aggrandise himself at the expense of the allied kingdom; but, in fact, even upon the east, the influence of the Aztecs was preponderant and overspread the states on the coast of the Mexican Gulf from Panuco in the north, through the district of the Huastecs and Totonacs, as far south as Xicalanco and Nonohualco to the borders of Yucatan.

However, in the immediate neighbourhood of these allied central powers there existed a point of continual disturbance which was a refuge for all those who wished to escape the ever-increasing tyranny of the Aztecs; this was the kingdom of Huexotzinco and the republic of Tlazcala. In earlier times both had belonged to the Chichimec kingdom of Tezcuco, and in the period of persecution had lent their support to the legal heir of that country, Nezahualcoyotl. But when he entered into alliance with the Aztecs, with a view to recovering his kingdom, his earlier allies broke away from him, and from that time forward created uninterrupted disturbances upon the boundaries of the kingdom. As a result of a whole

Tyranny of the Aztecs

series of campaigns, Huexotzinco seems to have been made tributary—at any rate, for some time. But whenever the allied kings forced their way into the mountainous country of the Tlazcaltecs, and obtained some apparent result by devastating it with fire and sword, the lawless spirit of this brave little people invariably survived all the attacks of the motley vassal armies of the kings of Anahuac. Though shut in on every side, the Tlazcalans maintained their independence until the arrival of the Spaniards; and the ferocious hatred with which they regarded their neighbouring persecutors made them the firmest allies of Cortes against Tenochtitlan.

How the Aztec Kingdom was Organised

The organisation of the Aztec kingdom was essentially the same as that of the other Central American states. When they had firmly subjugated territories, they made tributary vassal kingdoms of them, and attempted to secure the fidelity of their subject kings by setting up therein members of the royal family, or its connections by marriage. But the Mexicans attempted to secure their hold, not only upon the thrones of their conquered kingdoms, but also upon the land itself. Each successful campaign was followed by free gifts of land and people to all those whose warlike prowess had contributed to the success; at times we should be correct in speaking of an actual colonisation of the conquered district.

Bravery in war was thus stimulated by the prospect of a brilliant reward which was within the reach of even the humblest warrior; and this newly founded feudal aristocracy provided a protection and a counterpoise to any yearnings for independence that the vassal kings might have had. The colonisation and organisation of conquests in this manner did not, however, extend beyond the country of Anahuac and the districts in the immediate vicinity of its southern border. Want of men chiefly prevented the extension of a similar form of government over the more distant provinces. But even there a victorious campaign was immediately followed by the deposition of the reigning monarch and his dynasty, and the installation of a subject king. Provided a specified tribute were paid, the conquered province remained in other respects almost as independent as before. Every year the messengers came from Tenochtitlan to collect a tribute, in cases where they were not permanently settled at the court of the vassal king; and, in order to ensure obedience and respect to the king and to his land, particular points on the most important lines of communication were strongly fortified and powerfully garrisoned.

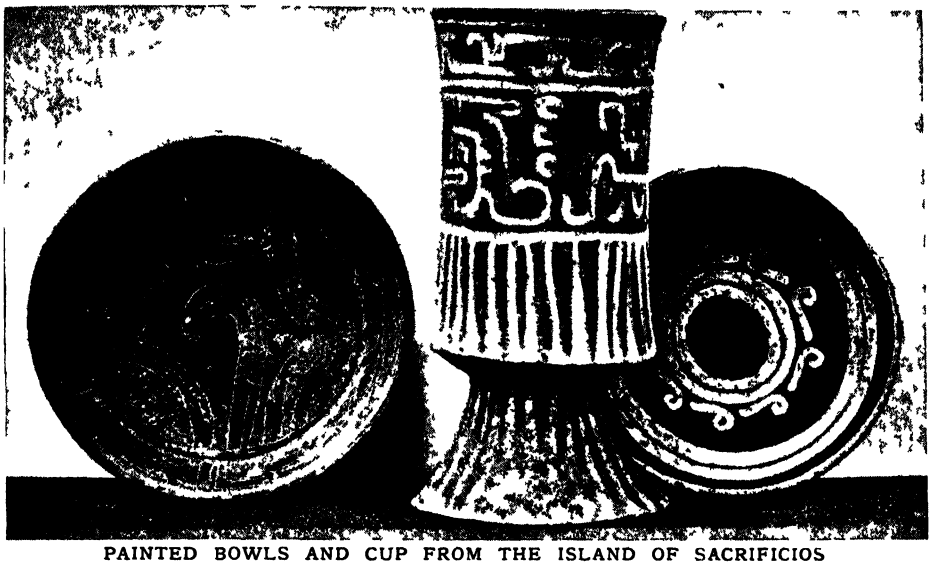
Provinces Conquered by the Mexicans

These posts formed a meeting-place for the collectors and for merchants in times of peace and a basis for resistance in case of revolt. We have particular notice of such garrisons in the outlying provinces of the Mixtec and Zapotec territory on the south, and in the district of the Huaztecs and Tontonacs on the east. With all these provisions the Mexicans did not succeed in preventing frequent insurrections, sometimes of a dangerous nature; but in spite of the burning hatred with which they were regarded by a great part of their subjects, on account of their bloody and tyrannical rule, during a whole century these subjects never succeeded in seriously endangering the existence of the empire by a general insurrection.

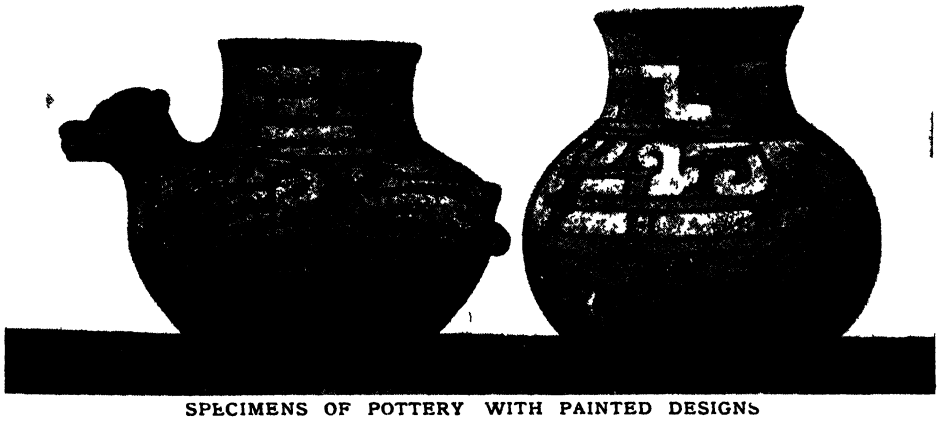
Montezuma II. on the Throne of Tenochtitlan

Axayacatl, who died in the year 1477, after a short but glorious reign, was followed by two monarchs who did not attain the fame of their forefathers. Tizocic and Ahuitzotl did indeed lead the armies of the Aztecs to victory in different directions beyond their borders; but they had neither the personal qualities nor the good fortune to confer any particular benefits upon the state, the extent of which made it more and more difficult to rule. But in the person of Montezuma II. a monarch again ascended the throne of Tenochtitlan who seemed capable of reviving the great traditions of the past.

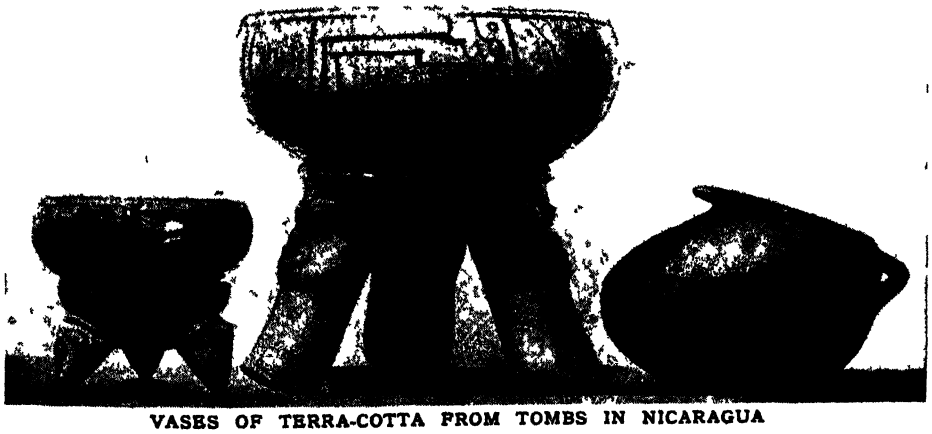
Before he ascended the throne he had already covered himself with military glory, and he made it his particular object to justify the hopes which were set upon his rule; but fortune was not particularly favourable to him. In the last years of Ahuitzotl's reign belief in the invincible powers of the Mexican arms had begun to grow visibly weak; the Zapotecs had recovered their complete independence, and in Tlazcala the Mexicans had again received a defeat. A few isolated successes did not enable Montezuma, by means of a sensational victory, to remove the impression of the discomfitures they had suffered.



PAINTED BOWLS AND CUP FROM THE ISLAND OF SACRIFICIOS



SPECIMENS OF POTTERY WITH PAINTED DESIGNS



VASES OF TERRA-COTTA FROM TOMBS IN NICARAGUA

CHARACTERISTIC EXAMPLES OF ANCIENT MEXICAN POTTERY

Mansell

5799

Prospects for the future within the realm were also threatening; the alliance between Mexico and Tezcuco, upon which the power of the central states had hitherto chiefly rested, began to grow weaker and weaker. Nezahualpilli, although his bravery had been proved upon many a field, had, like his predecessors, been no lover of war; and it was owing, for the most part, to the influence of the confederation that he had supported the Mexicans in their restless desire for extension of territory, while at times he had stood aside and remained neutral. So it was no wonder if the kings of Tenochtitlan became more and more convinced that they were the sole repositories of strength and power, and that the other confederates had no right to equal prestige or to an equal share in the spoil. Their exaggerated opinion of themselves led to arrogance; and this produced distrust upon both sides, resulting in secret enmity.

Montezuma Guilty of Treachery

The Mexicans began to conceive the plan of attacking their previous confederates upon the first opportunity, and reducing them to the position of vassal states. During an unsuccessful war against Tlazcala in the year 1512, which the Aztecs and Tezcucans undertook in common, Montezuma is said to have carried his faithlessness so far as to have left the confederates in the lurch during a battle, and to have even entered into treasonable correspondence with the Tlazcalans. Nezahualpilli did not find courage to avenge this insult by an open declaration of war, but from this time the confederates regarded one another as enemies, and when Nezahualpilli died, four years later, hostilities broke out openly.

The king of Tezcuco had neglected to choose his successor during his lifetime, so Montezuma was able to obtain the election of a prince whom he hoped to use according to his desires. Cacama was Montezuma's own nephew, and if he were a man of strong character the fact had never yet been made manifest. Character, indeed, was far more apparent in his brother Ixtlilxochitl, who, though younger, had made a name for himself as a warrior during his father's lifetime. But all his attempts to prevent the election of Cacama were unsuccessful; and as he regarded his nephew merely as Montezuma's tool, Ixtlilxochitl might suppose himself fighting for the independence of his father's kingdom when he openly raised the standard of revolt. He did not succeed in maintaining himself any length of time in Tezcuco; but in the northern provinces he found numerous supporters.

The New King of Tezcuco

There he might reckon upon the help of all those who feared that the victory of Cacama would mean the establishment of an exclusively Mexican dominion; and so he succeeded not only in utterly defeating an army that Montezuma sent against him but also in making progress, slowly but steadily, forward, until he so threatened Tezcuco that Cacama preferred to conclude peace with him on condition of dividing their father's kingdom.

The kings of Anahuac must undoubtedly have heard long ago of the appearance of wonderful foreigners who had come oversea from the east into the neighbouring district. The extensive trade and the admirable organisation of traffic in the kingdom of Anahuac and the neighbouring provinces would certainly have brought them rumours, and perhaps particular information, concerning the first appearance and the further progress of these foreigners who for the last twenty-five years had been spreading over the islands and on the south. What superstitious ideas were excited by this occurrence can be understood from the important place given to discussions in the later historians as to whether the appearance of the Spaniards had any connection with the old prophecies, which spoke of an entire revolution of their conditions of life, which should come forth from the east. At any rate, as regards the Spaniards, the belief of the natives that their appearance was connected in some way with the promised return of Quetzalcoatl was to them a help no less important than was the universal enmity with which the nations of Central America regarded the Mexican dominion.

Spaniards Assisted by Natives

This hatred brought to their side the large bands of native allies who helped them to overcome all the difficulties which confronted the passage of a few hundred men into the centre of these extensive states, while the religious awe in which they were held afforded them a friendly reception and a firm footing on the coast-land, and cleared the way for their entrance into Mexico—an entrance which implied the fall of the ancient kingdoms of Central America.

NATIVE CIVILISATIONS of SOUTH AMERICA

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE VANISHED RACES

THE CHIBCHAS IN HISTORY AND LEGEND

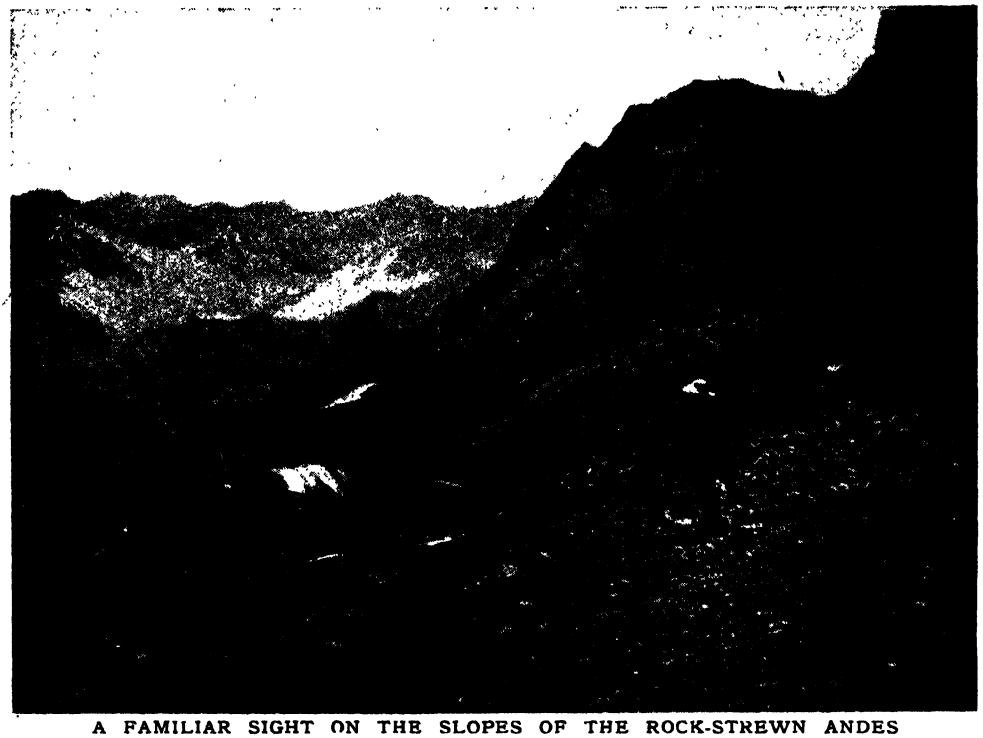
THE southern extremity of the Cordilleras or the Andes is formed of one mountain chain; but twenty-six degrees south of the equator they divide into two ranges which diverge more widely as they proceed northward. At first these enclose only a narrow tableland, on which one or two lake systems are to be found; afterwards the mountain ranges become more complex. Between the main ridges and parallel with them long valleys form a river-bed to which the streams on the heights at either hand contribute until the river is strong enough to force a passage through some outlet in these mountain walls. On the west the rivers, after a precipitous descent, rush wildly down across the narrow strip of barren coast-land to the ocean. On the east, after a fall quite as abrupt, they reach the wooded lowlands and feed the great river system of La Plata, the Amazon, and the Orinoco.

Many of the valleys lie at very considerable heights—the level of Lake Titicaca is more than 12,600 feet above the sea; Quito has an elevation of 9,380 feet; and Bogota 8,750 feet. Yet it is not difficult to understand why it was only here that the native South American civilisation could take root and develop. With the exception of occasional tracts, the narrow strip of coast-land lying between the mountains and the sea upon the west is not actually sterile, or at least is not wholly incapable of cultivation. But the almost entire absence of rainfall throughout the year, and the heat of a tropical sun, whose rays are here nearly vertical, destroy all beginnings of vegetation before they have sufficiently established themselves to afford shade and protection to their own roots or to undergrowth. At intervals, in the long stretch of coast-line, streams and rivers descend from the mountains, but the scanty limits of the level country afford them no space for development. So at the melting of the snows they rush down as devastating torrents to the sea, while in the dry seasons they are either dried up entirely or contain so little water that a narrow belt of vegetation in the immediate neighbourhood of their banks is all that can find a bare subsistence.

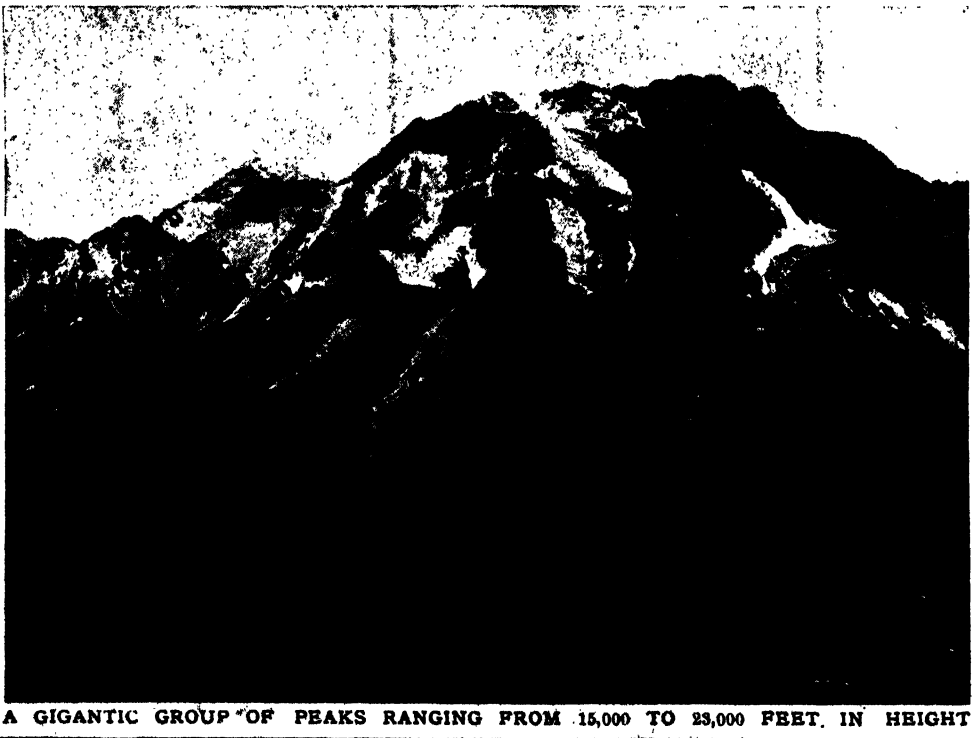
Cradle of South American Civilisation

The Natural Features of the Country

If on the western side it is the almost entire absence of rainfall which precludes human habitation and progress, upon the east the excessive rainfall is equally unfavourable to human industry. Here, too, for the most part, the mountain face descends abruptly. But beneath it spreads a boundless expanse of lowland over which the rivers flow but gently. When the mountain streams are swollen by the melting snow, these rivers rise high above their banks; districts of such extent are then so inundated that the boundaries even between the most important river systems disappear, and a canoe can be borne from one river to the next. Here also primitive man, with his rude implements, could gain no sufficient footing to enable him to wrest from Nature the means of life. Nor was any such struggle necessary; from the wealth of her tropical abundance Nature afforded him only too easily the

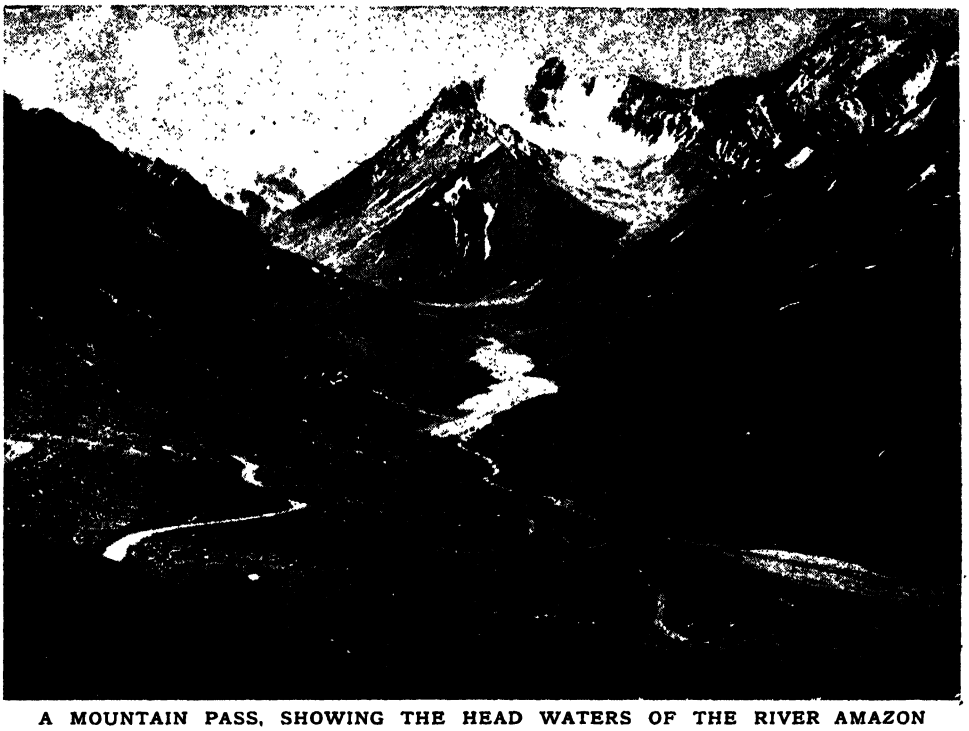


A FAMILIAR SIGHT ON THE SLOPES OF THE ROCK-STREWN ANDES

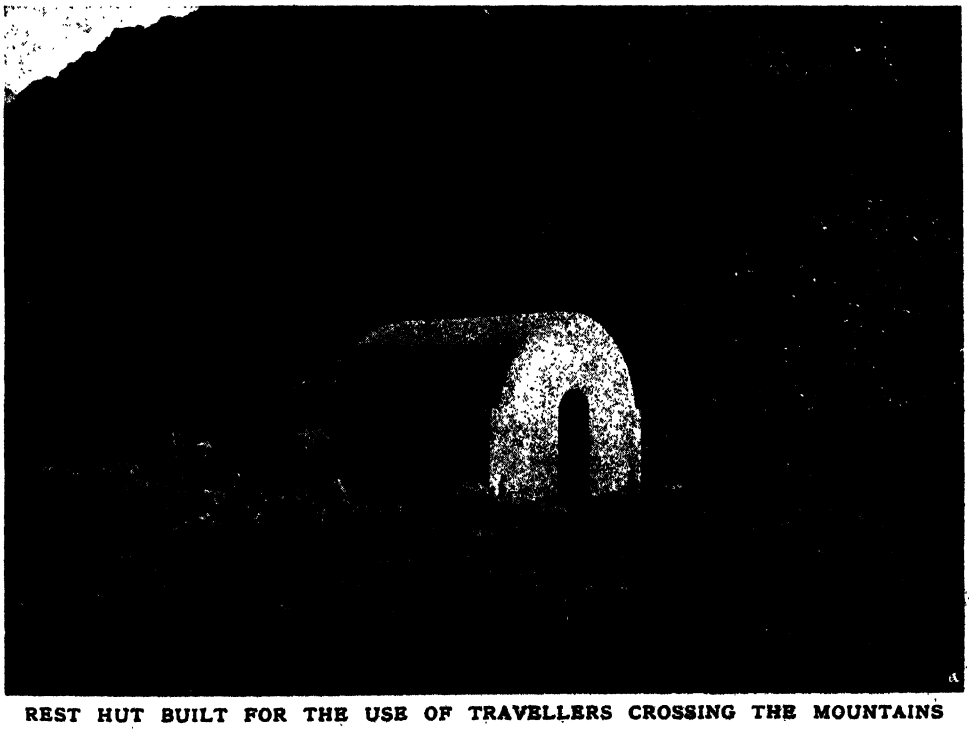


A GIGANTIC GROUP OF PEAKS RANGING FROM 15,000 TO 23,000 FEET IN HEIGHT

THE MOUNTAIN CHAIN OF THE ANDES IN SOUTH AMERICA



A MOUNTAIN PASS, SHOWING THE HEAD WATERS OF THE RIVER AMAZON



REST HUT BUILT FOR THE USE OF TRAVELLERS CROSSING THE MOUNTAINS

CHARACTERISTIC SCENES AMONG THE ANDES

means of satisfying his modest requirements, and he became a wanderer with no definite or settled dwelling-place.

Thus there remained for man's habitation only that huge mountain mass which bears in its long folds the peaks and ranges of the Cordilleras, and forms low valleys between its mountain arms. It rises above the sea-level to a height of several thousand feet, almost to the snow-line of the Alps; but the temperature that prevails even at this height in tropical latitudes is by no means unfavourable to man and to his requirements. Primitive man here found that most indispensable of all requisites, water — water in sufficient abundance to fertilise the soil, and yet not so abundant as to be an invincible enemy; water, too, that presented him with provision in the fish which were found in the greater and smaller lakes, into which brook or river swelled when its course was dammed; and these fish could be caught even with the primitive implements of early times.

Primitive Man's Habitation

Here the forest offered him a refuge, and, in the next stage of his progress, material for his inventions. The rocks which the mountain torrents brought down to him were ready for him to build with. In the Cordilleras of South America he found two more precious gifts, which had the greatest influence upon the development of his civilisation—the potato, which grew even upon the heights where the maize could not flourish; and the llama, the household animal of the American continent, which bore man's burdens, clothed him with its wool, and fed him with its meat.

All these conditions were perhaps not equally favourable over the whole of that great stretch of country which forms the region of the South American civilisation; yet it is plain from what has been already said that the natural conditions contributing to the development of a civilisation were at hand. At any rate, even in the remotest antiquity, these conditions raised culture to a higher plane than it attained at that time among the inhabitants of the rest of South America. The knowledge of the proper mode of preparing the manioc and skill in pottery ware seem to spring from those ancient civilised influences which proceeded from the peoples of the Cordilleras, apparently from the range of Bolivia, where they were more widely extended than elsewhere. It is in this region that we must seek for the early home, not only of many uncivilised peoples of South America, but also of all the civilised peoples; as is apparent from the fact that in South America all tradition points to the progress of civilisation from south to north, whereas in the districts of Central America the contrary was the case. The civilisation actually attained, though its development was by no means uniform, is, on the whole, of a higher standard as we penetrate southward. For this reason, and also because in the extreme north this civilisation existed undisturbed at the time of the Spanish invasion, while at the same time in the south numbers of older states had been absorbed by the Incas, we shall begin our narration of the ancient history of these civilisations from the north.

How Nature Assisted Development

The most northerly of the civilised districts of South America is that of the Chibchas. For philological reasons attempts have been made to show the relation of the Chibchas to other races, and in particular to those that inhabit the most southerly regions of Central America immediately on the north of the Isthmus of Panama; it has thus been inferred that the Chibchas emigrated to their later settlements from the north. Others, also, have attempted to identify scattered Chibcha bands in Costa Rica, which are said to have arrived there from the south. But if even their connection with races living outside their boundaries should be established, yet the peculiar nature of the Chibcha civilisation in Colombia justifies us in disregarding the historical importance of these, and confining our attention to the Chibchas themselves.

Home of the Chibchas

Their district lay upon the eastern bank of the central river of Magdalena, from which it was divided by a high range of mountains stretching from Rio Funza on the south as far as Carare and Sogamoso on the north and penetrated by no river of any importance. On the east it borders on the Cordilleras themselves. In a few places there were passes across those mountains, known to the Chibchas even then, and on the north-easterly corner, in the later San Juan de los Llanos, there seems to have been from early times communication between the inhabitants of the highland and those of the lowland upon the east. A high tableland, intersected

ANTIQUITIES OF THE VANISHED PEOPLE OF PERU

This collection of antiquities represents artistic handicrafts of the ancient peoples of Peru. The mummy of a Peruvian woman is shown in the foreground, while the poncho represented at the top of the page was an article of apparel much worn in bygone days and is still in vogue among certain American races. Other articles shown are vases and idols.

by numerous rivers, for the most part of small importance, covered with a great number of large or small lakes, and bounded by the two river systems above mentioned—such is the district of the Chibchas. It has an area of about 500 square miles, and was tolerably thickly populated at the time of the conquest. In the Chibcha traditions there is nothing to lead us to conclude that their immigration into this district was of a late date. Their religious ideas invariably preserve the tradition of an early period of development; and so closely were their conceptions bound up with the localities in which the Spaniards met with them that they seem to have considered themselves as autochthonous. This is their legend concerning the creation of man.

Chibcha Legend of Man's Creation

After Chiminigagua had created heaven and earth, and had sent out the birds that brought light into all countries, a lovely woman named Bachue, or Furachogue, is said to have risen from the lake of Iguaque, on the north-east of Tunja, with a child three years old upon her arm, and to have built for herself a hut not far from there in a flowery valley, to have cultivated the ground, and to have carefully brought up the child. When the boy had become a man she is supposed to have married him, and to have presented him with a progeny so numerous that the surrounding country was occupied and peopled by it. When they grew old, the couple wandered back to the lake of Iguaque, and there took leave of their posterity, and disappeared again, in the form of two giant snakes, into the lake from which they had first come forth.

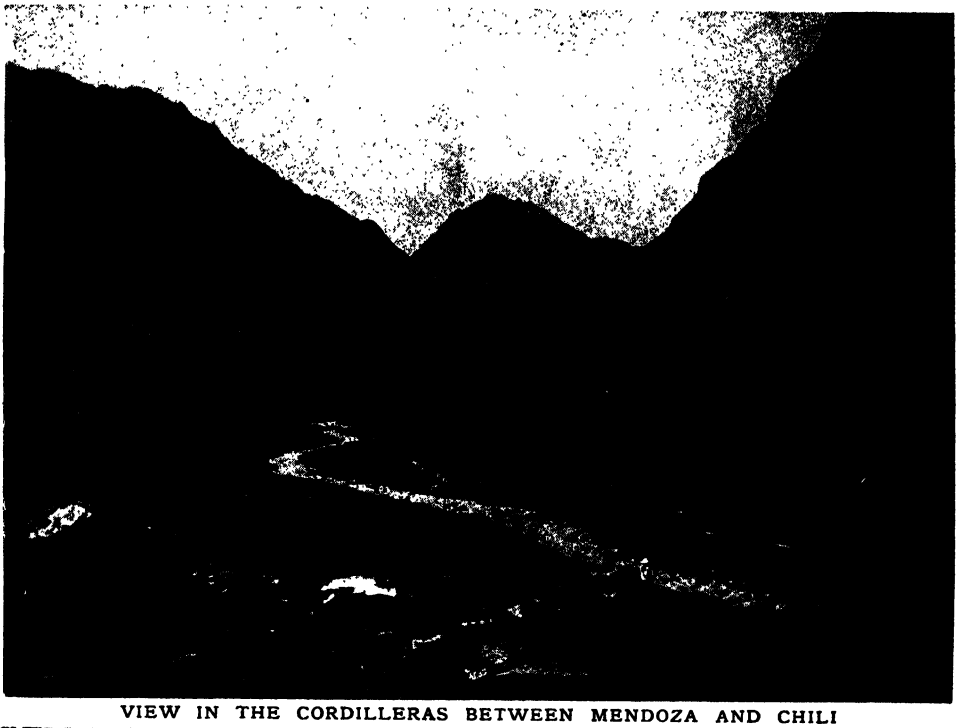
In spite of this and similar legends it is doubtful whether the first home of the Chibchas is rightly to be placed in the river district of the Magdalena. It must be noticed that they were there surrounded by people with whom they were in a state of continual war, and whose language was in no way related to their own. Moreover, the character of their civilisation was so entirely different that we can hardly believe the Chibchas to be a branch of the race surrounding them which had attained a higher cultivation under the influence of more favourable conditions. It is impossible, also, to establish any connection between the Chibchas and the other civilisations of the south. They were divided from their nearest civilised neighbours, the Quitus, by the deep depression which the valley of the Ica River and the lake of Cocna makes in the Cordilleras at the sources of the Magdalena, and there are no coincidences in religion or civilisation to point to an earlier close connection between these peoples. Similarly upon the north there is absolutely no race or district which the Chibchas can be shown to have reached, carrying with them germs of the civilisation which brought forth a rich harvest in the river system of the Magdalena.

The Chibchas Surrounded by Enemies

From the earliest times the Chibcha district must have been divided into a number of little communities about as numerous as the towns were later on; for over each of these settlements, with the districts surrounding them, a cacique continued to rule in later times. At first, all of these towns were of an equal importance, were independent of each other, and perhaps were connected in groups merely by their common veneration of certain sacred shrines; but in the course of time some of these petty monarchs began to enrich themselves at the expense of their neighbours. Around each nucleus thus formed, other families had gathered by degrees, under compulsion or persuasion, until at last five caciques divided the government of the district, almost all the other local caciques being dependent upon them. This distribution was not definitely settled once for all, but each of the five head caciques (the "kings" of the Spaniards) was continually attempting to aggrandise himself at the expense of the others. The period immediately preceding the Spanish arrival was one of furious struggle; its result would undoubtedly have been the closer incorporation of the political groups upon the highland of Bogota if the Spaniards had not indiscriminately subjugated all the kings and extended their power over a district which reached far beyond the boundaries of the old Chibcha kingdom.

A Period of Racial Struggle

Of the five states which divided the district of Chibcha in the century immediately preceding the arrival of the Spaniards, the first was known as Zippa, or Bogota, after the name of its governor, which is said to mean the sun; the Spaniards gave this name to the capital of the country. The four others were as follows: the state of Zaque or Hunsa, with its capital Tunja; the state of



VIEW IN THE CORDILLERAS BETWEEN MENDOZA AND CHILI

SCENE ON THE RIVER CHILLAN IN THE SOUTH OF CHILI

MOUNTAIN AND RIVER SCENES IN THE SOUTH AMERICAN CONTINENT

Sogamoso, the priestly kings of which bore the title of Iraca; Guatabita, which lay on the lake of the same name; and lastly Tundama, to which belonged the extreme north-east of the district, from the line of the Cordilleras to the later San Juan de los Llanos. Although in later times the central point of political power was to be found in the states of Tunja and Bogota, yet the tradition of the Chibchas recorded that this condition of affairs was of recent establishment. Between the states of Tundama, Sogamoso and Guatabita the traditions made no difference as regards the period of their foundation.

Mythological Hero of the Chibchas

But if their religious and mythological circumstances be considered, we may assert that Tundama was rather on the circumference of the Chibcha civilisation, of which Sogamoso formed the political centre, during that period which immediately preceded the rise of Zaque and Zippa; whereas Guatabita formed the oldest religious centre of the whole area of Chibcha population. Here, on the lake of Guatabita, tradition placed all those events of the past which served to explain the conditions of the present. Here in particular was placed the battle between the mythological hero of the Chibchas, Bochica, who was certainly an incarnation of the sun, and his wife Chia, an incarnation of the moon, who was as wicked as she was beautiful. According to tradition, the Chibchas, at their first appearance, were mere savages living in the valley of the Funza River, which was then entirely surrounded by mountains upon the south.

Bochica came to bring them the blessings of civilisation; he taught them how to cultivate the maize and potato, to make them garments by spinning yarn, and to live as an organised community. But Chia everywhere opposed his efforts towards civilisation, and when she saw that in spite of her energy the work of Bochica became more and more successful, she dammed up the outflow of the Funza until its waters filled up the whole valley, and only a few of the inhabitants succeeded in escaping to the highest peaks. Thereupon anger overcame Bochica. He banished Chia from the earth, and put her into the heaven as the moon; then with his lightning he split the enclosing valley wall, so that the waters rushed out in the mighty waterfall of Tequendama, and only the lake of Guatabita remained as a memorial of the universal flood. The details of this legend reflect a high veneration for the powers of Nature which is a characteristic feature in the religion of the Chibchas. Mountain and rock, tree and shrub, but especially water, brooks and lakes, were considered by them as inhabited by divine beings, and were objects of particular veneration.

The Flood in Chibcha Legend

This veneration showed itself especially in pilgrimages, dances, and the burning of incense, and in the bringing of costly presents. The Chibchas offered these divinities objects peculiarly suitable for decoration and sacrifice, since their district provided them with many precious stones, especially emeralds, and also with gold. They had the greatest skill in beating out gold and then tastefully inlaying it with jewels. Hence their offerings were especially suitable for the service of the gods, and the habit of making these offerings turned their artistic tendencies into particular channels. This custom no doubt contributed not a little to the unusually high development of the goldsmith's art among the Chibchas. The sites of their worship—both of the gods and of the dead who were connected with them—caves, lakes, and similar places, consequently provide a rich hunting-ground, and one only too easily attainable, for the costly antiquities of the Chibcha civilisation. From the Spanish conquest to the most recent times treasures to a large amount have been gathered from such places, for the most part to be melted down and coined into money. It is only in more recent times that greater respect has begun to be shown to these remains of a remarkable civilisation. Fortunately, a sufficient number of the inexhaustible and valuable antiquarian relics of the country has come down to us to enable us to form a judgment about them.

Relics of a Remarkable Civilisation

The lakes—and especially the lake of Guatabita—were localities much frequented for the purpose of making religious offerings. The festival sacrifices which the newly elected monarch offered in the lake of Guatabita even in later times gave rise to the fairy legend of El Dorado, the golden man, who is said to have been thrown into the lake of Guatabita. The proceedings were as follows: In all the Chibcha states the accession of a new monarch was celebrated with

prolonged religious ceremonies. His coronation was preceded by long and strict fasting; and at the end of this time of penance, sacrifices and festivals of unusual extravagance took place. But in Guatabita the following ceremony closed the festival.

The inhabitants of the whole land came together in procession to the shores of the lake, and on the day of coronation the priests brought the young ruler from his place of penance to the lake, where a vessel awaited his arrival, richly loaded with the most expensive offerings of gold and emeralds. The four most important caciques, clothed in their richest and most brilliant robes, entered the vessel; on the shore of the lake, to the accompaniment of offerings of incense, which were continued throughout the whole crowd of people there gathered together, the new monarch was clothed in festival robes by the priests, smeared with a sticky kind of earth, and then powdered from head to foot with gold dust. Gleaming like the sun—and in most of the Chibcha states the kings were considered as descended from the sun—he, too, entered the vessel, took his place among his caciques, and was then rowed out upon the lake. In the middle of the lake the boat was stopped, and now the monarch offered to the gods, who were supposed to inhabit the lake, the rich store of offerings, while the people on shore celebrated the sacrifice by dancing to the accompaniment of musical instruments until the monarch reached the land again, and then for the first time began to take part in a festival continued for many days.

Chibchas' Sacrifices to their Gods

Though this mode of sacrifice was peculiar to Guatabita, yet the holy sacrificial spots were constantly visited by both the rulers and the subjects of the other Chibcha states. There were a large number of sacred lakes which were regarded as proper places for sacrifice, and were connected by high roads carefully kept in repair for the convenience of the pilgrims. Upon all extraordinary occasions—famines and epidemics, victorious battles, and at other times also—the kings of the different states ordained festival pilgrimages in which almost the whole people took part; for such pilgrimages were not only a duty that they owed to the gods, but were at the same time a festival for the people, who were then allowed free indulgence in all sensual pleasures. The main objective of all pilgrimages was Guatabita, the spot most highly and widely revered in the whole Chibcha district. Probably even now the lake contains immense riches, which were poured into it in the shape of offerings. Repeated attempts to drain it have twice been partially successful. Search upon the districts around the banks has brought to light gold to the value of thousands of pounds, although it was only the ordinary inhabitants who offered their gifts upon the shore. What boundless treasures must be hidden in that lake! For not only the rulers of Guatabita, but each "usaque," "guecha," and, in fact, everybody of any social position whatever, was rowed out a short distance upon the lake and made his offering as nearly as possible at the central point of the sacred locality.

A Lake of Boundless Treasures

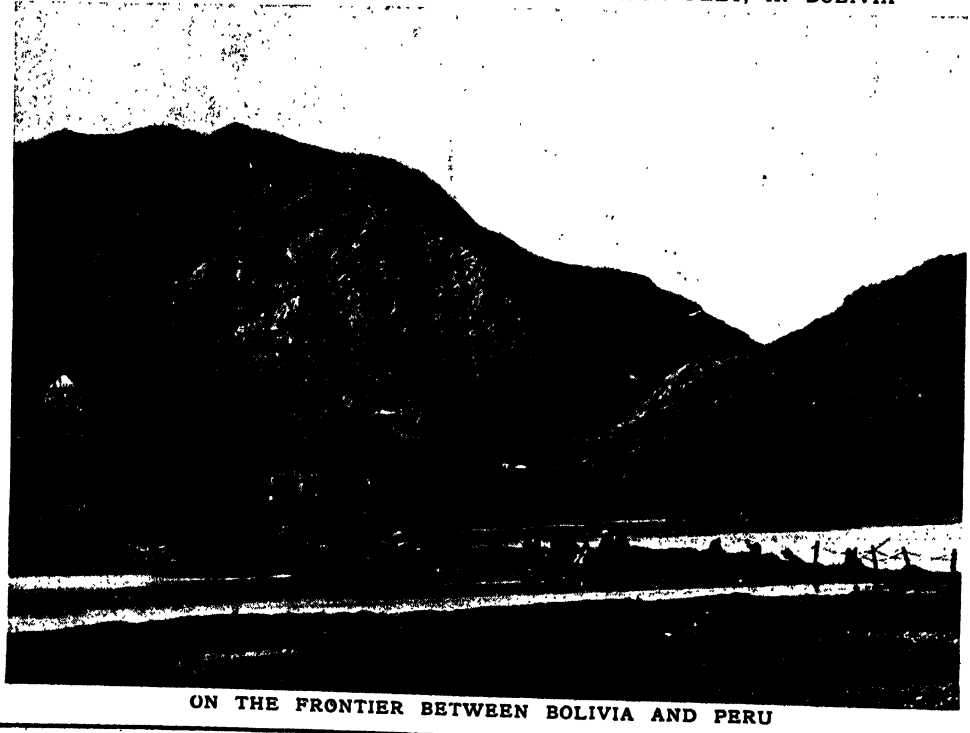
When the Spaniards came into the Chibcha district, Guatabita had lost its independence, and formed a part of the kingdom of Zippa, or Bogota. But that the religious centre was situated originally in Guatabita, and not in the new seat of power, is proved by the fact that Bogota is never mentioned in the mythological and legendary traditions, while the most extensive and most elaborate cycle of legends centres round Guatabita.

Side by side with Guatabita, Sogamoso (Sugamuxi) undoubtedly possessed some religious importance. The little state which bears this name lay on the eastern boundary of the Chibcha district, where two difficult passes over the eastern Cordilleras make communication possible with the lowland of Llanos. The development of many religious customs shows that the two states here came into contact, and that their communication was not without influence upon the Chibchas.

The bloodless worship which the Chibchas offered to Nature, natural objects, and especially water, held the first place in Guatabita. But their religion was by no means entirely composed of such harmless conceptions; human sacrifice formed an integral portion of their sun-worship. They certainly believed that the sun had been created by Chiminigagua. But this inexplicable creator seems never to have enjoyed divine honours, while the worship of the sun is everywhere to be found, as in the case of the Dorado ceremonies at Guatabita. The especial servants of the sun were the priesthood,

Sun-worship Among the Chibchas

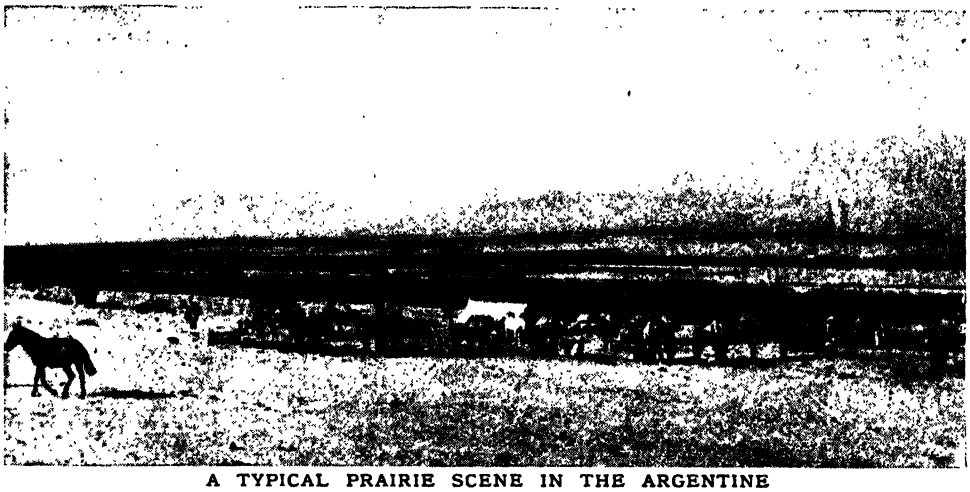
MOUNT ILLIMANI RISING TO A HEIGHT OF 21 190 FEET, IN BOLIVIA



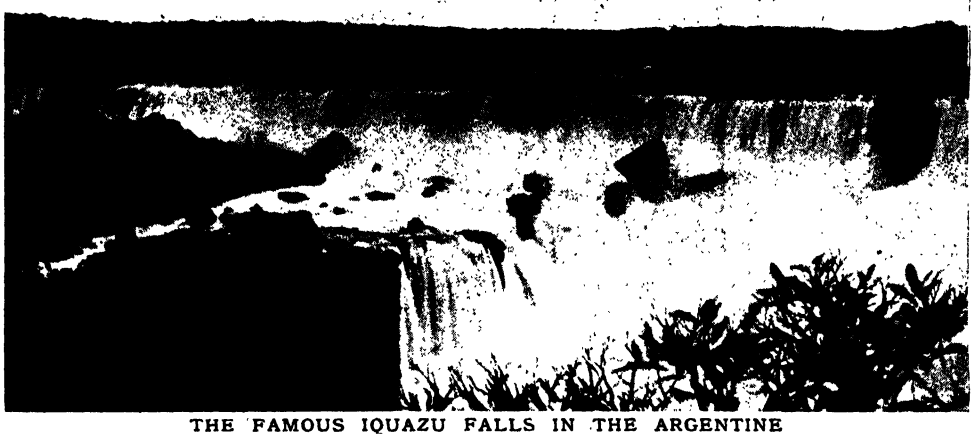
ON THE FRONTIER BETWEEN BOLIVIA AND PERU

SOUTH AMERICAN VIEWS: SCENES IN BOLIVIA AND PERU

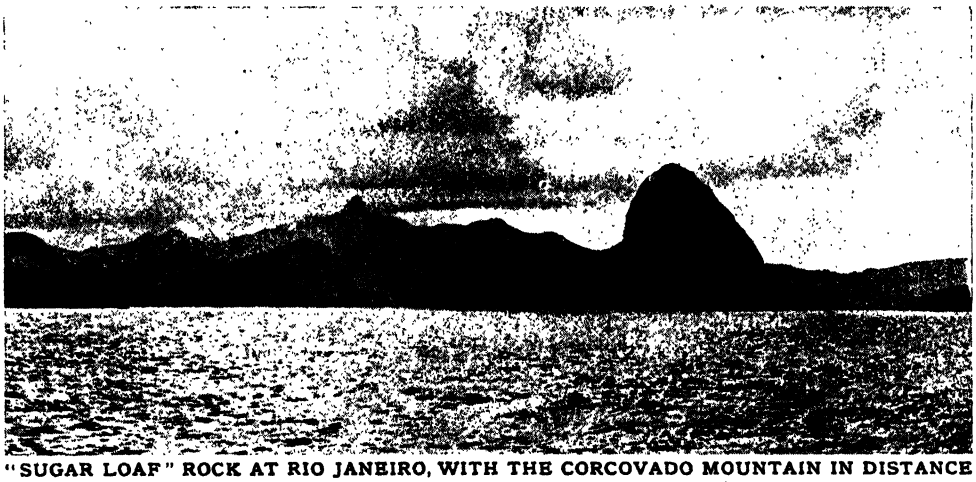
Photos: Edwards and E. N. A.



A TYPICAL PRAIRIE SCENE IN THE ARGENTINE



THE FAMOUS IQUAZU FALLS IN THE ARGENTINE



"SUGAR LOAF" ROCK AT RIO JANEIRO, WITH THE CORCOVADO MOUNTAIN IN DISTANCE

THE DIVERSIFIED SCENERY OF THE SOUTHERN CONTINENT

Photos: Edwards and Rider Noble

the "jeques," who were well organised and united by strict rules; as in the case of all early peoples, they exercised a wide influence upon the country and its inhabitants. The training to which the jeques were obliged to submit reminds one of the manner in which the medicine-man of the North American savages was forced to gain a reputation for holiness; but in this case the process was more systematic. Not every man was at liberty to proclaim himself as an intermediary between God and man. The priestly caste was already one of the estates of the realm: the position passed from uncle to nephew, the usual line of succession among the Chibchas. A period of penance and preparation extending over many years had to be passed through, and the permission of the monarch obtained.

Fetishes in Chibcha Households

Among the Chibchas every house had its own fetishes: these were little shapeless human figures, in the case of the rich families made of gold, while those of the poor were of clay; they almost always contained an interior receptacle for offerings. Besides these there was a large number of inferior divinities, to which no especial priests were attached, but which special classes of the people worshipped—a worship which might become universal on particular occasions. The temples with their priests were employed for a very anthropomorphic form of sun-worship, and all the celestial bodies were considered as the satellites of the sun.

Sacrifices of blood, and particularly human offerings, appear almost exclusively in the sun-worship. The mode of sacrifice was peculiar. The chosen victim was conveyed to a mountain-top upon which the rays of the rising sun smote. Here he was killed at the moment when the sun rose above the horizon, and the rock was smeared with his warm blood so that the sun could immediately derive nourishment therefrom. A similar conception lay at the bottom of another peculiarly horrible form of sacrifice. In this case the victim was brought to the appointed place, bound to the top of mastlike poles, and slowly done to death with arrows and spears, while the priests caught the blood that streamed down and offered it to the images in the temple. Greater refinement is apparent in another mode of human sacrifice, where the idea that the victim is identified with a divinity is prominent. This idea is borrowed from Aztec customs. It is remarkable that for this purpose there were chosen only boys who belonged to the races living in Llanos, on the east.

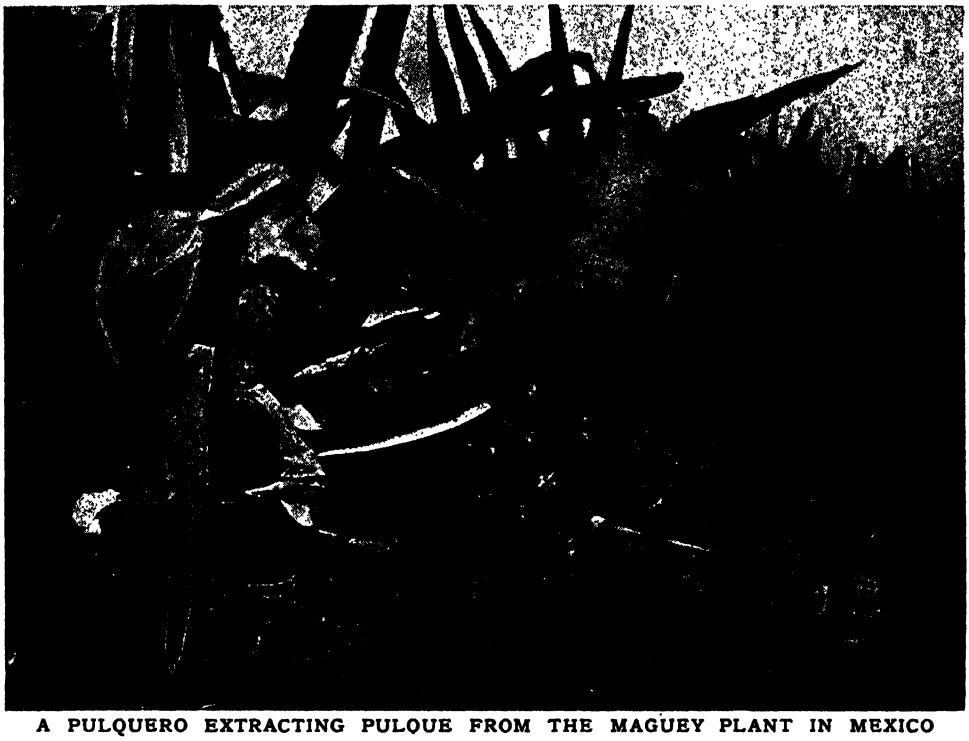
Cruel Forms of Human Sacrifices

This circumstance is also connected with the fact that the sun rises in the east and points to the eastern origin of the primitive Chibchas. From the later San Juan de los Llanos there was carried on a regular trade in small boys, whose navels were cut immediately after their birth as a mark that they were destined for sacrifice to the sun. When six or eight years old, they were brought into the towns by merchants, and the caciques purchased one or more of these sacred boys in proportion to their wealth. Until fifteen years of age they were honoured almost like divinities. They lived in the temples, where the priests were their servants; they acted as intermediaries between God and man in the case of suppliants; and if they ever left the temple buildings, which did not often happen, they were carried in litters, like kings and nobles, in order that their holy feet might not touch profane ground. Thus they lived until they became of age. If such a sacrificial youth found an opportunity to commit an act of unchastity, he became unfit for sacrifice: he was driven out, and sank to the level of an ordinary mortal; but otherwise his earthly career ended with a great feast in which the Chibchas gave full rein to their passion for display in processions and musical performances.

Youths Kept for Sacrifice

The sacrificial youth was the central point of the festival, and when it was at its height the heart and entrails were suddenly torn from the victim's body amid a deafening uproar from the mob, his head was struck off, and his blood and heart were carried to the feet of the gods as rapidly as possible. It was supposed, therefore, that the gods were supported by the flesh and blood of the victim. Both the Chibchas and their priests seem never to have practised cannibalism; the corpse was secretly buried by the latter, who gave out that the sun had eaten it.

One of the duties of the priests naturally consisted in the regulation of the calendar. All that has been said of the complicated chronology of the Chibchas, of their three different and concurrent methods of reckoning the year, is a figment of the



A PULQUERO EXTRACTING PULQUE FROM THE MAGUEY PLANT IN MEXICO

A PACK-TRAIN OF LLAMAS, WITH INDIAN DRIVER, IN PERU

THE LIFE AND CUSTOMS OF SOUTH AMERICAN PEOPLES

Underwood & Underwood

imagination, and the pretended calendar signs of the Chibchas are a feeble attempt at deception. Writing was absolutely unknown to the Chibchas; even the mnemonic system of the Peruvians—the "quipus"—was never used by them. Their year consisted of twelve lunar months, which were divided into smaller divisions according to the phases of the moon. It is also entirely false that they devoted ten days to religious contemplation and retirement, ten to work, and ten to pleasure. A year of 360 days would naturally have brought them into obvious contradiction with the seasons; and as, for religious reasons, the priests carefully watched the sun, they were probably able to make the year coincide with the sun, though perhaps by arbitrary methods. The pillars found among people whose architecture has advanced very little have frequently been considered as dials or gnomons. It is certainly remarkable that in the Chibcha district, where stone architecture was entirely unknown up to the time of the conquest, numbers of stone pillars have been found, well set up and rounded, which apparently fulfilled no particular purpose; they lie there as if they had been casually left on the road.

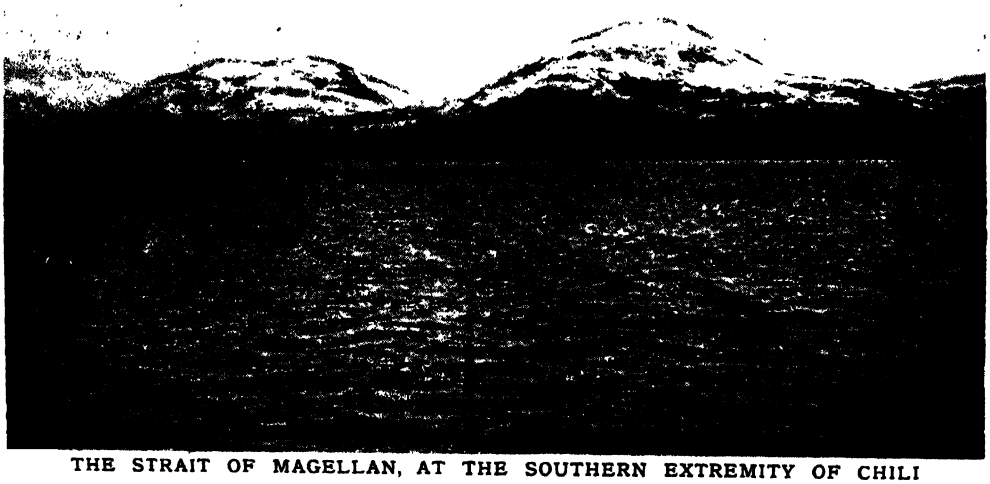
Misconceptions With Regard to the Chibchas

These may be considered as sun-dials; but the entire lack of information as to their use, and also the fact that there are no traces of them in places which are well known to have been thickly populated, make the theory very doubtful, On the south of the Chibcha district. and only a few miles distant from it, on a little plateau on the right bank of the upper Magdalena River, are to be found remains of an ancient American civilisation presenting peculiar characteristics. The ruins are now named San Agustin, after a miserable village which was founded in the previous century by the natives who felled the quina-wood; but what its ancient name was, and who the people were who left such remarkable memorials behind them, are still wholly uncertain.

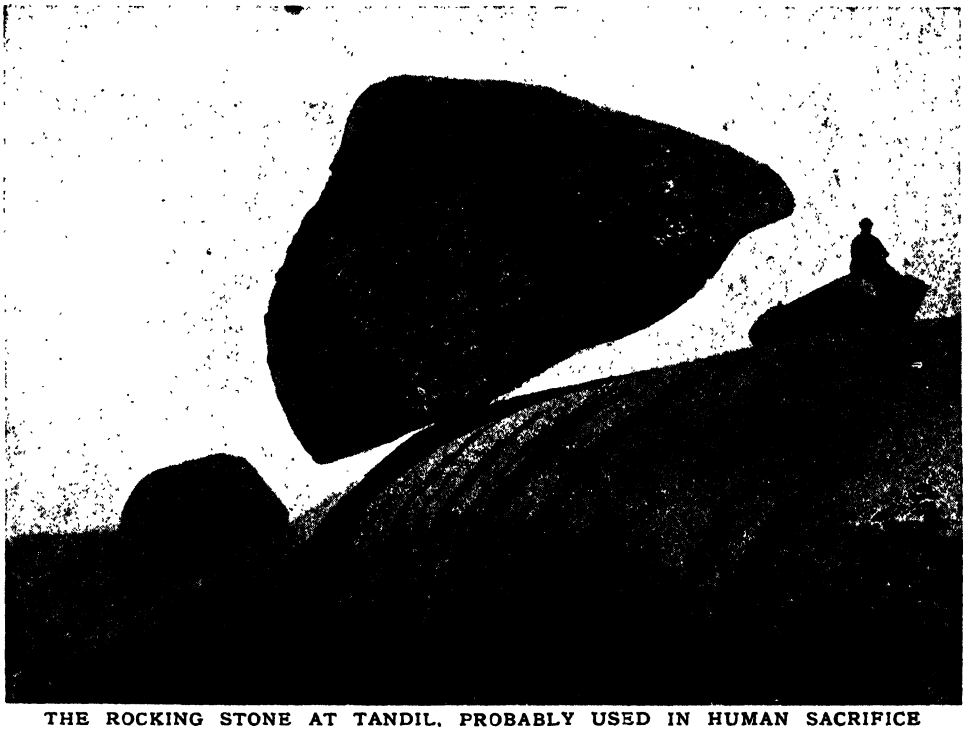
The Chibcha civilisation never extended so far, but with no other of the races with which the Spaniards came in contact can these antiquities be connected. At the time of the Spanish conquest, and also according to Chibcha traditions, though these do not go back very far, this district was inhabited by the wild hordes of the Paeces, a race of cannibals and restless hunters, upon the lowest planes of civilisation, and accounted the most dangerous neighbours of the Chibchas. The memorials of the San Agustin civilisation must even then have been in ruins and have remained abandoned in the depths of the primeval forest, as they continued for another three centuries, until certain wood-cutters penetrated into this jungle in their search for quina-trees, and, in order to prove the truth of their marvellous accounts of numerous temples of human figures, brought forth from the darkness of the forest the monuments which to-day adorn the market-place of San Agustin.

Memorials of San Agustin Civilisation

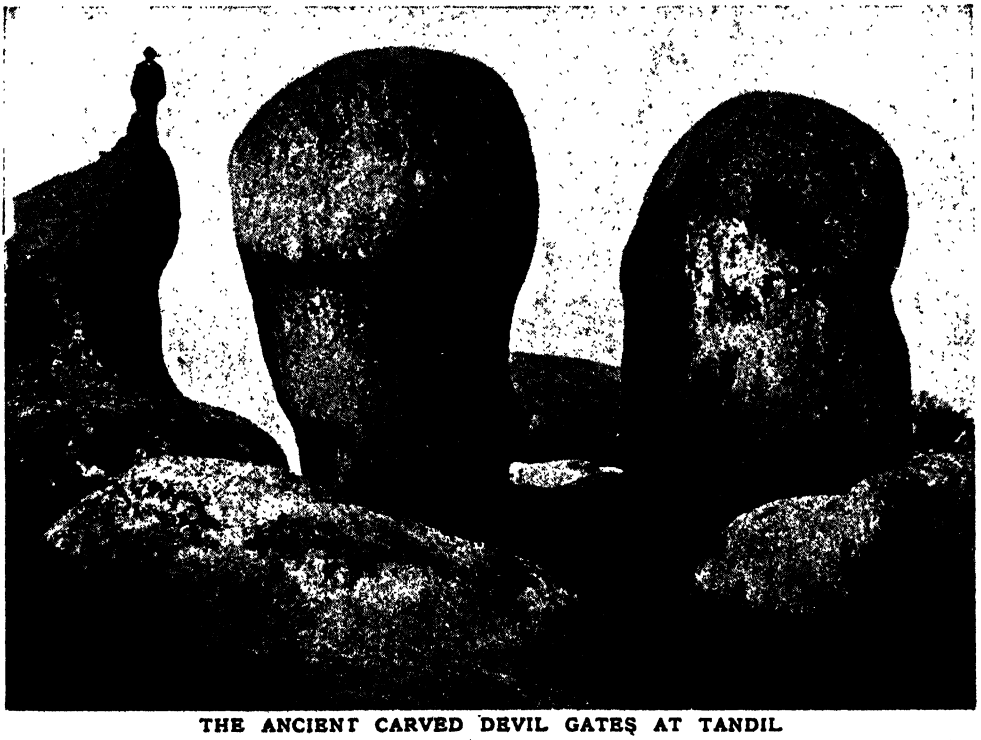
Upon the wooded hills at the upper course of the stream which flows through San Agustin and takes its name from the



THE STRAIT OF MAGELLAN, AT THE SOUTHERN EXTREMITY OF CHILI



THE ROCKING STONE AT TANDIL, PROBABLY USED IN HUMAN SACRIFICE



THE ANCIENT CARVED DEVIL GATES AT TANDIL

TRACES OF THE ANCIENT INHABITANTS OF ARGENTINA

town, the wood-cutters found a number of little temples, the construction of which is without parallel upon American soil. The people who erected them were making their first attempts at architecture. They were unable to work or to build into walls the stones which the mountain streams brought down to the tableland which they inhabited; they therefore sunk their temples half in the ground. Great blocks of stone were set up side by side in the manner of dolmens, forming a four-cornered room small enough to be roofed in by a huge slab. One might be tempted to consider these cell-like constructions as burial-places. But nothing has been found to justify this theory; on the contrary, the general character of their position shows undoubtedly that they were intended for temples. It also appears that they were never closed in upon every side; but the monuments clearly show sculptured pillars which formed the entrance, upon the back of which a large picture of a god was occasionally drawn.

Primitive Temples of San Agustin

At the present time scarcely a temple remains in a sufficient state of preservation to enable us to get an accurate plan of it; but from the descriptions and drawings of the first discoverers we are forced to conclude that the numerous carved stones which are now lying about in the woods, and some of which have been brought down to San Agustin, were at one time united into a single area of temples consisting of little consecrated chambers; and the considerable number of these monuments points to a rich population.

The memorials of San Agustin fall into three classes—supports or pillars, which formed the temple entrance; altar-stones sculptured with pictures of the gods in human form; and monuments of various kinds to which no particular place in the temples can be assigned. The temple pillars display the art of this unknown people at its highest development. Though their architectural capabilities were extremely limited, yet their plastic art had attained such a pitch of perfection as to imply a long previous period of development. In their representations of the gods, symbolical tendencies confined the makers to archaic types; on the other hand, the pillars show a realism and a characterisation which tempt us to suppose that they were portraits of realities. But in this case the artists laid stress only upon the face and its expression; the rest of the body is never drawn with freedom, but for the most part is carved in relief upon the supports, the pillars, or the stones, and the figures are usually disproportioned.

The Art of an Unknown People

The clothed legs and the bare feet are often much reduced in size and occasionally disappear in the foundations. Their pictures of the human frame display a peculiar kind of clothing, now reminding us of flowing robes and now merely showing a waist-cloth. But the torso is nearly always portrayed as clothed with a sleeved garment terminating in a band at the wrist. As in the case of nearly all South American civilisations, the sculptures of San Agustin never display the head bare—from the square helmet to the carefully wound turban we have before us almost all the head-coverings which appear in the gold-work of the Chibchas and the clay figures of the Peruvians.

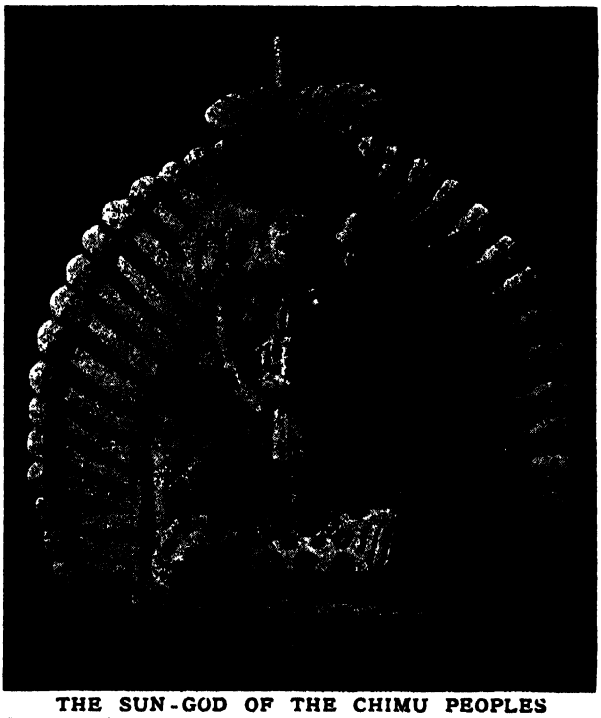
The realistic character of these heads enables us to form some general conclusions upon the features of this unknown nation. The noses are strongly proportioned with broad cartilages, the cheek-bones are prominent, the lips remarkably protruding and giving an impression of sensuality where this is not the result of the artistic mode of representing the mouth. The eyes, for the most part, are large, with strongly accentuated pupils, of almond shape, covered by eye-brows often well marked. The most carefully carved pillars which formed corresponding pairs display above the head-dress the symbolic picture of an animal, the head of which is broad and rather flat, the body thick, and the tail long and annulated.

Sculptures of San Agustin

The representation has resemblances to the chameleon or to a stumpy lizard; but as it displays many correspondences with memorials of a third race, which have occasionally been considered as apes, but are more properly identified with the puma or American lion, this is probably the correct interpretation here. Lastly, these "protectors of divinity" grasped weighty clubs in their hands; and when the figures of the gods are armed, they, too, carry only clubs and staves. The figures of the gods are far less realistic; the living element in them is constantly overpowered by ornamental

tendencies proceeding from symbolism. Only occasionally are nose and eyes depicted with any reality, and the contour of the face is constantly indicated merely by three small right angles; of this there are many examples in Chibcha gold-work.

The most important feature of the gods is the mouth; this, too, is often drawn at right angles, but almost invariably displays a double row of powerful teeth from which the four eye-teeth in the upper and lower jaws protrude. This peculiar arrangement of teeth depicted in almost all their representations is an important indication for the solution of the riddle as to the origin of the monuments: it appears again in a large number of clay vessels with faces on them, of Peruvian origin, which have been found in the valleys on the coast-line from Chimu to Santa. If we retrace the conceptions upon which this facial representation was founded, a clay figure from Tiahuanaco leads us to the conclusion that the jaws of the puma were thus depicted. Thus, we are here concerned with a divinity to whom the qualities of this bloodthirsty beast of prey were attributed. An excellent support for this theory is seen in the fact that occasionally even the images of San Agustin hold tiny figures of human victims in their hands, which for that reason must be children who had not yet been destined to sacrifice. These results are also important for the identification of the monuments of the third race. Here the animal in one instance appears with its long annulated tail above a human victim of such small proportions that it holds it in its forearms. In this figure investigators have seen an ape in the act of copulation; and, as at least two undoubtedly phallic representations have been found in a district of this unknown people, an attempt has been made to connect them with the powers of procreation. But in this case, too, we have to deal with the god incarnate in a sacred animal, the puma, which is devouring the victim that is brought to him. Among similar representations there exists a fish in the hand of a divine figure, and similarly a snake; and in another instance the snake is being devoured by a very realistic owl. The number of sculptured stones around the ruins of San Agustin is considerable; but in other directions similar stones are found in isolation between the Magdalena River and Popayan, and also in the neighbourhood of this town. In Quito we have no instances of stone sculptures of this character, but all the traditions concerning the worship of the bloodthirsty god Supay and his temples correspond so well with the ruins of San Agustin that earlier relations between these peoples can very well be presumed. In the middle of Peru the Marañon and the Santa flow for a time northward in two parallel valleys, until they pass through the Cordilleras; here we shall also meet with a civilisation the monuments of which so constantly remind us of San Agustin as to lead us to the conclusion that in ancient times there was one single people of a uniform civilisation which inhabited the high valleys from ten degrees south latitude as far as several degrees north of the equator, and that it is the remains of these that can be observed in the inhabitants of the Santa Valley of Quito and of the upper Magdalena.



THE SUN-GOD OF THE CHIMU PEOPLES

The piece of terracotta here illustrated, showing the sun-god of the ancient peoples of Chimu, was discovered near Trujillo by Mr. T. Hewitt Myring. Its antiquity is undoubted, dating possibly to 5000 B.C.

THE STATES OF THE MAGDALENA
AND THE END OF THE CHIBCHA KINGDOM

THE oldest historical traditions of the Chibchas are connected with Sogamoso. A king, Nompanem, is said here to have immediately succeeded Bochica, and to have reduced the teaching of that hero to legal form. But the purity of the old teaching was lost among his successors. Idacansas, related by the legends to have been the most famous ruler of Sogamoso, is said to have kept his subjects in check far more by treachery and deceit than by virtue and valour. In later times we only hear of quarrels for the dominion of Iraca among the different caciques who were subject to the kingdom, and at the time of the conquest the political importance of Sogamoso was entirely overshadowed by Zaque and Zippa.

In the Days of the Legendary Kings & Heroes

Side by side with Guatabita and Sogamoso, which may be considered as an older group of states, owing to the connection of their historical traditions with their religious ideas, the kingdoms of Zaque of Tunja, and the kingdom of Zippa, or Bogota, form a more recent group of states, founded on a purely political basis. Tradition intimates that they originated in a revolt against the ancient kingdoms. The first ruler of Tunja, or Hunsa, is said to have been set up there by a king of Sogamoso; according to some authorities the capital, Hunsa, was so called from his name Hunsahua, while others assign Ramiriqui as the ancient residence of the rulers of Tunja. At any rate, these rulers, by means of their prowess in war, obtained in a short period not only considerable prestige, but also entire independence. When the kingdom began to extend its boundaries in all directions, its ruler was no longer satisfied with the title "Usaque," which he had hitherto borne, a title which belonged to most of the independent and tributary caciques; he therefore assumed the title of "Zaque," by which the rulers of Hunsa are better known than by their proper names. Of the successors of Hunsahua but little is told us, and that little is chiefly legendary. For instance, Tomagata is said to have been a kind of human monster with four ears and a long rat's tail, who by means of his piety acquired all kinds of magical powers, which he did not employ for the benefit of his subjects.

A King of Monster Shape

Another ruler, whose government lasted until the arrival of the Spaniards in South America, though not in the Chibcha district, has been shrouded in legend. He is said to have sprung directly from the sun, the rays of which made a daughter of the cacique of Guacheta pregnant. As a child of the sun he enjoyed reputation for many years before he gained any temporal power. But when the ruling zaque made himself hated by his people for his tyranny, Garanchacha placed himself at the head of the revolt and easily gained a victory which at once gave him the position of a zaque. A change of residence from Ramiriqui to Tunja (Hunsa) has been ascribed to him, and the isolated stone pillars, to which reference has been made, have been connected with his rule. He is said to have proposed to build a magnificent temple to his father, the sun-god, in the neighbourhood of Hunsa, and for this reason he had those pillars brought from a distance; they were transported only by night, that the people might believe that the gods themselves created the material for their temples. But before the work was ended news came to the king of the arrival of the Spaniards on the lower Magdalena River, and for this reason the temple building was suspended.

A Son of the Sun

Fully to estimate the value of this tradition it is highly important to observe that a zaque named Garanchacha can find no place in the dynasty of the kings of Tunja, at any rate in so far as their names have been transmitted to us in the histories of the battles with the Zippas.

The only kingdom in the Chibcha districts upon the history and civilisation of which we have any detailed information is that of Bogota. Its kings played a part similar to that of the Aztecs in Mexico and the Incas in Peru, and, like them, so attracted the attention of the conquerors that other races and states were wholly disregarded. It is true that even in this case the traditions do not go back very far; and if we consider the entire lack of any aids to the memory we cannot be surprised at the fact. Originally the ruler of Bogota (Bacata) was merely a vassal (usaque) of the king of Guatabita. He was, however, obliged to protect the south-west boundaries of his kingdom from the constant incursions of the savage cannibal Muzos and Panches. The military power developed in these efforts very soon gave him a considerable preponderance over the other usaques, and he became, as it were, the generalissimo of the combined forces of Guatabita.

The Warrior Caste

To protect their boundaries the Chibcha rulers in early times formed a special regiment of warriors, the guechas. This force was recruited from the whole dominion, underwent special training under the king's personal observation, and was then stationed on the borders. As the usaques, or caciques, were taken exclusively from the warrior caste, the road to high position lay open to every man who could distinguish himself by especial bravery, although, as a rule, the usaque nobility stood aloof from the lower orders. A kind of military organisation existed in times of peace; the usaques upon the borders were the commanders of the portions of the warrior class there stationed, and brought up their contingents if war broke out in another part of the district, however distant from the boundary entrusted to themselves. For this object the separate usaques carried different standards by which they could be recognised both in battle and in camp.

The guechas also had a particular dress assigned to them. Like all members of the Chibcha races, they never wore their head bare. They wore a head-dress not unlike a cap, the hair being closely cropped; and it was a special privilege of their rank to pierce their ears, their nostrils, and their lips. For each enemy that a guecha killed in battle he was allowed to fasten a golden ornament in his under lip, a decoration which considerably increased his ferocious appearance. The guechas were armed with long spears, axes, slings, and throwing-sticks, from which they could sling short, sharply pointed arrows. A declaration of war, which was generally accompanied with particular formalities, was preceded by weeks of religious ceremonies; then the usaques and the guechas put on their most brilliant apparel, which consisted of waving feather garments, gold and precious stones; and they marched out followed by an endless company of women, who conveyed provisions and large quantities of the intoxicating chicha for their use.

Mummies Carried into Battle

It was a peculiar custom to carry with them into battle the mummies of famous warriors; these were borne into the thickest part of the fight upon a richly covered litter surrounded by a chosen band of picked warriors. As in the case of their sacrifices, processions, singing and shouting, the unpleasant din of their instruments played an important part in war. The victory was celebrated with weeks of festivals and dances and rich thank-offerings to the gods; but a defeat, too, was the occasion for expiatory offerings to appease the divinities whose anger had presumably been aroused.

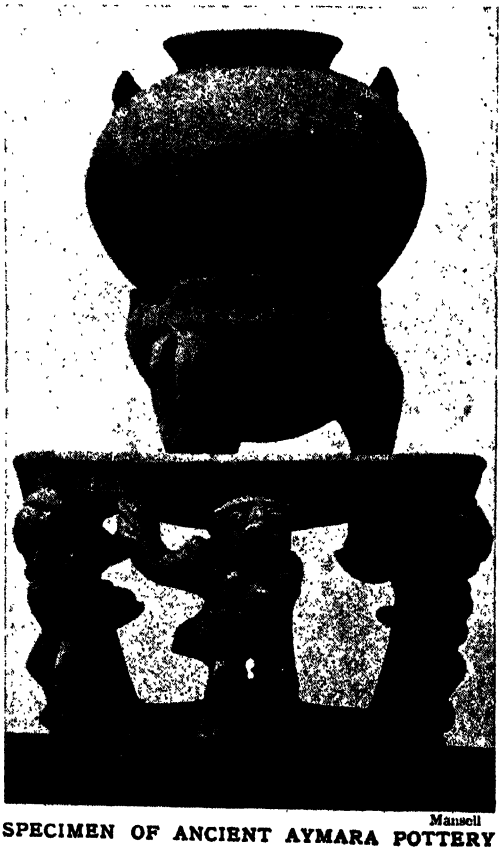
From the band of usaques to whom the protection of the southern boundary was entrusted arose, some two centuries before the Spanish arrival, the ruler of Muqueta, who is distinguished with the title of Zippa and Bogota after his kingdom had become the most important in the Chibcha district. He is said to have won his independence from Guatabita by availing himself of a festival at the sacred lake to make an attack. He may have been invited to the festival from motives not wholly disinterested; at any rate, it enabled him to win an easy victory over his master. He next proceeded to extend the boundaries of his kingdom at the expense of the hostile races on the south and west, and his rapid successes soon gave him the preponderance over the other members of the race. Partly by force of arms, and partly by the voluntary help of such provinces as were not satisfied with their own rulers, the Zippa kingdom increased so rapidly that it was soon able to consider itself as uniting the whole Chibcha race under its sway. The usual line of succession among the

An Upstart Kingdom of Antiquity

Chibchas, as among many American peoples, was from uncle to nephew on the sister's side. It was not, however, the royal race of Bogota but the race of usaques of Chia who appointed the Zippa, as appears from the following legend.

The brother of a cacique of Chia had entered upon a liaison with one of the cacique's wives, and when this was discovered and he was threatened with death on the sacrificial mast, he fled to the court of the Zippa. Here he made himself so invaluable by his military capacity that he was appointed to the succession in default of any legal heir. When his brother attained this high position, the ruler of Chia began to fear for his personal safety. Thanks to the intervention of the mother and the sister of the two princes, a compact was made according to which the son of this sister should succeed the cacique of Chia, and should also succeed the Zippa in the event of his death; and this mode of inheritance is said to have endured for all future time. At the bottom of this peculiar custom, which is certainly also found among the Kakchikel, but with a different origin, lies the desire to give greater security to a kingdom composed of many little districts of doubtful fidelity. This could be done by appointing a mighty vassal, and especially a near relation, as the future successor, and by providing him with the means of seizing the power at the critical moment. Everyone who was destined to govern a district, small or large, had to pass through a long period of probation. The test of continence thereby involved had much in common with the probation of the priests; and the priests, too, superintended the ordeal. At the close of it the ornaments for the ears and nose were put upon the young warrior in token of his high position, and his accession then took place accompanied by the most licentious festivities. The power which a cacique exercised when once he was recognised was practically unlimited. Each usaque possessed in his own province powers similar to those of his master in his central dominion. To him the usaques owed unconditional obedience, but they had a power of appeal from their master, whereas the ordinary subject had none. The position passed from uncle to nephew, and though each succeeding ruler had to be confirmed in his position by the monarch, yet the latter could only nominate a prince of his own to the throne in the event of a family of caciques becoming extinct, or in case of treachery and rebellion. The gifts and the tribute paid to the governor did not press heavily upon the people, and consisted chiefly of gold and woven cloth. Arrears, however, were rigorously exacted. In the kingdom of Zaque emeralds formed a costly portion of the tribute. The rich mines of Muzo, which were then in the power of hostile savages, were but little worked. These precious stones formed an important medium of exchange, commerce being carried on side by side with conflict, not only among the several Chibcha states, but also far beyond their boundaries. Almost every third day was a market day, and in particular places in the Chibcha district fairs were held at special times, to which merchants came in with their special wares from the most remote districts. Long measure and dry measure are said to have been in use; the medium

Ordeal of the Warrior



Mansell

SPECIMEN OF ANCIENT AYMARA POTTERY

AYMARA ART: TERRA-COTTA FIGURES FROM BOGOTA, COLOMBIA Mansell

In art the Aymara were in advance of most semi-barbarous peoples. Examples of their pottery, given on this and the preceding page, show, both in ornamentation and modelling, that their art had passed the rudimentary stage.

of exchange consisted of a coinage made of fine beaten gold; and interest was paid upon trade debts from the day on which they were contracted. Although in this manner the most beautiful and costly precious stones came into the hands of the Chibchas, yet they themselves undertook mining operations in search of them. In Somondoco traces have been found showing that they knew how to lay bare those veins in the rock which contained the emeralds, and to pick out the veins with sharp instruments until they yielded the precious stones.

During the last half-century before the conquest all the splendours of Chibcha art were concentrated at the courts of the Zaque in Tunja, and Zippa in Bogota. It is true that the palaces of these rulers were constructed of only wood and straw, but the splendid proportions of their design impressed even the Spaniards. A double wall of palisades surrounded the palace quarters, which were of considerable extent, and, being covered with a roof of waterproof tapestry, formed a dry promenade. The outer stockade was interrupted at intervals with masts. It was further decorated with little pieces of gold plate; these moved with every breath of wind, glistened in the sunlight, and made a metallic noise as they clashed together. The interior of the court was kept scrupulously clean, and contained a large number of rooms wherein the ruler and his court resided and where his treasures were kept. The buildings in which the ruler received his subjects were naturally fitted up at the greatest expense.

Splendid Palaces of Wood and Straw

As in the case of the temples, so also in the palaces of the Zippa, the foundations of the main pillars were laid upon the corpses of victims who were apparently buried alive and crushed to death when the pillar was raised; the offering of their blood to the gods was supposed to preserve the house from ill fortune. The walls were constructed of wood and the roofs of straw, but of these materials nothing was visible from within. The floor was thickly covered with clean mats; the walls and roof were hung with different coloured tapestry, decorated with golden ornaments and richly adorned with precious stones. The ruler sat upon a throne of wood which was richly overlaid with gold, surrounded by the highest priests and dignitaries.

No subject dared approach him without bringing some gift, and then he was allowed to enter only with head bowed and eyes fixed on the floor. He was obliged either to maintain this posture or to turn away from the king as long as he remained in his presence; no one was sufficiently honourable to look him in the face, as to be placed face to face with the monarch was equivalent to a sentence of death. The ruler's feet were never allowed

to touch the floor; if the necessities of religion or war obliged him to leave his palace, he changed his throne for an open litter, decorated no less richly with gold and precious stones, which was carried on the shoulders of four men. A numerous escort invariably accompanied the monarch. At the head of the procession were servants who swept the streets before him and laid down carpets; then followed a band of musicians and a numerous bodyguard composed of priests and dignitaries. The common people, for whom each exit of the ruler was a festival, brought up the rear.

A King with Two Hundred Wives

In the immediate neighbourhood of the palace, though not within its limits, were the dwellings of the king's wives; of these the last Zippa is said to have had as many as two hundred. Only one among these ranked as a legal wife, and her privileges were by no means insignificant; among others she is said to have had the right of enforcing a prescribed period of continence upon her husband at her death. It is related of the wives of the usaques, each of whom is said to have had a considerable number, that they were allowed to punish misconduct in their husbands with stripes, as they were not subject to the laws which governed the common people. Adultery among women was visited with stern punishment upon both them and their paramours; upon mere suspicion, upon an incautious word, the outraged husband might kill his wife.

The position of the ruler, as well as of individual caciques, was inherited by nephews and not by sons, only the personal property of the dead man coming to the wife and children. Among the Chibchas, on the death of the king and the more important dignitaries, certain women and servants also followed them into the other world. The corpse was quickly embalmed and forced into a sitting posture, while the funeral ceremonies went on for days with singing and drinking; then the priests took the corpse by stealth to a secret place and buried it in a deep grave—first the mummy, with its costly raiment and valuable offerings of gold and precious stones, and then, upon a thin covering of earth, were laid the women who were to accompany the dead man. These women were made almost unconscious by means of stupefying drugs, and upon them more earth was laid and then a number of slaves. The earth was often piled into a mound above the whole. After the burial the funeral lamentations lasted some days longer, being also renewed upon the anniversary; but the general interest was quickly concentrated on the new ruler, who had meanwhile been undergoing the ordeal previously mentioned.

Strange Burial Customs of the Chibchas

In the year 1470 Saguanmachica sat upon the throne of Bogota. As the rules of the succession ordained, he had governed the district of Chia until his predecessor's death. Even at that time the kingdom of Zippa had attained important dimensions. Saguanmachica, however, contributed not a little by his conquests to gain for it that leading position among the Chibchas which it retained until the arrival of the Spaniards. His predecessors had already turned their arms against the foreign states around them, and had also subdued many of the kindred Chibcha peoples. Saguanmachica attacked the caciques of Fusagasuga on the farther side of the Pasca River and easily won a brilliant victory. But it led to important consequences; the king of Guatabita felt himself insecure and opened hostilities himself to anticipate a Zippa attack. Saguanmachica energetically repulsed him and penetrated into the land of Guatabita; but his victorious career was checked by the most powerful Chibcha king, the Zaque Michua, of Hunsa, who came to the help of Guatabita and threatened the boundaries of Bogota.

Nemequene the Great Zippa King

Neither of these warriors seems to have been prepared for a decisive battle. Affairs relapsed to their former position, and the robber inroads of the neighbouring savage tribes gave the Zippa king so much to do that he was obliged to put off his campaign of revenge against the zaque from year to year. As soon as Saguanmachica had re-established peace upon his borders, he again overran the land of Guatabita and menaced the Hunsa boundaries from that point. But before he reached their country Michua marched against him with a powerful army, and both leaders perished in the furious battle which ensued.

Success finally rested with the Bogota, but, panic-stricken at the death of their king, they eventually relinquished the fruits of victory and returned home. The successor to the Zippa throne was Nemequene, the most important ruler

that the land ever possessed. He, too, had previously been cacique of Chia, and his nephew, Tisquesusa, succeeded him in that position. The Fusagasugas, who had recently been subdued, considered this a favourable opportunity to regain their independence; at the same time the Zipaquira, the Nemza, and those hereditary enemies, the savage Panches, made an inroad into the country.

Nemequene showed himself equal to every danger; with one army he repulsed the external enemy while Tisquesusa subdued the rebels with another. After that he took up Saguanmachica's plans for conquest. Guatabita fell into his hands rather by treachery than by force. The people of Guatabita were the cleverest goldsmiths in the Chibcha district; they displayed the highest skill in covering stone figures with finely beaten gold, on which those artistic little engravings peculiar to the Chibcha art were produced, representing men and beasts individually and in groups. Consequently, every king, every usaque, every cacique, was anxious to have one or more of the Guatabita goldsmiths.

Two Warriors for One Goldsmith

But the monarch desired to turn the artistic skill of his subjects to his own advantage, and demanded that two warriors should enter his service in return for every goldsmith that he sent abroad. This fact gave the Zippa his opening.

He and his caciques suddenly expressed a desire for numerous goldsmiths; and the best warriors of Bogota went to the court of Guatabita in their place. There they not only formed a combination among themselves, but by means of persuasion and presents succeded in winning over numerous allies among the other foreigners. By these means the Zippa got the border fortress of Guasca into his power, and when one day he suddenly appeared before the capital of Guatabita there was no one to oppose him. The king and his escort were killed in the palace, and his territory was incorporated with the kingdom of Bogota, and placed under the government of a brother of Nemequene.

The next object of Nemequene's attacks was the ruler of Ubaque. It was only after several months of fierce warfare that he made his submission to the Zippa and gave him his two daughters to wife; but the conclusion of peace brought a considerable accession of territory to the Zippa kingdom, although he left the ruler of Ubaque in possession of his dominions as a vassal prince. While Nemequene was thus rounding off the boundaries of his kingdom by these little conquests, a grave danger was threatening its internal peace. The brother of the monarch, who had been made governor of Guatabita, succeeded, partly by treachery and partly by force,

Fate of a Robber Governor

in getting possession of the fortress where the prince of Ubaque kept his rich treasures. But before the robber could carry off his booty he was surrounded by the troops of the Ubaque, reduced to starvation, and finally killed in an attempt to break through the lines of the besiegers, after throwing the treasures into a neighbouring lake. Though his attack was entirely justified, the Ubaque was afraid of the anger of the Zippa, whose brother, the governor, had been killed. The rich presents which he sent to Nemequene were not received until he had appeared at court to plead his cause in person. But when he related to the monarch a full and truthful account of the circumstances, Nemequene recognised the injustice that his brother had committed, and took no action against the Ubaque.

Nemequene's love of justice was equal to his reputation as a warrior; all the laws that were in force in the Chibcha district at the time of the Spanish conquest were ascribed to him. The number of these regulations was certainly limited, and the punishments assigned were severe. Death in different forms was the punishment for murder, desertion, rape, incest, and sodomy; a coward was clothed in woman's garments and given woman's work to do. The apparel and the ornaments of high rank were forbidden to the common people; only the usaques were allowed to bore their ears and noses for the wearing of ornaments. To be carried in a litter was the exclusive privilege of the king and of those to whom he might

A Rude Law-Giver

grant permission. Among the regulations of the civil law which testify to greater progress in the idea of justice we have the following: The property of a man who died without heirs invariably came to the monarch; if a wife died in childbed, and the child also, the husband was obliged by law to recompense his wife's family, though, however, no such recompense was necessary if the child lived, he being then responsible only for its maintenance.

Throughout his rule Nemequene had never forgotten to prepare for a decisive battle with the Zaque. Quemuenchatocha, a boy aged eighteen years, had succeeded Michua in Tunja, and no doubt it was owing to his youth that war was not begun on his side first. But Nemequene could not resign the traditional claims of his predecessors to supremacy. He therefore, with a powerful army, began the subjugation of the vassals of the Zaque. After his first successes, he sent a message to the Zaque, advising him to recognise his supremacy if he did not wish to risk being driven from his kingdom. But the Zaque was not a man to be easily frightened.

Zippa versus Zaque

He knew that he might reckon upon the support of all those who, like himself, were threatened with the encroachments of the Zippa; a powerful army soon came to him from the Iraca of Sogamoso. The battle was hotly disputed and for a long time remained indecisive; both monarchs were visible far and wide as they were borne in their gleaming litters above the heads of the multitude, hurrying among the bands of warriors, and exciting them to the highest displays of courage. Then the Zippa advanced too far to the front, and received an enemy's arrow in the breast. In vain did he exhort his men to stand fast. The news spread rapidly through their ranks, and the troops of the Zaque attacked with redoubled vigour, and won a complete victory. The defeated army was finally obliged to return to Bogota after abandoning all its previous conquests, the Zaque making only a show of pursuit.

Nemequene returned to his capital still alive, but five days afterwards he succumbed to his wound. His successor, Tisquesusa, who had already won a high reputation as governor of Chia, immediately upon his accession resumed the war with the Zaque. His first campaign brought about the subjection of a number of usaques who had hitherto been the vassals of the king of Tunja. He was already preparing for a decisive conflict with his adversary when news came to him that an invasion had been made into the Chibcha district by a powerful foreign enemy—the expedition of Queseda and his comrades. Here, as everywhere, the Spaniards won a brilliant victory at the first onset, and this they chiefly owed to the fear which their horses inspired in the natives. Tisquesusa fled into the woods; but his retreat was betrayed and he was crushed. His successor submitted to the foreign enemy. The Zaque awaited the Spaniards in haughty neutrality without offering resistance; for that reason he was not deprived of the throne, but died a natural death soon afterwards.

Many of the rulers continued an obstinate resistance; but after the main kingdom had been subjugated to the foreign dominion, their efforts were useless, and only provoked that ferocity which so often stained the Spanish conquests in cases where the natives did not offer a ready submission. Upon the death of Tisquesusa, the loosely organised kingdom of the Chibchas collapsed. The people never again were strong enough to attempt the recovery of their independence. In a very few years the Spaniards obliterated the last traces of the native civilisation, with its peculiar characteristics, as much by their oppression of the natives as by the material improvements which they brought into the empire; their introduction of fresh blood rapidly modified the Chibcha race.

Coming of the Spanish Conquistadors

ANCIENT INCA BRIDGE NEAR GUARANDA

MIXED RACES OF THE WEST COAST

THEIR LIFE, CUSTOMS AND RELIGIONS

AN intersecting system of mountains, where the Magdalena and the Cauca take their rise, is all that separates San Agustin from the most northerly province which belonged to the Inca kingdom at the time of the Spanish conquest. This range stretches uninterruptedly over thirty degrees of latitude, reaching almost everywhere from the coast of the Pacific Ocean to the eastern slope of the Cordilleras, whence numerous streams rush down into the great plains of South America. Here the Spaniards found for the second time a rich and well-organised civilisation in their newly discovered world.

The most mistaken ideas have prevailed until recently concerning the Inca kingdom of Tahuantinsuyu, and, as in Central America, mainly through the fault of the native chroniclers. In Mexico we saw that Don Fernando de Alba Ixtlilxochitl introduced an unhistoric factor into the ancient history of the country in his account of the Toltecs; Garcilaso de la Vega has done the same for the South American provinces, by which we mean the different groups of states which are incorporated in the great Inca kingdom at the end of the fifteenth century; this historian is generally known as "el Inca," in order to distinguish him from other authors of the same name, and in reference to his descent from the royal house of Cuzco.

Ancient Peru in History

During the sixteenth century he wrote a history of Peru in which such unbounded and unreasonable confidence has been placed, owing to the author's connection with the natives, that the accounts of other chroniclers of greater impartiality have, until recently, been entirely neglected. The work of Garcilaso is nothing more than an enthusiastic panegyric of the dominion of the ancient native rulers; it displays all their exploits in the clearest light, but sometimes fails to see, or entirely neglects, the shady side of their history. In particular the struggles which must have endured during thousands of years of previous development are dismissed as being the work of the Incas, although their dominion was only a few centuries old, and although their state was certainly the youngest among the different civilisations of South America. The extensive district which was afterwards subject to the Inca rule contained numerous centres of civilisation from the earliest times. It is as difficult here as in the case of the northern civilisation to decide whether the amount of culture which they all possessed, and which shows their connection with a particular civilisation, enables us to conclude the exact amount of culture that had been attained by the inhabitants before this disruption into separate races and peoples.

Civilisation Under the Incas

In the history of human development the same phenomena continually occur under different circumstances; and care must be exercised in deciding whether coincidences and connections belong to a previous relationship or are rather results of earlier collateral influences. If such an early relationship existed at all, it must at any rate be referred to times earlier than the foundation of the kingdom of Peru, which is said to have taken place at the beginning of the Christian era.

This tradition is due to the influence of that desire so remarkable among the Mexican chroniclers to make the history of their own country synchronise with the history of the Old World. The different civilisations within the Inca kingdom were situated in districts inhabited by at least three races which can be clearly distinguished on linguistic grounds. Geographical causes gave such a peculiar character to the development of each of these that the possibility of their common origin is counterbalanced by the difference in their monuments. Perhaps closer relations existed between special groups

Light on Ancient Races

of these nations. The kingdoms of Quito, of Chanchan, and the more southern provinces on the coast, seem to have been in closer connection with one another than with the Peruvians of the highlands, the Quechua and Aymara. It can hardly be doubted that these latter were the originators of that civilisation which the Incas later made the common property of all their subjects. In recent times the Aymara ran the risk of having a part ascribed to them in South America similar to that which was attributed to the Toltecs in Central America.

Traces of the Aymara Civilisation

Early settlements on the most northern boundary of this civilised district have been ascribed to them, and to the influence of their migrations has been attributed all traces of unusual culture which have been discovered from Colombia as far south as Chili and beyond the eastern Cordilleras into the Argentine district of Catamarca. On the other hand, we may consider it as proved that the Aymara were the authors of the remains of a particular civilisation, and one by no means despicable, existing upon the south-east of Tahuantinsuyu around the lake of Titicaca. We may also ascribe to the influence of this ancient civilisation the existence of the fine, artistically wrought pottery that has been brought to light upon the borders of Gran Chaco, now almost inaccessible to the white man, in a district that has been inhabited only by nomad Indians within human memory. This pottery displays ornamentation, not only in colours but also in modelling, of a kind that has been met with but rarely without the boundaries of the ancient civilised peoples.

But the peculiarities of the Aymara civilisation are so distinct and so entirely consequent upon the geographical conditions of their early home that they do not justify us in attributing the origin of all civilisation exclusively to this people. That of the Aymara must rather be considered with the civilisation of the Quitu and of the Yunga as merely one of the factors which go to make up the general picture of South American civilisation. Among those states which were incorporated with the Inca kingdom at the time of the Spanish conquest, but which could point to a long period of independent development, the most northerly was Quito. Its inhabitants were called Cara.

Evolution of the Quito State

They did not, however, consider their origin to have been in this district, but supposed themselves to have invaded, between the ninth and tenth centuries of our era, the territory which they possessed about the sixteenth century. Here they founded a new state. They were by no means certain of their original home.

Migrating from a southerly district, they are said to have followed the coast to the Pacific Ocean; they then entered the province of Manta, somewhat inland, but continued their migrations along the coastland, which offered but few attractions for settlement. Finally, the Esmeralda River enabled them to gain the richer and healthier valleys of the mountains. The population in these was dense, but uncivilised, and could offer no lasting resistance to the more highly developed military skill of the Cara, and about the year 1000 a king named Quitu firmly established their rule. He created the organisation of the country, one of those close oligarchical monarchies which are found almost everywhere among the early races of America. He introduced the worship of the sun and moon among all the peoples he subjugated, and was the founder of a dynasty which ruled for several centuries over the Quito kingdom. His successors at first proceeded to extend the boundaries of the kingdom upon the north; the peoples in that direction were as primitive as those which had been subjugated in the centre of the kingdom, and conquest in this direction was limited only by the difficulty of establishing lines of communication with their base of operations.

Dynasty Founded by Quitu

Matters were different toward the south. The later Scyris, the kings of Quito, soon began to turn their arms in that direction, but in the well-organised state of Puruha they soon met with a resistance which entirely barred their progress. After the two rulers had measured their strength, with indecisive results to either side, they concluded a treaty which was to do away with all possibility of hostilities for the future. Up till now the throne of Quito had descended eleven times from father to son, or, failing an immediate heir, from uncle to nephew, according to the custom of the land. Chance then brought it about that the Scyri possessed neither son nor nephew to take up the reins of government, but only a daughter. At such a conjuncture the princes and

caciques of the realm had the right to elect a new Scyri; but the king was able to persuade them to alter these rules for the succession, and made a compact with the king of Puruha according to which his son was to marry the princess and ascend the throne of Quito, thereby fusing the two kingdoms into one. In this newly formed kingdom the town of Quito remained the capital, and all the more so as upon the southward the clouds of Peruvian conquest began to lower threateningly.

Quito was a kingdom not only extensive and rich, but also well organised and civilised—a prize to excite the desires of any monarch anxious for conquest. Though the Cara did not understand, as the Peruvians did, the art of laying down high-roads and building bridges in their country, they were by no means despicable architects. The king had laid out gardens and built palaces in Liribamba among a number of little lakes connected by canals; and these formed not only a royal palace worthy of a mighty prince, but also a strong fortress in which an army of thousands of warriors might offer a vigorous resistance to their opponents. The soldiers of the Cara and Puruha were armed only with spear and sling, but they used these weapons with most astonishing accuracy, as the Inca warriors were to learn when their turn came.

The Cara and Puruha in Warfare

Prowess in war had become somewhat impaired under the later Scyris; a generation of peace had produced much advance in wealth and material comforts, but had not called forth the fierce virtues of war. Consequently, when the Inca Tupak Yupanki first turned his arms against the Quitu he met with but little resistance. The outlying provinces, which were only loosely connected with the kingdom, were for the most part won over by the promises of peace which the Inca held out to them as he advanced threateningly at the head of his veteran army.

When Tupak Yupanki invaded the kingdom of Puruha every step of progress was bought at the price of blood; but when the Scyri general, trusting to superior numbers, gave battle in the open, he suffered such a decisive defeat that the Inca gained possession of all Puruha almost without striking another blow. However, he did not at once invade the district of Quito; after establishing garrisons in the territory he had conquered he returned to Cuzco in 1460, as his attention was claimed elsewhere. The Scyri died a few years after these events. His life had been peaceful, and he had grown old, before the attack of Tupak Yupanki had invested him with heavier responsibilities at a time when he was not strong enough to resist. But a year of battles had aroused those qualities in his son for which his ancestors had been distinguished. As soon as he had obtained possession of his father's kingdom he began a campaign against the invaders; and although he did not succeed in regaining the whole extent of his kingdom, yet he rapidly drove the Inca-Peruvians out of that district which had formed the nucleus of his father's realm. Many years passed before the Incas again turned their eyes northward.

Inca Victory Through Treachery

At last, in the year 1475, Huaina Capak appeared on the boundaries of Quito, but found them better guarded than they had been in the time of Tupak Yupanki. The Puruha had strongly fortified the bank of the Achupalla; and the unfailing accuracy of their slingers wrought terrible havoc in the ranks of the enemy and entirely neutralised their superiority in tactics and armament. But the Inca obtained by treachery what he could not win by force of arms; on this occasion, also, promises of peace made a great impression upon the subjects of the proud Scyri, and before the powerful Inca army many caciques began to waver. Treachery of this kind revealed an unfortified ford over the Achupalla: and when once the river had been crossed the Puruhas were obliged to evacuate their fortress and retreat.

They again attempted to oppose the Peruvians, but so decisive was their defeat, and so general the desertion of their vassals, that the Scyri was obliged to abandon almost the whole territory, with his capital, Quito, and his summer residence, Liribamba. He fled to Hatun Taqui, in the country of Otabalo, and, after unconditionally rejecting the propositions of peace which the Inca held out, he perished fighting for the last remains of his kingdom. Huaina Capak then considered that his conquests were complete. But immediately after the death of the Scyri resistance was renewed around the person of Paccha, the daughter and heiress of the king. She did not openly oppose the Inca's power, but she made it clearly

The Scyri Dies Fighting

understood that new dangers would be continually threatening him from her. In order to win her over without bloodshed, he added her to the number of his legal wives. As Quito and Puruha had formerly been united by this means, he incorporated the country with his own kingdom, and the histories of the two states are henceforward indissolubly united.

If the Cara of Quito had really migrated northward from another people on the coast of the Pacific Ocean, as their legend relates, this people must have been the Muchik, who are called Yunga by the Inca-Peruvians, the Chimu by the Spaniards. From the Gulf of Guayaquil southward to the neighbourhood of the modern Callao the whole seaboard had long been in their power. Farther southward people speaking another language and with another political centre were situated on the borders of the provinces of the Chimu kingdom. Their civilisation, however, showed so many points of resemblance to that of their more northern neighbours that the Incas denoted all the peoples on the coast by the collective name of Yunga; moreover, between the peoples of the northern and the southern coast political relations were so close that it is impossible accurately to divide the little that is known of their histories.

States on the Coast of Peru

The very fact that an important group of states could be developed on the coast of Peru is evidence that this people had made considerable strides in their struggle for existence; or the country over which the Chimu kingdom extended was certainly unfavourable to a dense population. The ground of the narrow coast-line between the spurs of the Cordilleras and the sea is not wholly barren; but there is an almost entire lack of rainfall, and the burning rays of the tropical sun have made the country nearly a desert. Oases exist here and there, where the rapid torrents that flow down from the neighbouring range bring sufficient moisture with them to support some vegetable life. These rivers, in their unchecked fury, are even dangerous to mankind.

REMARKABLE POTTERY FOUND IN A CHIMU TOMB

Of all the ancient pottery discovered in America this wonderfully preserved Greek-like head, found in a Chimu tomb in Peru, is without doubt the most beautiful. It is the gem of Mr. T. Hewitt Myring's recently made collection. The head-dress probably indicates that it represents an influential priest or a wealthy law-giver. The strong suggestion of Græco-Egyptian art certainly gives considerable support to the theory of an early intercourse with the East.

THE BURIAL CUSTOMS OF ANCIENT AMERICA

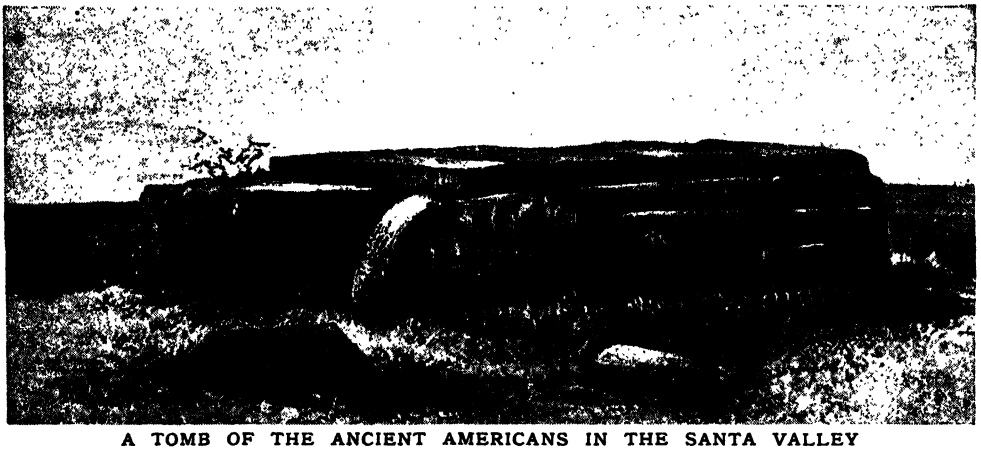
The custom of preserving the bodies of the dead prevailed largely among the early peoples of America. The first illustration shows a mummified body prepared for burial, the ball at the top representing the face, which is covered with a red material, over which is thrown a primitive wig. In the second picture is seen the body as it actually reposes inside the case.

During the dry season the thirsty ground so entirely absorbs the moisture that often no single drop reaches the sea; but when a thunderstorm bursts with tropical fury above the spurs of the Cordilleras the rivers rise high above their banks in a few hours, and in their resistless course sweep away every barrier to their power. The period must have been long before man sought a refuge in this dangerous strip of country; but he succeeded in overcoming all difficulties and in wresting from Nature the means to support a population far more numerous than that of to-day. For this the extensive remains of the ancient towns which are to be found at the mouth of almost every valley leading from the mountains to the sea are evidence.

Man's Fight with Nature

The first requirement for a lasting settlement of the country was the power of controlling the water. The people that settled there may have had experience in their earlier home in the art of draining, an art widely diffused of old in the mountainous districts of Peru, and practised here, at any rate, with brilliant success. Where the river passed from the mountains to the plain it was divided or drawn off in great canals which followed the course of the river and led into a complication of smaller tributaries. By this means of irrigation a much larger extent of country could be cultivated for maize, sweet potatoes, yuccas, and cotton, and also the great danger of inundation was overcome. The labyrinth of water-courses broke the power of the flood and turned the extraordinary fury of the rivers into an extraordinary blessing for the land.

A further evidence for the agricultural activities of the coast peoples is their knowledge of the excellent effects of guano. As guano was used for manure by the Inca-Peruvians, they must have learned its value from the coast races, who possessed inexhaustible supplies of this article, for they alone were sufficiently skilled in navigation to import it from the islands. It is certain that at the earliest times only individual valleys



A TOMB OF THE ANCIENT AMERICANS IN THE SANTA VALLEY

on the coast were populated, and as the long, wild stretches of sand which separate the belts of vegetation around the river courses from one another made communication by land almost impossible, these individual settlements lived for a long time in complete isolation. But the more the population increased in such an oasis the more urgent became the necessity of bringing new portions of land under cultivation. As differences of climate, and the hostility between the mountain and the coast peoples, confined these river settlements within exceedingly narrow limits, the Yunga sought along the sea-coast for fresh districts which were capable of cultivation, and gradually obtained possession of almost all the valleys which run down from the Cordilleras.

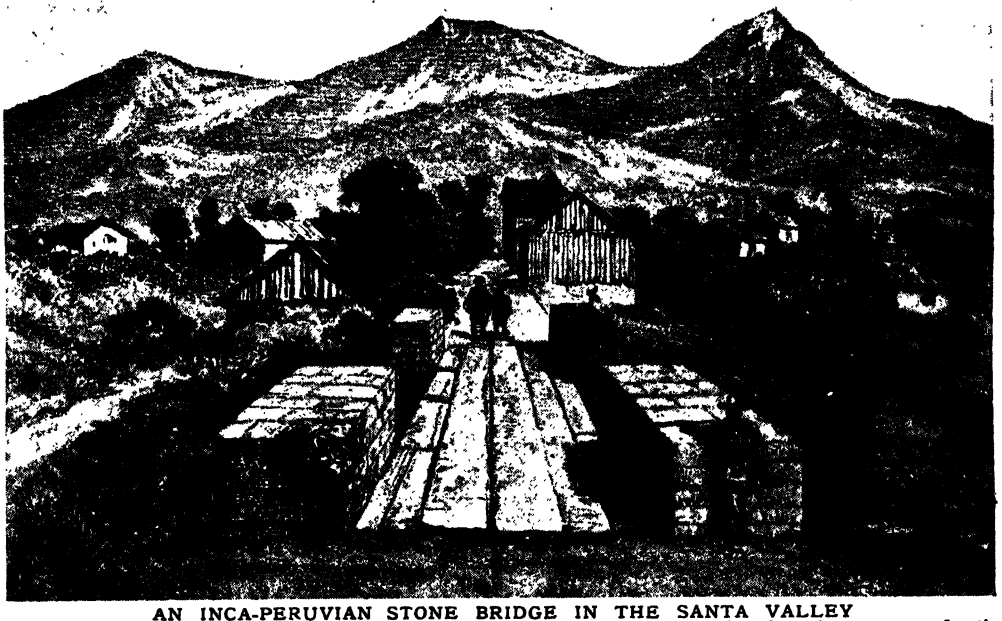
According to tradition their extensions of territory were made from the north southward. Against this there are archæological reasons. We have already noticed a tradition of migration from the south among the Cara of Quito; it would be difficult to explain the relationship between their civilisation and that of San Agustin with the civilisation of Central Peru if the centre from which these movements proceeded was situated in the neighbourhood of Guayaquil. And as the Chimu peoples extended their dominion no farther south than Lima, how is it possible that a civilisation similar down to the smallest details could have occurred in districts even farther south? It is much more probable that the settlements on the coast proceeded from the south and drove the northern people more and more into their civilised districts, or pushed them northward away from the coast-line into the mountains. At any rate, there was a uniform zone of civilisation in existence at an early period, which embraced the

STRIKING EXAMPLES OF ANCIENT CHIMU POTTERY

The artistic powers of the ancient Peruvians were almost exclusively devoted to their pottery. The examples given above, discovered by Mr. T. Hewitt Myring in the Chimu valleys, display a remarkable taste in decoration and modelling.

coast-land from Rio Maule as far as the Gulf of Guayaquil and contained certain highland races upon the north-east. This civilisation was ancient, and had begun to fade before the Incas became important in the highland.

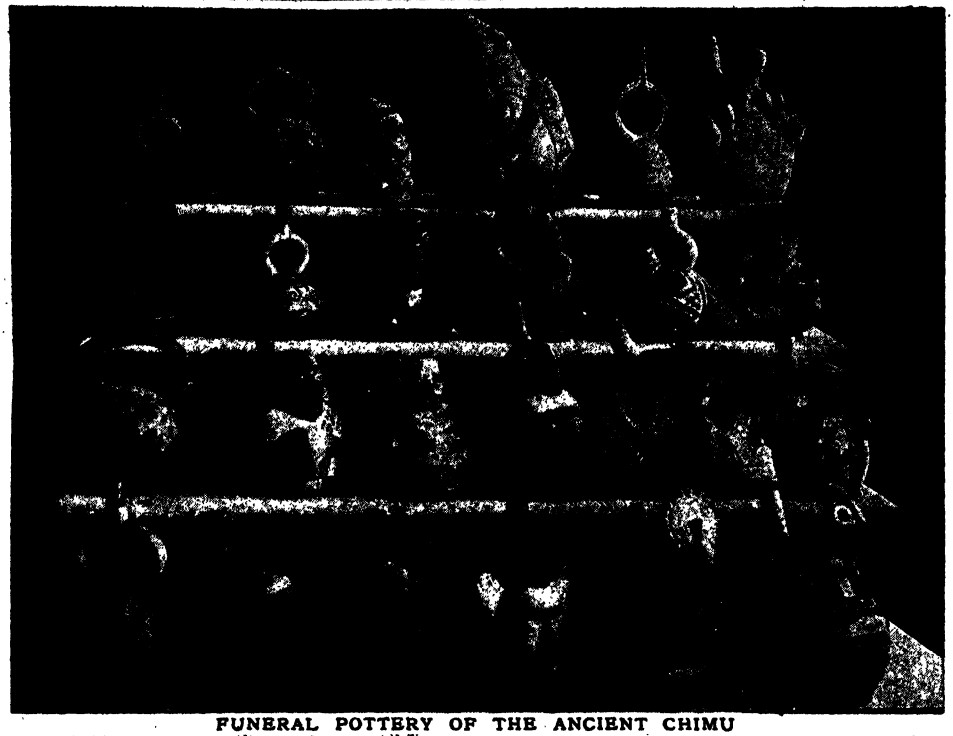
Individual kingdoms and races broke away from the community; no political unity ever existed. The unities of religion and language disappeared under local influences, until a new centre of power was formed near the northern boundaries in the valley of Chimu. Here a number of powerful kings undertook to proceed in a contrary direction and extend their power southward, and again to unite in a political unity peoples already closely related. This course of events was in progress along the coast when the Incas began a similar career of conquest in the highland. Recollections of this, which were still fresh at the time of the Spanish conquest, are the cause of the mistaken idea that the civilisation of the coast-land proceeded in the same direction. In the sixteenth century it was perfectly well known that the kings of Chimu had extended their power southward and subdued a number of smaller states. Thus, the valleys of Viru, Santa, Nepeña, Huarmey, Supe, and Huacho became incorporated in the Chimu kingdom partly individually and partly in groups which had enjoyed a uniform civilisation for a long time. On the south the priestly state of Pachacamak, which was tributary to the Cuismancu, and the group of valleys which was ruled by the Chupimancu, formed smaller states; either they were obliged to offer an armed resistance to the Chimu conquest, or, like Pachacamak, they owed their further independence probably to the reverence paid to their temple towns. At any rate, they display rich and carefully decorated ruins of that old civilisation which had attained such a high and uniform pitch of civilisation and culture upon the north and south of the Chimu kingdom.



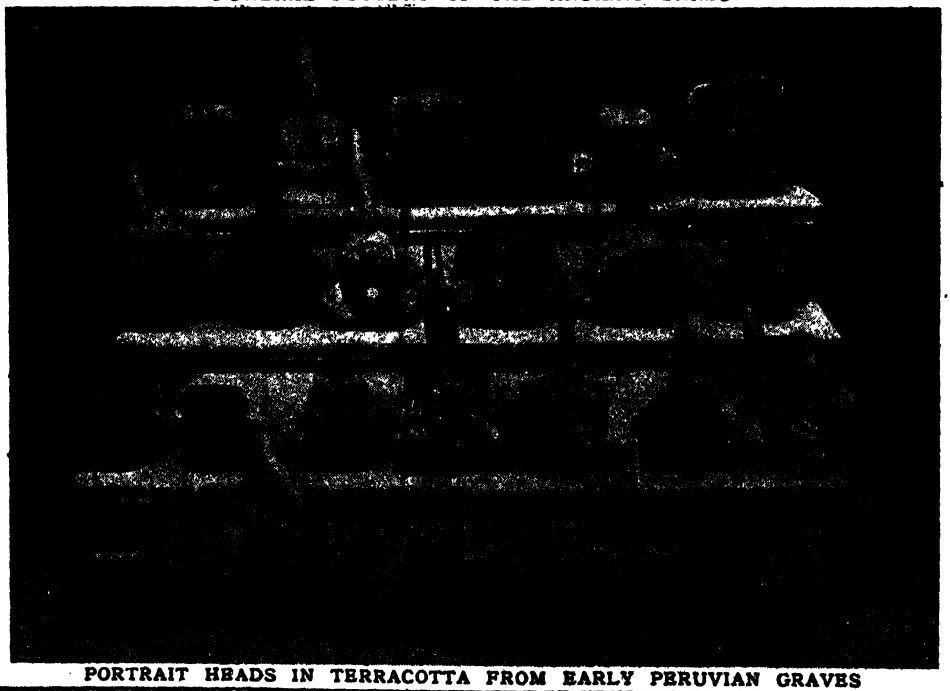
AN INCA-PERUVIAN STONE BRIDGE IN THE SANTA VALLEY

In architecture the Inca-Peruvians were considerably in advance of their American forerunners. In the absence of fords, most of their more important rivers were crossed at various points by bridges of stone, which were built with a singular degree of mathematical precision and accuracy. Where stone bridges were impracticable, as in mountain ranges, suspension bridges of hempen rope and woven lianas took their places.

Both before and at the time of the Incas the coast district must have been extremely thickly populated. Chanchan, the capital of the Chimu kingdom, in the neighbourhood of the modern Trujillo, is by no means the only site which has an area of about 250 acres. Ruined sites of equal size are situated in Pachacamak and in Huadca; and the cemetery of Ancon, near Lima, an inexhaustible hunting-ground for Peruvian antiquities, also points to a long-continued and dense population of the country.



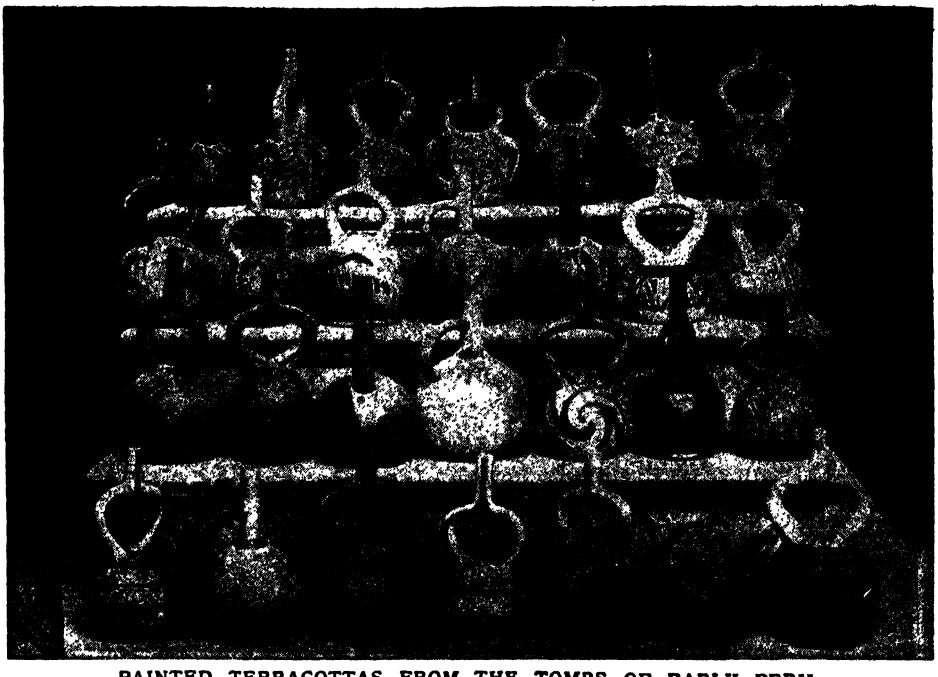
FUNERAL POTTERY OF THE ANCIENT CHIMU



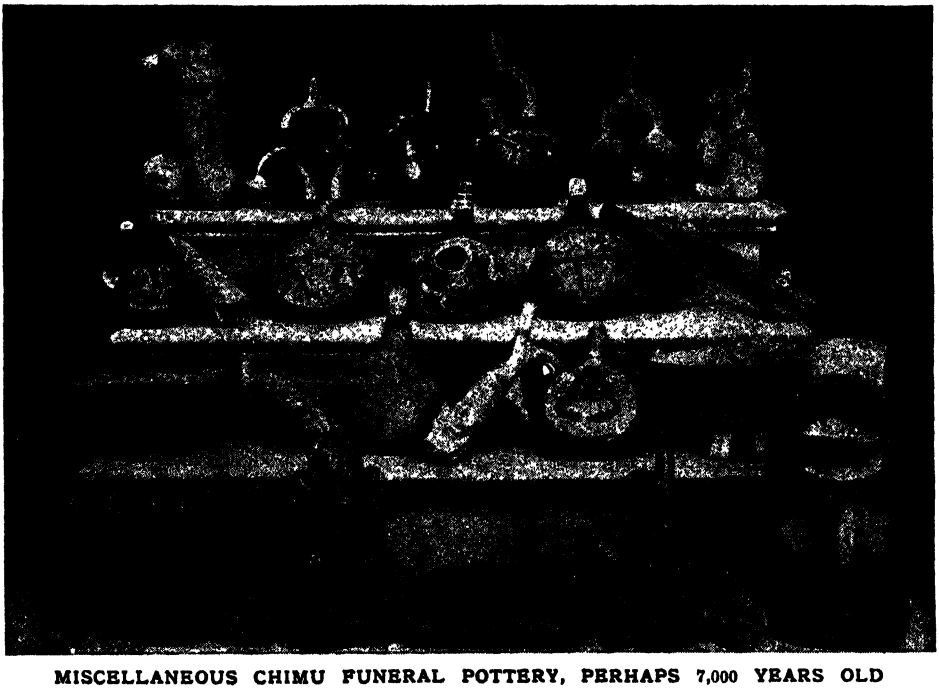
PORTRAIT HEADS IN TERRACOTTA FROM EARLY PERUVIAN GRAVES

PERUVIAN POTTERY OLDER THAN THE INCA CIVILISATION

At different times examples of an early Peruvian pottery, much ante-dating the Inca civilisation, have come to light, but the finest and most complete collection is that which Mr. T. Hewitt Myring brought to England in April, 1909, numbering over 1,000 specimens, all in a fine and undamaged condition. They were found in Huacho tombs, dating from the extraordinary Chimu civilisation, one authority placing them at the latest 5000 B.C. The examples given above show a wonderful power of realistic expression, the quality of the work varying with the wealth of the deceased.



PAINTED TERRACOTTAS FROM THE TOMBS OF EARLY PERU

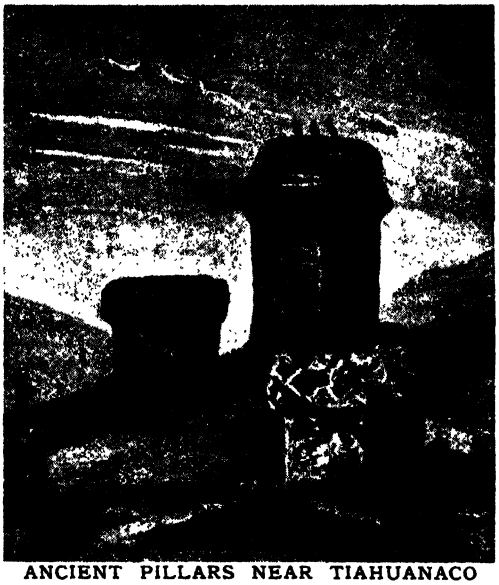


MISCELLANEOUS CHIMU FUNERAL POTTERY, PERHAPS 7,000 YEARS OLD

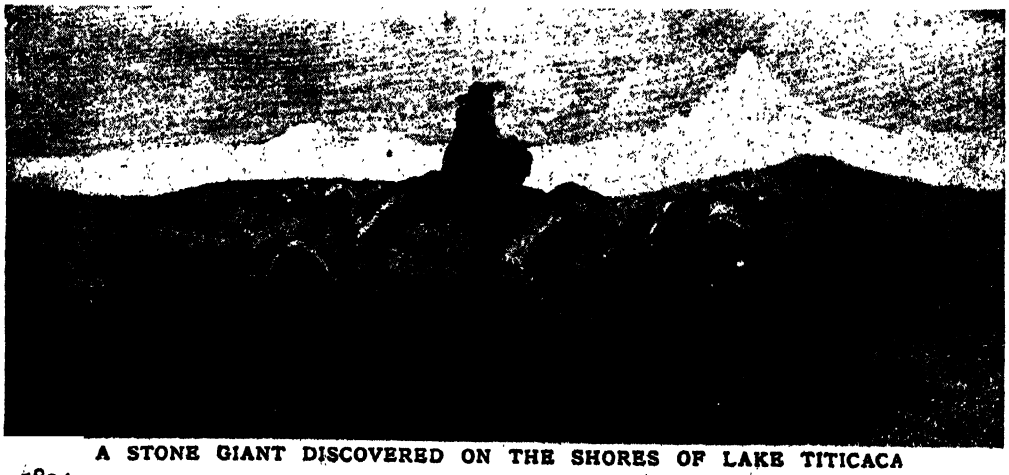
OTHER ADMIRABLE EXAMPLES OF THE EARLY PERUVIAN POTTERY

More of the fine Huacho terracottas discovered by Mr. Myring. Their splendid condition is due to the rainless climate of the Chimu valleys, the absolute dryness preventing injurious chemical action. The painted terracottas probably come from tombs of persons unable to afford the sculptor's or modeller's fee. Below are various pieces of funeral pottery, including clever bird representations, especially the sacred owl, and three of the open vases with false bottoms which are very frequently found. In all cases the false bottom contains a piece of gold or silver.

Almost all these sites are of similar appearance, since most of the buildings in the extensive ruins are right-angled in construction and disposed at right angles to one another. As the coast does not provide sufficient stone or wood to be used as building material, the coast peoples erected their buildings for the most part of little bricks made chiefly of pounded clay. The walls in consequence had to be made of considerable thickness; but the breadth decreased towards the top, so that the roofs and ceilings were wider than the floors. This was the case, at any rate, with the temples and palaces, the only buildings of which the walls display traces of decoration in the form of ornamental stucco-work. Concerning the mode of roofing, we can only draw doubtful conclusions. The few roofs that remain are also composed of worked clay; but the great halls which exist among the ruins can hardly have been covered by such perishable means. Windows were entirely unknown; the rooms were generally built around a court, and air and light were admitted by the door, which often took up the whole of the front side. The most important ruins, however, are not dwelling-houses. These would be made of clay for the chief classes; the houses of the common people must have been made of reeds and canes, as wood was entirely lacking. The extensive ruins of walls, which can still be seen to have embraced the ancient cities, are partly the great walls of defence of which most towns possessed a double row with entrances at the angles, and are partly the weaker walls which divided the town into a number of districts like courts; these are supposed to have been inhabited in common by particular clans and also by officials. The palaces and temples seem for the most part to have been erected around the circumference of the town; in the case of temples we constantly meet with terraces rising in steps, the walls of which were interrupted now and then by rooms and were built of brick, the interior being filled with rubble. Many of the temple pyramids also served as tombs, but only for the kings and the highest priests. Extensive cemeteries like that of Ancon are to be found in many places, particularly on the south of the Chimu kingdom. Here the mummies were placed, fastened in a sitting position, sometimes alone, sometimes in



ANCIENT PILLARS NEAR TIAHUANACO
The origin and use of these relics are unknown, but they were probably connected with Titicaca civilisation.



A STONE GIANT DISCOVERED ON THE SHORES OF LAKE TITICACA

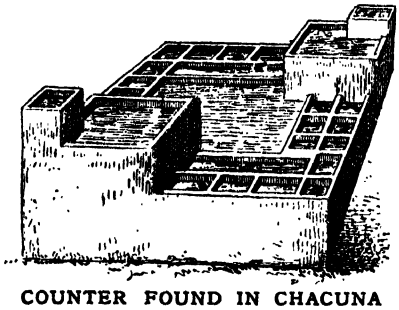
EXAMPLES OF THE ADVANCED SCULPTURE OF PRIMITIVE SOUTH AMERICA

Although much of the sculpture which has been discovered in the Inca kingdom is often attributed to the Incas, it is probably the remains of a much earlier and less known race of people who inhabited these regions. Among the Incas, sculpture was almost entirely forbidden, and in their buildings it was rarely that any decorative carvings found a place.

groups, in vaulted graves, or in enormous jars, occasionally with no protection at all, and often in tiers one upon the other, but always decorated as well as possible and provided with the implements of their earthly profession. Often, however, a common man could not afford the expense of such a resting-place; he buried his dead in the floor of his dwelling, and the city grounds are often honeycombed with such graves. A people who showed such piety towards their dead must naturally have believed in a future life corresponding in some degree to their earthly existence.

The Moon as the Chimu's Chief Deity

We can hardly conceive that a people upon whose notice the destructive powers of the sun were so constantly forced as they were upon the inhabitants of the Peruvian coast should have made sun-worship the central point of their religion; it is intelligible that they should have regarded water as the chief object of their veneration, for their livelihood depended entirely upon its beneficent influences. The Chimu are certainly said to have reverenced the moon as their chief deity, and also the Pleiades and the three stars which form Orion's belt. But they also considered the sea to be a divine power, which helps to feed men with its fish, makes communication possible between nations, and moderates the sun's destructive glow with its refreshing breeze. A similar worship, either of the sea or of water of some kind, is spread over the whole coast-line. Fishes also obtained reverence, as being created by the water; the god of Pachacamak, the chief divinity of the whole coast district, was depicted with a fish's tail.



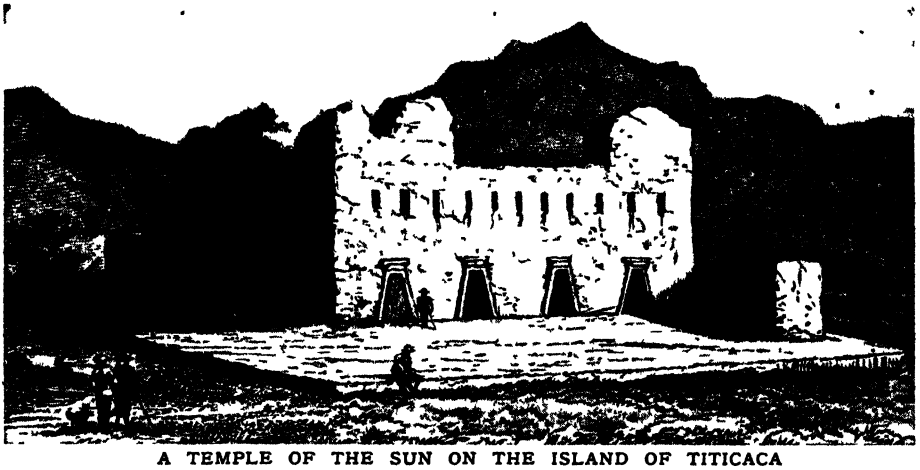
COUNTER FOUND IN CHACUNA

In Pachacamak we find a body of religious conceptions which proceed from different sources. In the highlands of Peru we shall presently meet with a widely extended worship which displays much affinity with the Quetzalcoatl-Kukulkan of Central America. Originally perhaps a sun-god, he had become so entirely anthropomorphic in course of time, that the people thought of him only in his human form as a law-giver and a civiliser, and as in opposition to the sun-worship of the Incas. The Pachacamak of the coast peoples was originally a similar divinity; as the son of Con he is mythologically connected with the highland god and represents the same idea, the origin of all created things, including probably the idea of divinity, since all other deities are only emanations from him. On the coast the elements of the water-worship were brought into connection with him; thus he spreads his cloak upon the waves as a boat and passes out of sight over the sea, or in the roaring of the stream he delivers oracles as Rimak (the rushing one). Consequently, he could be represented with a fish's tail, and the fish, as being his symbol, was regarded as a fetish.

Phallic worship has also been ascribed to the Chimu; figures of clay found in the coast provinces seem to confirm the theory. The peoples on the coast were also peoples of decaying civilisation, among whom such conceptions invariably recur. They had not only become rich, but so corrupted by excess of prosperity that their civilisation, although in many respects it was not only equal but considerably superior to that of the highland people, collapsed before their onset. The first inhabitants of Peru with whom the Spaniards met were Chimu Indians who had ventured a considerable distance from the coast in their rude vessels. As the stretches of land which divided the separate coast valleys from one another were incapable of cultivation, that communication between the towns, which their size and prosperity would have led us to expect, could not be carried on by land. The migration legends speak of the first inhabitants of almost all the coast-land as having come from the sea; and the conquests of the Chimu, to whom the llama of the mountains was unknown, can have taken place only by sea. Wood, however, was lacking just as much for shipbuilding as for architecture, and the canoe, so widely employed in other parts of America, was unknown on the Peruvian coast.

Conquests of the Chimu

The Chimu and Yunga used a kind of raft which rested on strong bundles of canes, the air contained in the canes giving it sufficient buoyancy. On the coast of



A TEMPLE OF THE SUN ON THE ISLAND OF TITICACA

STANDING STONES AT TARATO NEAR TO LAKE TITICACA

RUINS OF INCA MONUMENTS IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF TIAHUANACO

REMAINS OF THE INCA CIVILISATION IN BOLIVIA

Peru the Pacific Ocean fully justifies its name, and thus by these primitive means a constant communication, attended with little danger, could be carried on. Those vessels, similar in construction, which the inhabitants on the lake of Titicaca used, were no doubt built for the first time by colonists from the coast district who had been transported thither after the Inca conquest; for Nature there offered material far more suitable for shipbuilding in the mighty trees which were apparently employed by the exponents of the oldest civilisation, the builders of Tiahuanaco.

Races Under the Inca Dominion

The races of the coast-line came under the Inca dominion at different times. Pachacutek had already subdued the valleys on the south without encountering any obstinate resistance. Similarly, in later times, Cuismancu and Chupimancu gave in their submission to the Inca-Peruvians at the first demand, hoping with their help to escape the oppressive dominion with which the Chimu kings threatened them. The sacred town of Pachacamak also submitted to the Inca without bloodshed; for the Inca had already learned to attract the adherence of other peoples by religious toleration.

Near the temple of Pachacamak they erected a new and more splendid building for the sun, but they also made offerings to the god of the conquered people, and for this the priests expressed their thanks in favourable prophecies. From this point the Incas and the Chimu came into collision, but after long and bloody battles the fortune of war enabled the Inca Tupak Yupanki to advance, after his first campaign against the Quitu towards the centre of the Chimu kingdom, the town of Chanchan in the valley of Otuzco. The ruler of the kingdom continued to offer a despairing resistance, but his satraps abandoned him one after the other, and bought the favour of the Inca by their submission, and when he threatened to interrupt the flow of water to the coast, the Chimu saw the uselessness of further resistance, and unconditionally surrendered himself and his kingdom on the field of Cajamarca. In at least two places on the highlands of Peru, before the times of the Incas, a civilisation existed which had attained a considerable pitch of development. In the centre of Peru, where the Santa River runs for a long distance parallel with the Marañon River between the dark slopes and the snow-white peaks of the Cordilleras, until the former stream turns aside to the Pacific Ocean, a powerful, warlike people, who were also acquainted with the arts of peace, founded a great kingdom.

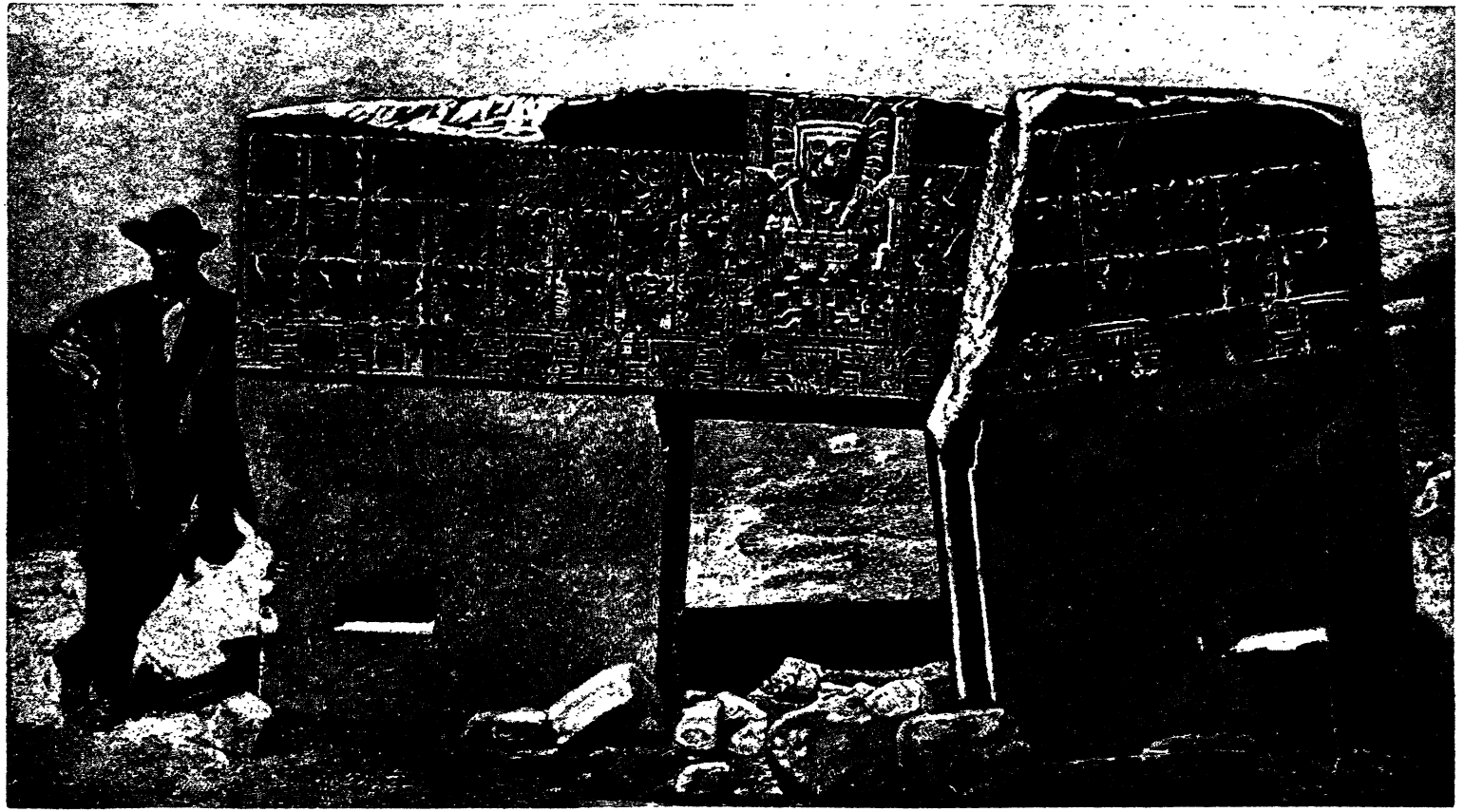
The Chimu's Submission to the Incas

Historical traditions give us practically no information about this; it must remain doubtful for the present whether the Cuismancu of Conchucos, already mentioned, is not the result of some apparent misunderstanding. Conchucos, which is situated on a little tributary of the Marañon, does at any rate belong to this civilisation; and the ruins of Sipa, which are not far distant, with its great tombs formed out of cubical stone blocks, is one of the most interesting points whence a conception can be gained of the manner in which this race developed.

The kingdom of the Cuismancu, which was subdued without opposition by the Inca Tupak Yupanki on his campaign against the Chimu, is placed by most chroniclers upon the coast; and the central point of the kingdom of which Conchucos formed a part did not lie on the Marañon, but in the Santa valley, the upper portion of which, notwithstanding the bleak aspect and the unfruitful nature of its highlands, contained the capital of the country, known by the Peruvians as Puna. Proceeding up stream the traveller arrives at Huaraz, Chavin de Huantar, and finally at the watershed at the sources of the Pasco; in Huanaco there are traces of ancient towns, fortresses and temples which certainly have strong affinities with one another and with the ruins existing in the valley of the Marañon, but show strong points of difference from those in the neighbouring district.

Architecture in the Santa Valley

The people of the Santa Valley had attained considerable skill in architecture, no doubt partly through the influence of their geographical situation. The mountains afforded them admirable material of granite and sandstone, which the torrents brought down in blocks and slabs to the very gates of their town when the melting of the snows sent the streams roaring down to the lowland. Their art, however, had long passed the stage of merely employing material ready to hand. They understood how to work their stones carefully; they laid them upon beds of mortar which have endured for hundreds of years; and the enormous cubes of



AN ARCHITECTURAL RELIC OF THE ANCIENT PERUVIANS: THE MONOLITHIC GATE OF AK-KAPANA IN PERU

Of all the remarkable architectural relics of the ancient Peruvians the most extraordinary is the Monolith Gate shown above, forming, as it originally did, the boundary stone, or entrance, to a sacred enclosure. The rich sculptured decorations which adorn it represent the god Huiracocha, in his capacity as the bringer of light and the awakener of life, receiving adoration from the high priests. The heaviest and largest of all gates in existence, close examination shows that the design is conceived from the "weaving" pattern of the early Peruvian pottery.

which their temple walls are partly built can have been laid in position only through long experience in the art of transporting heavy masses. The most important of their sites is Huanuco. But as the place was already populated with Inca-Peruvians we cannot decide so easily in this case as we can in others which elements are of Peruvian origin and which belong to the ancient civilisation. On the other hand, Chavin de Huantar, with its famous temple, was destroyed and abandoned by the Incas. The temple is said to have been built with no less than five storeys of rooms and corridors; it stands so close to the mountain wall that it has been thought to be partly underground, although its foundations undoubtedly rested upon the surface of the valley.

The Famous Temple of Chavin

A characteristic feature is that its sanctuaries are all plunged in darkness, no sunbeam ever entering the sacred chamber; in these chambers we again find pictures of the gods with a double row of grinning teeth, which terminate at either extremity with the two overlapping fangs. We have already seen in the case of San Agustin that this arrangement of the teeth originated from the puma. The theory is again confirmed by the fact that the puma continually recurs to an extraordinary extent among the sculptures of Chavin, Huaraz, and Huanuco, and is occasionally apparent in place-names, such as Pumacayan, Pumacancha. The sculptures of the Santa Valley also remind us of those of San Agustin in so far as the proportions of the human frame are reduced and the head is sculptured in ornamental style. This can be no chance coincidence.

The kings of this territory pushed forward their boundaries to the coast at the point where the Santa River emerges from the Cordilleras, and, a little before its entry into the coast plains, remains are to be found of temples and fortifications built of granite blocks like those in the upper valley. The same remark applies to the valleys of Casma and Nepeña. The large number of fortifications invites the theory that there was a continual state of war between the rulers of the highlands and the kings of Chimu, who were in possession of the coast. But the utter destruction which is unmistakably visible in the temple ruins of Mojeque in the Casma Valley, and of Chavin in the Santa Valley, must be ascribed, not to the Chimu, but to the Incas. After their conquests they took all possible pains to destroy the seats of the gloomy worship which the peoples of the Santa Valley carried on, and to introduce in its place the worship of their sun-god.

Temples Destroyed by the Incas

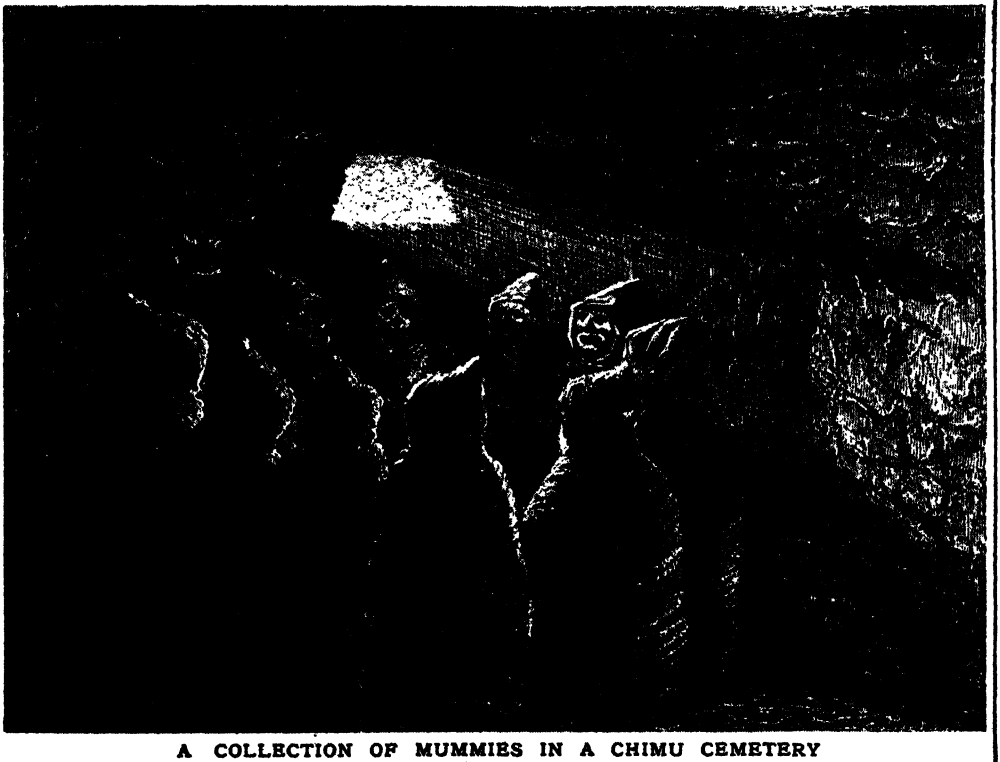
The second district of highland civilisation before the time of the Incas has been more closely examined, and here tradition is not entirely silent. Its site is upon the southern and western shores of the lake of Titicaca, and its most splendid ruins are those of Tiahuanaco. The many questions which research in this district has raised will probably never be answered. It is pretty certain that it was an ancient nation of the Aymara race which erected these buildings. One portion of the ruins which bears the name Ak-Kapana was certainly a temple enclosure, consisting of a terrace in the form of a pyramid of moderate height, at the foot of which was a sacred enclosure of stone pillars. In the case of Ak-Kapana these pillars enclose a square room, while similar constructions in the neighbourhood of the lake of Umayo are circular; but we may consider them both identical. Whether these erections have anything to do with stone-worship, which was widely spread in this district of the Peruvian highlands, is very doubtful; the ruins of Tiahuanaco are evidence against rather than for the theory.

The Splendid Ruins at Tiahuanaco

At any rate, the gods that were worshipped here were certainly conceived as being of human form. Evidence of this fact exists in the remains of statues which are still to be found among the ruins; of these, according to the ancient chroniclers, there must have been a much greater number in earlier times. The statues of this ancient epoch, with their artistic stiffness, remind us of those of Chavin and San Agustin. Here also, as in the case of all peoples not fully developed, we find an excessive preponderance of the symbolic and a devotion to a particular style which entirely preclude any attempt at realism. But the gods of Tiahuanaco were other and milder than those of the afore-mentioned civilisation; their human forms are not the same, and, moreover, their worship was hidden from the light of day.

Tiahuanaco holds also an important position in the domain of architecture. Extensive as the ruins are, not a single closed building is to be seen. That the

A CHIMU MUMMY IN A SITTING ATTITUDE



A COLLECTION OF MUMMIES IN A CHIMU CEMETERY

The Chimu peoples had a great reverence for their dead. Dotted over their kingdom were extensive cemeteries where the mummies were placed in a sitting position, as shown in the above illustrations. Sometimes they were deposited in their vaulted graves in groups, sometimes alone, and often with no protection at all. Decorated as well as the means of their surviving relatives would allow, they were often provided with the earthly implements of their profession.

THE CHIMU PEOPLES' METHODS OF BURYING THE DEAD

architects were able to erect such buildings of several storeys is proved by a block upon which the facade of a two-storied building has been carved as a model. But the great blocks of stone lie about like those in Pumapungu, the other ruined town of Tiahuanaco, and certainly never formed a building. Many stones have undoubtedly been worked according to plan, and prepared for fitting in with other stones, but nothing can be constructed out of the whole. Certainly the monolith gates which have earlier attracted particular attention must not be considered as part of the building, but, like the Egyptian pylons, as boundary stones and entrances to the sacred enclosure, as can be seen from their situation in Ak-Kapana.

Ancient Monolith Gates

The most remarkable of these gateways also belongs to this enclosure. If it is not the most massive of the blocks scattered about Tiahuanaco, it is the largest and the heaviest of all the gates in existence, and at the same time is the only one which has been adorned with rich sculptured decorations. Its sculptures are conceived in a style known to us from other Peruvian patterns—those, for instance, used in weaving—and it shows a large picture of a god in its centre, apparently receiving adoration from side figures.

From certain appendages upon and near the figures it has been concluded that the picture has reference to the worship of Huiracocha; and as this or a similar worship was universal among the other peoples of Peru, on the highland as well as on the coast, we need not be surprised at finding traces of it in a memorial which must have belonged to the most ancient Peruvian civilisation. Huiracocha—or in the fuller form, which occurs at times, Con-Ticsi-Huiracocha—was also originally a sun-god, but in his capacity as the bringer of light and awakener of life he became in course of time the creator of mankind and the father of all civilisation. In this character he himself or his messengers passed through all the districts of Peru from Tiahuanaco onward, bringing the arts of peace and civilising the people, until at last he disappeared in the far north on the shores of the sea that surrounds the world.

Widespread Worship of Huiracocha

No divinity, even under different names, enjoyed so wide a worship as his. The Incas, who had at first been exclusively sun-worshippers, became wholly devoted to the worship of Huiracocha, and he was the only god among the divinities of the peoples they subdued that they worshipped. They admitted him to honour, not only in their sun-worship, but made him an integral part of their mythological system. But his true origin is in the southern district in which Tiahuanaco held the most important position.

In the immediate neighbourhood of the lake of Titicaca a number of other sacred towns are situated. It is necessary to explain the closeness of their connection with the civilisation of Tiahuanaco, because in later times they were converted to the Inca sun-worship. This is especially true of the islands of the lake of Titicaca. Legends of the Inca period pretend that the sun-worship had its origin in these islands, but that the sacred towns were none the less neglected until the Inca Tupak Yupanki began to make pilgrimages to them and restored them to their proper position. The fact from which this theory proceeds is that Tupak Yupanki was one of the first Incas to visit the shrine of Huiracocha on the lake of Titicaca and recognise his divinity. The southern shore of the lake, with its islands, was up to that time obstinately defended against the Inca-Peruvians by the Collas, one of the races peculiarly hostile to them; so there can be no question here of an earlier possession and a later neglect of the shrine by the Incas. In later times they erected numerous monumental buildings there; but on the most sacred site, near the rock behind which the sun stood still until the creator, Huiracocha, set it in motion again, appear remains of a character antecedent to Incan architecture. The sanctuary, moreover, is not a temple, but, like Ak-Kapana, an open enclosure surrounded only by a palisade.

Legends of the God Huiracocha

Another site in connection with the worship of Huiracocha was Cacha, situated in the valley of Huilcanota half-way between Cuzco and the lake of Titicaca. From their architectural peculiarities the ruins in the temples in that place do not go back beyond the Inca period. Here there was a temple of Huiracocha, erected, according to the legend, in memory of the fact that the god had sent flame down from heaven and set the mountains on fire, to punish the resistance which the Canao-Indians offered to his teaching until they recognised his divinity.

RISE OF THE GREAT INCA KINGDOM

THE BEGINNINGS OF AN ERA OF CONQUEST

UPON the ruins of these civilisations, and subject to the influences of each of them in a greater or lesser degree, rose the kingdom of the Incas. The history of this empire at its greatest extends over an extremely small period, scarcely two centuries of the time during which the various peoples that composed that empire were working out the particular civilisations they reached.

But as, at the moment of the conquest, the Incas happened to be the leading power in South America, later generations have concentrated their attention entirely upon their history and upon that of peoples related to them. The Incas were not the exponents of a particular nationality or of a specially high civilisation, but they imposed their laws and customs upon a large area of country, and upon the basis of the ancient civilisations they made individual and extraordinary advances. In their kingdom, which was finally composed of a large number of peoples speaking different languages, they introduced the Quechua (pronounced Kétschua) language as the official dialect. However, this was not their mother tongue. The Incas were, on the contrary, a clan of the Aymara race, the ancient civilisation of which we have observed in Tiahuanaco.

Insignificant Origin of the Incas

Upon the collapse of this kingdom they may have turned northward and settled in the valley of Huilcamayo, whence they entered upon their career of conquest "towards the four quarters of the heavens." As they could not reveal to the eyes of men the insignificance of their origin, they created a legend upon the subject in which a common origin was pretended both for their temporal power and their religious convictions, raising them far above ordinary mortals to the level of the gods. Long before the arrival of the Incas—thus the legend runs—the peoples of the Peruvian highlands were living in complete savagery. They did not understand agriculture; they had no settled dwelling-places; and their only clothes were the skins of the beasts upon the raw flesh of which they fed. At last the sun-god, Inti, had pity on them; and so he put two of his children upon the islands of Lake Titicaca, which his sister and wife, Quilla, the moon-goddess, had borne to him, namely, the Manco Capak, with the latter's sister and wife, Mama Ocllo. He gave them a golden staff and ordered them to follow the valley northward until the golden staff disappeared in the earth at the point where it should touch it. There they were to settle, to convert the inhabitants to sun-worship, and to acquaint them with the blessings of civilisation; and he promised them his protection and support until their bountiful influence should be extended over all the peoples of the earth. Brother and sister, with this commission, started upon their wanderings down the valley of Huilcamayo.

Legend of Sun-God's Children

A few miles from Cuzco, near the mountain of Guanacaure, the golden staff suddenly disappeared. Here Manco Capak proceeded to build a house for himself and his sister wife. He then began to till the ground, which he planted with potatoes, quinoa, and other plants; and Mama Ocllo worked within the house, cooking, spinning, weaving, and practising all the arts which her divine parents had taught her. When they had thus looked after their own comfort Manco began to fulfil his divine mission to the natives. The inhabitants of Cuzco were astounded at the sight of himself and his sister, who were clothed in bright garments and decorated with shining ornaments; they listened suspiciously to the message of the sun-god. When, under his guidance, they began to share in the blessings of

Manco's Mission to the Natives

civilisation, when the men had learned to till the ground and to build houses, and the women to spin and to weave—then they recognised what benefits they owed to the mission of Manco Capak. They readily chose him to be their ruler, and the sun-god to be their god, and the little town which formed around the hut of this first child of the sun grew and increased visibly under the protection of his heavenly father. This legend may be called the later official form of the legend of Indian origin. As to its connection with the lake of Titicaca we may conclude that this did not take place until the sun-worship of the Incas had become reconciled to the Huiracocha worship of the highlanders, who had their sacred temple upon the lake of Titicaca. As this religious compromise took place only under the Inca Huiracocha, the eighth in the Inca dynasty, this version of the legend was not more than a hundred years old when the Spaniards reached Peru.

The Legend in an Older Form

The older form of the legend gives a different account of the circumstances preceding Manco's settlement. One day, from the heights of Paccaritambo, nine Spanish miles south of Cuzco, there appeared four sets of twins who were also called children of the sun; among these were Ayar Manco and Mama Ocllo. Now, the biggest and strongest of these was Ayar Cachi, the husband of Mama Huaco; and his sister, being afraid of him, determined to get rid of him. They were certainly clothed in festal robes and richly adorned when they made their appearance; but they had left treasures far greater and more splendid behind them in the mountain cave.

She now asked Ayar Cachi to fetch these out; but as soon as he had disappeared in the cave she rolled great blocks of stone to the mouth and shut him in. His rage was terrible when he discovered the traitorous deception: he shattered in pieces the mountain which rose above the cave, and the earth trembled far and wide with the shock; but he could find no way out, and finally became changed to a mountain stone. The other twins now moved farther north and ultimately settled at the mountain Guanacaure, until they finally determined to move nearer to Cuzco. When they left Guanacaure, another brother, Ayar Utschu, voluntarily changed himself into stone, and the others promised to pray to him in the future. However, he put on mighty stone wings and flew up to their common father, the sun; whence he returned with the message that Ayar Manco was to take over the leadership of the twins, as Manco Capak, after which they moved down to Cuzco and there began their civilising mission; but Ayar Utschu remained on Guanacaure as a block of stone, in order to act as future intermediary between them and their father, the sun.

Children of the Sun

In this version of the legend two points are of importance. Upon the mountain Guanacaure there was, even at the time of the Spanish arrival, one of the most sacred temples of the whole kingdom of Tahuantinsuyu, the foundation of which was naturally connected with the legends of the race. In later times this temple, like all the official sanctuaries of the Incas, was dedicated to the sun; but the legends of its foundation undoubtedly point to the fact that in this case, as in the case of the cave of Paccaritambo, we have to do with a sanctuary belonging to the epoch of stone-worship. This worship was preponderant not only among the Collas on the south and west of the lake of Titicaca, but also in the district of Cuzco and still farther north, until the Incas spread the sun-worship. On this theory are to be explained the peculiar steps and platforms hewn out of the rock of Monte Rodadero, in the immediate neighbourhood of Cuzco, and other memorials of a like nature undoubtedly connected with stone-worship; such, for instance, as those at Concacha in the upper valley of the Apurimac; the stone chair of Huillcas Huaman in the Pampas valley; and a supposed throne of the Inca in Cajamarca in the far north.

Striking Monuments of Stone-Worship

All these sites, which were continual objects of veneration at the Inca period, make it probable that the Incas did not persecute stone-worship as assiduously as they did that of some other divinities; and when we remember the tradition of the transformation of the two children of the sun into stone, and the manner in which their worship was brought into connection with the sun-worship, the inference becomes irresistible that the earliest Incas made a religious and political compromise with the stone-worship which was flourishing around them. For political reasons

a compromise was made, a century later, with regard to the cult of Huiracocha. While the opposition between stone-worship and sun-worship died away, it is possible that the former has always been deeply ingrained in the Peruvian natives from Inca times to the present day. And now every native porter who travels over one of the numerous passes from valley to valley in the country adds a new stone to the heap of those which his predecessors have piled up as an offering to the Apacheta, "who gives him strength to bear his burden."

The information that the legend gives us concerning the settling of the Incas in Cuzco is equally important. Before their arrival the locality must have been thickly populated, and the people must have long passed out of the state of barbarism which the official traditions ascribe to all the Peruvians before the Inca period, and have attained a settled mode of life; for the town of Cuzco was the residence of the ruler, by name Alcaviza, who also ruled over the district in the immediate neighbourhood of the town. It was from him that Manco Capak and his little company asked permission to settle in the vicinity. When this had been accorded to them, they soon made their proximity unpleasant. Directly they had obtained a firm footing in one of the quarters of Cuzco they set up an opposition to the ruler and to the priests of the worship that had hitherto been carried on in the ancient Cuzco, and began to make proselytes to their own worship, which was exclusively that of the sun. This separation of parties soon degenerated into open war, the result of which was that Alcaviza and his dependents were driven out. Thus, the Inca-Peruvians got possession of the town which was to become the centre of their extensive kingdom in the course of centuries.

The Incas Settle in Cuzco

Peruvian tradition does not enable us to determine even approximately the date at which the first rulers of the Inca race got possession of the power. The "quipus," those bundles of different-coloured threads which the learned Peruvians used as a *memoria technica*, seem to have been of no help for chronological purposes; and all their permutations could in no way compensate for an ignorance of the art of writing. Oral tradition upon historical events certainly formed an important part of the education imparted to the young Inca nobles and the chosen nobility of the allied and subject races in the schools of the Amauta, the learned class. But all that remained of such knowledge in the Spanish period does not help us to a chronological record of the origin of the Inca kingdom. The number of rulers who held the throne of Cuzco from Manco Capak until Atahualpa is not even agreed upon. The estimates of the chroniclers variously give ten or thirteen rulers as predecessors of the brothers Huascar and Atahualpa; there were at least eleven of them.

Lost Link in Inca History

It is a remarkable fact that this uncertainty does not attach to the earliest period; the succession of the first five Inca kings has been made out with tolerable certainty. Discord then appears to have sprung up in the royal family and to have disturbed the legal order of succession. Efforts to hide this fact have produced two different accounts concerning the Inca rulers in the intermediate period, which contradict each other in many details and make it extremely difficult to discover the real state of affairs. Moreover, the later Incas were much better known by their first names than by their proper names, which changed very little; but these lists of names are differently connected in the case of the three or four predecessors of Huaina Capak, so that the reign of this latter king is the first of the events which can be regarded as possessing chronological and historical certainty.

If an average reign of thirty years be ascribed to the eleven Inca kings —the legal succession was from father to son—their establishment in Cuzco would have taken place about the year 1200 of the Christian era. Upon its collapse the Inca kingdom would then have existed about 330 years—an estimate of time which is perhaps too long rather than too short, if we consider the instability of the institutions of ancient America. Although Manco Capak is not really a proper name, yet the bearer of it must be considered as an historical personality. Perhaps the Amauta purposely allowed his proper name to be forgotten, in order to conceal the historical connection of the Inca rulers with the other states of ancient America, and to strengthen the popular idea of their direct origin from the sun-god.

Duration of the Inca Kingdom

"Capak," in the Quechua language, the official dialect of the Inca state, means "kingdom" and "mighty," and is a royal title which other chiefs assumed before and at the time of the Incas. The same is true of the word "Manco." Its origin and proper meaning are not altogether so clear, but tradition speaks of a number of Mancos who were kings, in particular of those districts which were situated in the westerly and northerly parts of the Inca kingdom. "Manco Capak" must consequently be translated "mighty king"—a name wholly suited to impress the people and to deceive them concerning the lowly origin of the Inca rulers in Peru. Of Manco Capak's rule after his establishment in Cuzco we have only the general tradition that he instructed his people in civilisation, introduced sun-worship, and increased his boundaries rather by the arts of peace than by force of arms. The legend attributes to him the foundation of all those institutions which left their impressions upon the later Inca kingdom, although a large number of the laws ascribed to him would have been useless and incapable of execution in the limited extent of the original realm. The Inca kingdom, which roused the astonishment of the sixteenth-century conquerors, and to-day justly claims the greatest interest, was essentially the work of the four great rulers, Huiracocha, Yupanki (also called Pachacutek), Tupak Yupanki, and Huaina Capak. These certainly built upon the foundations which their predecessors had laid, but they also entirely altered the general character of the kingdom. Consequently, it is extremely difficult to gain a trustworthy idea of the condition of the Inca kingdom before the time of these monarchs.

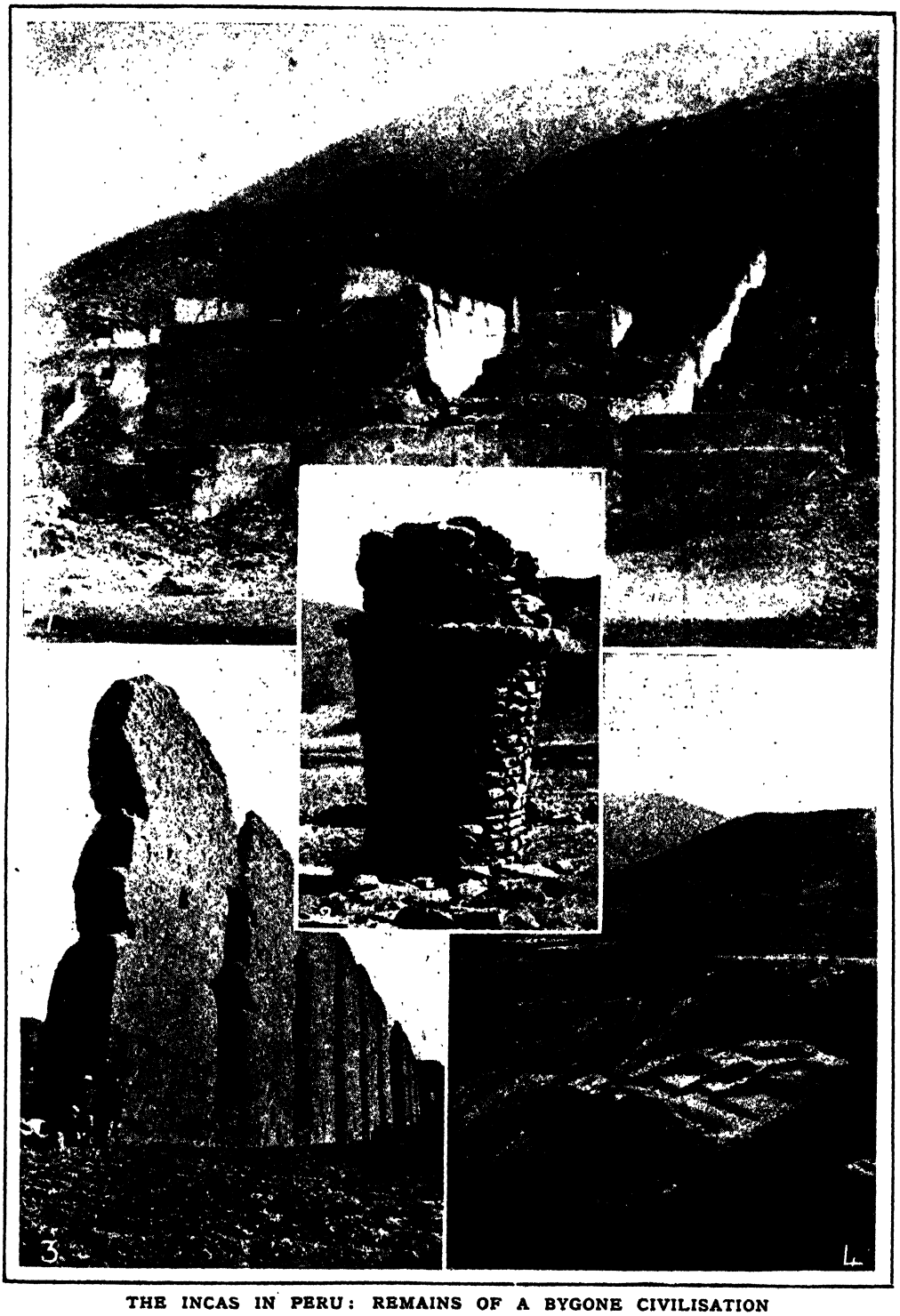
Mansell

A STONE SEAT OF ANCIENT PERU

The traditions give us as little definite information concerning the first three successors of Manco Capak as they do about himself. All our sources agree in naming them Sinchi Roca, Lloque Yupanki, and Maita Capak, and they are said to stand to one another in the relationship of father and son. But traditions are wholly at variance concerning the names and relationships of their wives and mothers.

We have the official tradition that the marriage of Manco Capak with his sister, Mama Ocllo, was in fulfilment of a command of the sun-god, following the precedent of the marriage of the sun with his sister-planet, the moon; but this is most obviously derived from the ancient decree of the Inca kingdom, also well known in the later period, according to which that Inca son alone could legitimately ascend the throne whom the father has begotten of his own sister, or, failing a sister, of the next nearest relation of pure Inca blood. On the contrary, another and apparently reliable tradition informs us that not only the immediate successors of Manco Capak, but also the majority of the Incas down to Yupanki Pachacutek, sprang from marriages which took place between the rulers of Cuzco with the daughters of neighbouring powers. The rulers until Maita Capak are consistently said to have extended the boundaries of their realm by peaceful methods. The official tradition also relates of one or two of the earlier Incas that they did not choose their "coya" from the Inca family, but raised daughters of the neighbouring kings to the throne of the Inca kingdom. We cannot understand how Huaina Capak would have dared, after his conquest of Quito, to have included the princess who was heiress to the throne among the number of his own wives, if a religious decree had been in force from the foundation of the dynasty that marriage should be with the sister or with a mate of the closest relationship.

Moreover, such a policy on the part of the Incas is easily intelligible. They had entered the valley of Huillcanota as a little band of foreign invaders, and their forcible expulsion of the Cuzco ruler was



THE INCAS IN PERU: REMAINS OF A BYGONE CIVILISATION

In Peru, the ancient home of the Incas, are to be found many remains of that race, these testifying to the advanced standard of civilisation in America before the conquering Spaniards landed on its shores. The above pictures illustrate, 1, ruins near Lima; 2, a burial tomb; 3, ruins of the temple of Virococha; and 4, an ancient seat of justice.

Photos: N. P. Edwards, E. N. A., and others

hardly likely to win over the sympathies of the neighbouring races, many of whom had apparently entered upon connections of friendship and marriage with Alcaviza. Furthermore, they remained foreigners by their continual opposition to the universal religion of the highlands, stone-worship, and the worship of Huiracocha; and in the place of this they had introduced a worship which attracted less sympathy among the people as being less intelligible to them. For the first century of their rule the Incas were nothing else than little territorial princes among a crowd of others. They were totally incapable of imposing their political and religious customs upon their neighbours, and were probably thankful themselves to be left unmolested.

The First Century of Inca Rule

In such circumstances that policy recommended itself which was likely to ensure their position by means of alliance; by setting up family relationships they attempted to destroy the recollection of their foreign and late invasion of the territory of the highland kings. We may believe the ancient traditions from the fact that they succeeded by these means in imposing their higher civilisation upon peoples who were less cultivated though not entirely savage, while the obvious advantages they attained by their careful tilling of the soil and their division of labour won over adherents to them who abandoned the neighbouring provinces and settled under the Inca protection.

In thankfulness for the material improvement in their position, these last accepted a religion. which they scarcely understood, and perhaps regarded the progress and prosperity of the Inca district as evidence of the higher powers of their god. But the extensions of the Cuzco kingdom under the first four Inca kings were very limited. At that time the Chancas were independent of the Inca kingdom; they possessed a district upon the immediate west of the valley of Cuzco between Andahuailas and Ayacucho, which at that period was far more powerful than the Inca state. Independent also were the Quechua, whose language in later times became the official Inca idiom; they lived on the north of the Incas in the times of Maita Capak. The Cana and Canche also, who dwelt between Cuzco and the lake of Titicaca, were then wholly independent. Even in the immediate neighbourhood of their capital the Incas at that time possessed no real power. They were connected with all the little dynasties lying over a radius of from twelve to twenty miles around Cuzco, who considered themselves of royal power, only by means of a compact concluded on a basis of equality of justice, which compact Huiracocha, the eighth ruler on the Inca throne, changed into a real dominion.

The Incas Without Real Power

Finally, Maita Capak was at one time by no means securely settled in his capital; for the Alcaviza, the successors of the race who had exercised the chief power in Cuzco before the arrival of Manco Capak, looked enviously upon their more fortunate rival. Under the fourth Inca king a bloody battle took place in order finally to banish from the town the restless dependents of the ancient dynasty.

The battle in which Maita Capak overcame the rebel Alcaviza is expressly noted as the first occasion upon which an Inca extended his power by the sword. Things were very different under the successors to the throne. The three following Incas, Capak Yupanki, Inca Roca, and Yahuar Huacac, whose collective reigns probably embraced about a century, were the founders of the greatness of the kingdom. With them begins the policy of conquest by which the Incas extended the boundaries of their power in every direction. In their immediate neighbourhood they seem to have preserved the confederation that had been set on foot, but they enlisted the youthful warriors of the allied kingdoms in their service and accustomed them to regard themselves as their leaders. By this means, and through the rich booty they took in war, they imperceptibly gained a preponderance over the other confederates which, in course of time, inevitably became a dominion.

Founders of the Kingdom's Greatness

Capak Yupanki began his rule by assuring his position at home. Maita Capak had left many sons whom he had set up in almost independent positions in the neighbouring districts. When Capak Yupanki gave them clearly to understand that he wanted their obedience, not their friendship, they made a conspiracy to depose him, and to set up a ruler in his place more in accordance with their own views. But their compact was betrayed: instead of the Inca, most of the conspirators fell by the sword; and in order to erase the impression of this tragedy,

and to turn the energy of the youthful Incas into some useful direction, Capak Yupanki began that series of campaigns which led him speedily to the north (Condesuyu) and north-east (Andesuyu) along the course of the streams.

From that time the Incas became particularly aggressive and expansive. Hardly in the entire world has a power been seen which remained so moderate and humane in its warfare as the Incas, although generation upon generation grew up in the service of arms. Always ready to appeal to the sword, and gifted with heroic bravery, the Incas none the less invariably attempted peaceful methods before proceeding to attack. Their campaigns were not rapid surprises, like those of the wild and half-civilised peoples in the west of America, when the greatest possible number of the opponents were killed in order that they, laden with the enemy's spoil, might get home again as quickly as possible. Their warfare was systematic. The Incas never took an enemy by surprise; their armies invariably sent out ambassadors inviting a willing submission to their mild rule. They said that the Inca, the child of the sun-god, had come to them, not to do them harm, but to free them from all that was ancient and bad, and thereby to make them acquainted with the blessings of a more civilised mode of life and a higher religion.

The Incas in Peace and War

The more the Inca kingdom increased in power and extent, the wider spread the certainty, even among remote nations, that this message was no empty pretence, but that in reality the position of subjects in the Inca realm was far superior to the lot of those who opposed their rule in any district. Hardly ever did the Incas depose a ruler who voluntarily subjected himself to their government. Incorporation in the Inca kingdom certainly altered the position of the monarch, who became a vassal of the sun's child in Cuzco instead of an independent ruler. The relations of the king to his previous subjects were also largely remodelled upon the organisation of the leading power, but the Incas never appeared as fanatical doctrinaires.

They invariably respected national peculiarities as far as these were consistent with their political necessities; but in course of time the influence of the ruling power threw such peculiarities into the background, and tended to obliterate them entirely. Upon religious questions the earliest Incas did not practise this conciliatory policy. The first races which they subdued were obliged to receive a common form of worship without exception. Maita Capak is said to have once ordered the subjects of the neighbouring regions to bring all their stone images to Cuzco, alleging as his motive the preparation of brilliant festivities to their common gods; but when all these stone gods had been collected he had them broken in pieces and built into the walls of the temple of the sun, in order to show the people the powerlessness of the gods which they worshipped. But even on this side their policy became far more diplomatic in the course of time, chiefly under the influence of political necessities.

Bloodless Campaigns of the Incas

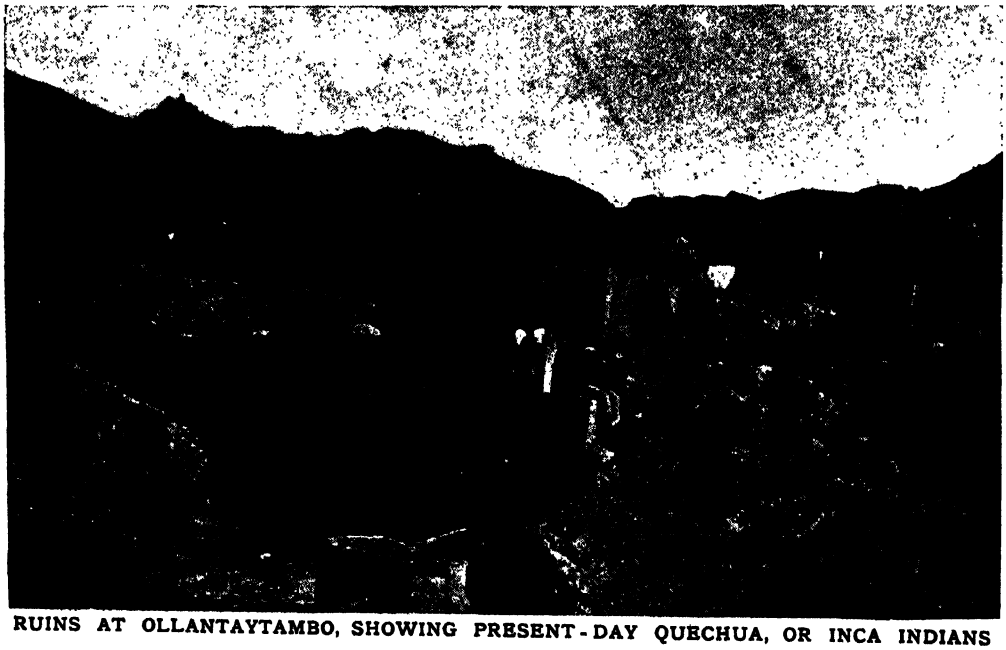
The Inca campaigns often ended without the shedding of a drop of blood, in spite of the great display of power they involved. They were, however, always ready to break down the most obstinate resistance. The difficulties of communication in that wide realm imposed a slow retreat upon the numerous Inca armies. Especially in later times, when the kingdom had become of considerable extent, it was not unusual for a campaign to last two or three years or even more. The army was furnished not only for the necessities of war, but also for its own maintenance.

As in the case of those armed garrisons which were established by the Incas in districts where obedience could only be enforced by arms, so the army, when marching out to attack, could till the soil with weapons at their sides if the campaign threatened to last long. But it was only in exceptional cases that an army was obliged to have recourse to these means. Not only the organisation of the troops for attack, but also the commissariat, the transport of reinforcements, and the withdrawal of troops, were marvellously well arranged. The trades which were everywhere carried on in the Inca kingdom enabled the rulers in times of peace to make important provision of food, clothing, and other necessary articles. These were collected in great magazines in every province, and in times of war, famine, or pestilence, these stores were opened. Such an organisation, together with that prestige which the Incas so rapidly acquired, enables us to understand

Sagacious Inca Government

that it was often unnecessary to appeal to arms in struggles with the less civilised races in the mountain valleys and on the inhospitable coast. The feeling of absolute helplessness among their powerless enemies was the best ally to the Incas.

Even in cases where their invitation to voluntary subjection was rejected, the Incas did not give up their policy of conciliation. An attack immediately followed from their side, and the superiority of their organisation and equipment almost invariably gave them the victory. But then the Inca ambassadors immediately renewed their peace proposals, and even then the native rulers were generally left in their positions, provided they had not continued their resistance to the last. Hardly any kingdom with which the Incas came in contact during their career of conquest was sufficiently closely organised to make the war one of extermination. Individual rulers who considered themselves equal to the Incas certainly thought it shameful to buy a continuation of their power by recognising the Inca superiority, and they at least felt the full weight of their anger. Yet even in those cases the Incas generally found certain vassals, loosely dependent upon their opponents, who were ready to listen to their enticing propositions and to give them their aid in bringing the war to a successful conclusion. But at the time of the Spanish conquest the soil of Peru showed unmistakable traces of the fact that the Incas were ready to wage unsparing war when necessary. In those cases they had no hesitation, with an army of extraordinary strength, in destroying fortresses like that of Mojeque, the gigantic blocks of which form a mighty field of ruins even to-day, or temples such as that of Chavin de Huantar, in spite of, or even on account of, the extensive reverence paid them; and here their object was not only to leave the enemy no opportunity for future rebellion, but also to make an impression upon him by their ruthless destruction of that which had cost so much trouble to build. And where a people persisted in revolting against the mild Inca rule they had a still more efficacious method at hand. They not only built numerous fortresses and kept them ready prepared in such conquered districts, but they also broke down the resistance of the peoples they had subdued by taking the most youthful warriors who would have been the most likely to revolt, and settling them in distant provinces among races of tried fidelity.



RUINS AT OLLANTAYTAMBO, SHOWING PRESENT-DAY QUECHUA, OR INCA INDIANS

This picture of the warlike policy of the Incas was not realised to the fullest extent during the rule of Capak Yupanki. His armies were not so large, and his campaigns were not so distant, as to demand a highly organised military system. His successor, the Inca Roca, contributed

INCA SEATS CUT OUT OF THE SOLID ROCK AT OLLANTAYTAMBO

AN OLD BURIAL PLACE OF THE INCAS NEAR CUZCO

SCENES IN CUZCO, THE MOST ANCIENT OF THE PERUVIAN CITIES

6857

perhaps, no less to the later greatness of the kingdom of Cuzco than Capak Yupanki; but his efforts took another direction. We are certainly told of him and of Yahuar Huacac that they undertook occasional campaigns beyond the boundaries of their dominion, but they both seem to have been men of peace at heart. On the other hand, the beginnings of the extensions and improvements in the capital of Cuzco are ascribed to the Inca Roca. The work carried on under his government makes it quite certain that even in his time the Incas were in a position to employ their subjects in the execution of immense designs. To him and to his coya, or queen, is ascribed the installation of the most ancient water-service, which brought to the town of Cuzco fresh spring water at a time when it was growing more civilised in its necessities and of greater importance.

An Age of Advanced Civilisation

This water-service, however, is not to be confounded with the sluice-gates and irrigation works which were necessary for the soil of the Inca kingdom in most districts to make that high cultivation of the land possible under its climatic conditions which the dense population of the empire demanded. With regard to this irrigation, the Incas continued their long-sighted, careful policy by the erection of works which aroused the greatest astonishment. They are, however, by no means the first to have discovered the art of irrigation; this was practised to a considerable extent by almost all their subject peoples before they became members of the Inca kingdom. We see, then, that the legend is in no way worthy of credence which depicts Manco Capak as the discoverer and expounder of that mode of cultivation which became peculiar to the Inca realm.

The work which forms the chief memorial, and is in fact an imperishable monument of Inca Roca, is the palace which he began to erect in his capital. Architecture, before the Inca period, had attained considerable perfection uninfluenced by Inca models; and the Incas certainly do not merit any praise for having further developed an art which they found already at the highest stage of its earlier progress. In comparison with the technical perfection which the immense ruins of Tiahuanaco display, the art of the Inca architects of Cuzco was certainly something of a retrogression. Tiahuanaco is the work of architects who employed enormous blocks of stone, similar to those of the cyclopean buildings which are found in all parts of the world, and who were even at that remote period able to prepare every single detail with accurate measurements and plans.

The Great Palace of Inca Roca

On the other hand, the walls of the palace of the Inca Roca are cyclopean buildings in the ordinary sense of the term; the blocks are of the largest size which could be handled with the limited appliances of the time, and are often most wonderfully shaped to suit the necessities of the site on which they were erected; a particularly remarkable stone displays, for instance, no less than twelve corners.

Moreover, the fitting of these blocks thus carefully shaped, the outer surface of which was generally smoothed, is so exact, in spite of their irregular forms, that even to-day the blade of a knife can scarcely be driven into their joints, although no mortar or other cohesive material was employed. A later Inca once pulled down a portion of the town of Cuzco in order to rebuild it upon a uniform plan. But large numbers of buildings were exempted from this destruction, as is shown by the number of constructions built with irregular polygon blocks, which can be clearly distinguished from the architecture of the later Inca, standing at the present day. The most important monument in this style is the palace of Inca Roca, which was situated in a street of Cuzco now known as the Calle del Triunfo; its walls, artistically composed of many cornered blocks, were used by the modern builders of later times as a welcome foundation.

Inca Triumphs in Architecture

The architectural perfection of the Inca-Peruvians advanced considerably in later times. Their preference for large blocks of stone invariably persisted, and this to such an extent that even where Nature did not provide the ordinary material of hard rock and obliged them to build with smaller stones, as their subject nations had done, their buildings can still be distinguished from those of earlier times by the fact of their displaying individual stones of unusually large dimensions. But at the chief period of the Inca power, temples and palaces were built with cubes of stone worked with extraordinary care, and laid with such exactitude that the courses upon the front of the building present, upon a close examination, the appearance of

level bands. From a point of view at a moderate distance, the whole wall of the building appears as though it were made of one stone. In spite of this marvellous technical perfection, the Inca buildings were never very beautiful; in their long, massive, heavy walls, proportion is almost entirely wanting; and as the Incas were never capable of constructing a vaulted roof in the primitive mode of the Central Americans, the length of their buildings in comparison with their moderate height produces a disagreeable impression.

Furthermore, in the kingdom of Tahuantinsuyu, sculpture was almost entirely forbidden. Very rarely in Inca buildings are to be seen any decorative carvings whatever; the few gates above which a decoration of pumas' heads appears are probably only remains of buildings antecedent to the Incas, which they had pulled down, and the material of which their architects had used for their own purposes. The Inca worship forbade any kind of sculptural decoration, and in ancient times waged a bitter war of extermination against the idols of the subject races; it thus became a rule that living beings should, under no circumstances, be depicted in stone. Their buildings display extraordinary skill in working even the hardest rock, and their pottery-ware shows equally clearly that they found no difficulty in depicting real life with proportion and vigour; but every sculpture that has been found on Peruvian soil is antecedent to the time of the Inca kingdom. The artistic tendencies of the Incas have made it easy to distinguish their work from that of their predecessors and successors. Generally an examination of the stone-work is sufficient to settle any question as to the origin of an Inca building; for neither before nor after them were blocks fitted together with that exactness which proclaims most careful polishing.

Decorations Forbidden by Inca Worship

Another characteristic feature in the Inca architecture is that all openings were in trapezoidal form. Windows in their buildings are rather the exception than the rule, a circumstance which increases the gloomy appearance of their houses. However, upon the inside walls of their buildings are constantly to be found niches which served them as cupboards, and these, as well as the doors, which looked into an open court in a long row, and admitted light and air to the rooms grouped around it, display the peculiarity that the posts lean in towards one another, so that the lintel is rather narrower than the threshold. The Inca architects clung to this peculiarity, whatever the diversity of material and situation; from the lake of Titicaca up to Quito, and from Cuzco to the shore of the Pacific Ocean, this distinctive feature can be recognised without difficulty. Their mode of roofing must have made the Inca buildings appear doubly strange and ugly. For that purpose they could not use stone, and trees were too scarce to provide sufficient material for solid constructions of wood.

The First Inca Schools

Consequently, the roofs of even their most ornamental buildings were composed of canes and straw, which were supported by wooden posts of moderate strength. The exterior of the buildings was decorated by plates and artistically worked pieces of precious metal, but this would be true only of the temples, and to a limited degree of the palaces; for gold and silver were worthless to the common people, and served mainly as gifts to the gods, and to the kings, who were considered almost equal to them.

The foundation of the first schools in the kingdom was also ascribed to the Inca Roca. The Peruvians had their own learned class, the Amauta; but these formed only a subordinate division of the Inca caste. Far from desiring to spread education throughout the ranks of the people, the Incas were of the opinion that too much knowledge and power could produce only dissatisfaction, and were consequently unsuitable for the common people.

Hence it was that only scholars of the Inca blood could be received into the classes of the Amauta; and besides the youths of the Inca race, their schools in Cuzco were attended only by such children of the vassal princes as the special favour of the Incas allowed to come—a favour which also served political purposes, as it made the young princes acquainted with those particular conceptions upon which the Inca power was founded. In these schools the young people obtained solid and valuable instruction; bodily exercises and intellectual training went on side by side; and the difficult problem of developing body and mind to an equal degree was thus solved sufficiently to meet the requirements of the time. Languages formed an important

How the Young were Trained

department in their instruction. The Incas of the royal families are said to have spoken a language of their own; this was known to the Amauta, but upon the destruction of the Inca race, before and during the Spanish conquest, the knowledge of it was so entirely lost that at the time of the Inca Garcilaso there was no one living who knew it. This language cannot have been a wholly isolated dialect, as Garcilaso would have us believe, but was probably a dialect of the Aymara, which was spoken by Manco Capak and the race which was destroyed upon the migration of the Incas to Cuzco.

Forgotten Language of Inca Rulers

It was an act of far-seeing policy that the Incas did not make these rude, uncultivated dialects the official language of their realm, but used the Quechua, which was widely spread upon the north and west of Cuzco, and the sounds and forms of which were less harsh and more easily acquired. Under their rule this speech became native to all the subjects of their empire, so that it is even now spoken throughout the area of the former kingdom of Tahuantinsuyu, while only a few remains have survived of the national languages of the subject races, and some dialects have become altogether extinct.

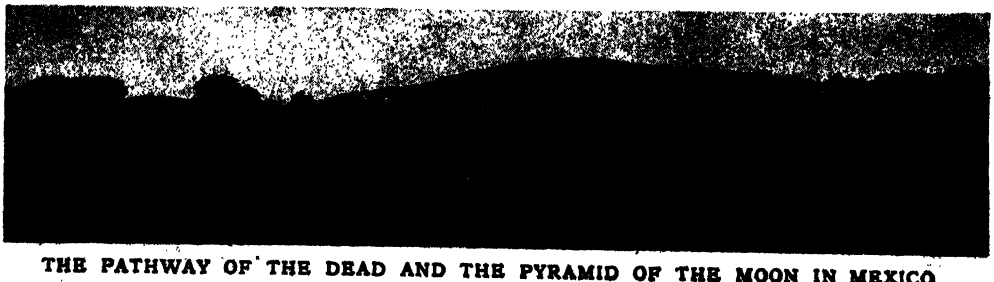
The higher learning was naturally exclusively reserved to the Amauta; it was pursued only in particular schools. Thus, none but the Amauta understood the system of quipus, the different-coloured strings arranged in a row upon a cross-string, which served as the only existing help to the memory. This system may have been very well suited for that fixed condition of things which was the ideal of the Inca government, but it could not compensate for the lack of a proper handwriting as a real means of exchanging thoughts or of stereotyping expression. In the high schools of the Amauta the preservation of historical traditions was earnestly pursued. Epic and lyric poems are said to have been preserved by the Amauta during the Inca period; but these were undoubtedly transmitted entirely by word of mouth—no use being made of the quipus, many examples of which are in existence, but none of which have been explained or translated. It has been established that the Ollanta drama, which was supposed to be a product of ancient Indian intellect, came into existence in the seventeenth century, and is therefore owing to Spanish influence.

Ideal of the Inca Government

Finally, the Amauta became the repositories of priestly knowledge, with which, as is usual to, and characteristic of, a kingdom of sun-worshippers, astronomical knowledge was closely connected. The Inca calendar seems to have been in a much earlier stage of development than that of many other American peoples; the Incas were probably too proud to borrow the discoveries of other nations, while their own civilisation was of too short a growth to have arrived at the discovery of an accurate calendar. Their chief festival, upon which their chronology was founded, the "Inti Raimi," was celebrated upon a date settled by observation of the sun; this was the day on which the shadow of the gnomon, known as "Inti huatana," showed that the northerly procession of the sun had ceased—that is, that the winter solstice had begun, the day being about June 21st; consequently a difference between the actual year and the state year was impossible.

Peruvians' Chief Festival

The Peruvians do not seem to have gained these results by calculation; almost all their festivals were regulated by the position of the sun and the phases of the moon; they also knew and reverenced the Pleiades and the morning and evening star, under the name of "Chasca." Pachacutek, the Inca, was the first to divide the year into twelve months.



THE PATHWAY OF THE DEAD AND THE PYRAMID OF THE MOON IN MEXICO

GROWING POWER OF THE INCAS AND THE REVIVAL OF NATIONAL RELIGIONS

THE institutions ascribed to the Inca Roca show that the Inca kingdom under his government had arrived at a high pitch of intellectual and material prosperity; but, as will be seen from the following occurrences, its organisation was still extremely loose and in no way corresponded with the political ideals which our sources show us to have prevailed at the time of the conquest. It was the immediate successors of Inca Roca who really founded and centralised the Inca kingdom.

The government of the Inca Yahuar Huacac Yupanki was considered as a period of misfortune by the Peruvian Amauta; his name denotes "the man who weeps tears of blood." The history of the first six Inca rulers is related by all our sources with great consistency and but few discrepancies; but with regard to the kings between Inca Roca and Inca Yupanki Pachacutek there is such confusion in the ancient traditions that the number, names, and exploits ascribed to individual kings cannot be brought into any sort of harmony. It can only be asserted that during this period both the Inca dynasty and the Inca kingdom underwent heavy shocks and were frequently subject to internal strife.

Strife in the Inca Kingdom

The dangers with which the Inca kingdom was threatened resulted from efforts to strengthen their rule over the races in their immediate neighbourhood, who had hitherto been rather their allies than their subjects. Yahuar Huacac had made a step in this direction by demanding tribute from the races of the high valleys, who had been in the habit of making voluntary presents to the Incas; this was the signal for a revolt which brought the Inca kingdom to the verge of destruction for a second time. The Chanca, a warlike race spread upon the north-west of Cuzco between Andahuailas and Arequipa, marched against Cuzco, under the leadership of their king, Uscovillca, with such overpowering force that Yahuar Huacac did not venture to await the enemy in his unfortified town, but fled southward.

The dangers which threatened the Inca state from without come at this point into connection with those which were originated by the internal conditions of the dynasty. The narratives make it tolerably plain that the legal line of succession was again interrupted. The official accounts, which always attempt to conceal any disturbance of the political law and order, represent matters as if the legal heir to the throne had, by his youthful haughtiness, excited the anger of his father to such an extent that he threatened to disinherit his son, and reduced him to the humble position of shepherd to the sacred flocks in the mountains. There one of his ancestors, a prince of the royal house, by name Huiracocha, is said to have appeared to him one day in a dream, and told him of the great dangers which threatened the kingdom, owing to the revolt of the Chanca.

Inca State in the Midst of Dangers

Thereupon the prince hastened to the capital, in spite of his father's prohibition. His father did not receive his explanation, but when he had fled before the approaching enemy, the king's son is said to have inspired the timid citizens of the capital with fresh enthusiasm, and finally to have repulsed the attacks upon Cuzco. Moreover, with the help of the divine warriors whom Huiracocha sent to his assistance he defeated the enemy in open battle, and subjected them for ever to the Inca rule. The legend then continues to relate how the victorious prince declined the proposals of his thankful comrades to accept the crown, and proceeded to conciliate his royal father by submission until the latter voluntarily abdicated and duly announced himself as the first of his son's vassals. However, the real course of events was probably as follows. The courage of the

Legend of a Brave Prince

reigning king, and of the Incas around him, failed before the threatening advance of the Chanca. The state was so dislocated that he could not rely upon the greater portion of his subjects; and as the town of Cuzco and its environs offered no secure refuge, the Inca and his closest dependents determined to conceal themselves and their treasures in the mountains.

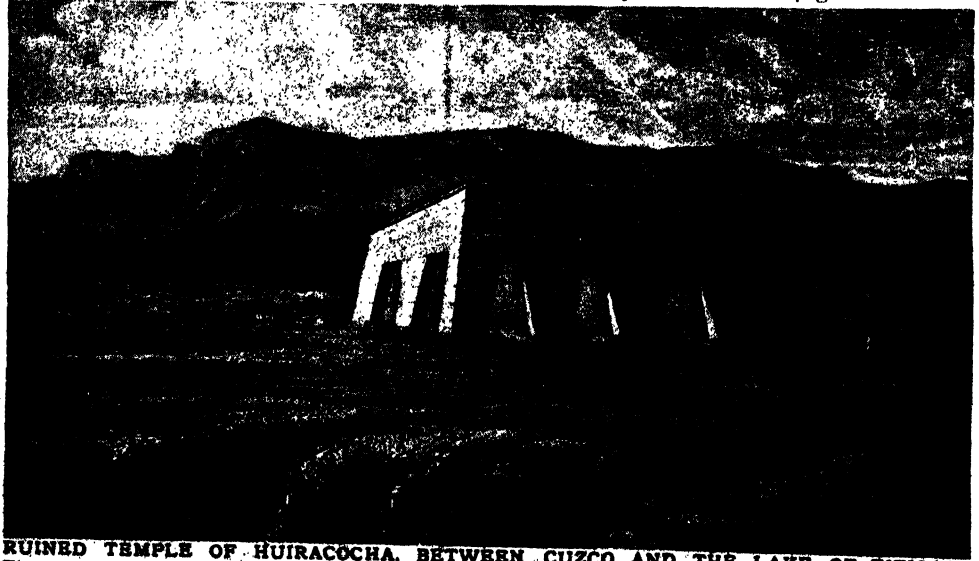
The supporters of the pre-Incan dynasty among the citizens who were now thus abandoned—that is, the worshippers of the old god Huiracocha—rose to power upon the cowardly flight of their ruler; even without the Chanca they would certainly have put an end to the rule of the foreigners if the long and prosperous government of the later dynasty had not formed among the people a strong party which was favourable to the Incas. Under these circumstances a youth of the Inca race appeared among the waverers; he had no legal right of succession to the throne, but was a man of Inca blood and Inca courage. The immediate necessity was to do away with the opposition between the remnant of the ancient inhabitants and the Inca dependents, which had broken out with greater vigour upon the flight of the ruler. For this purpose he invented the legend of the appearance of the god Huiracocha.

He said that the god of the ancient people had chosen him, the Inca, as the saviour of his people. By this means he obtained allies among the neighbouring highland races, who helped him to victory. This favourite of Huiracocha was naturally disinclined to lay the palm of victory at the feet of those Incas in whose absence he had won his success; but he was equally unable openly to usurp the power of the Inca king in the face of a strong party of allies who had materially contributed to his success. The consequence was that for many years the lawful ruler, who was greatly despised by his people for his cowardice, set up his court far from Cuzco, while his more fortunate rival held the reins of power in the capital without venturing to assume the royal title.

A new King on the Inca Throne

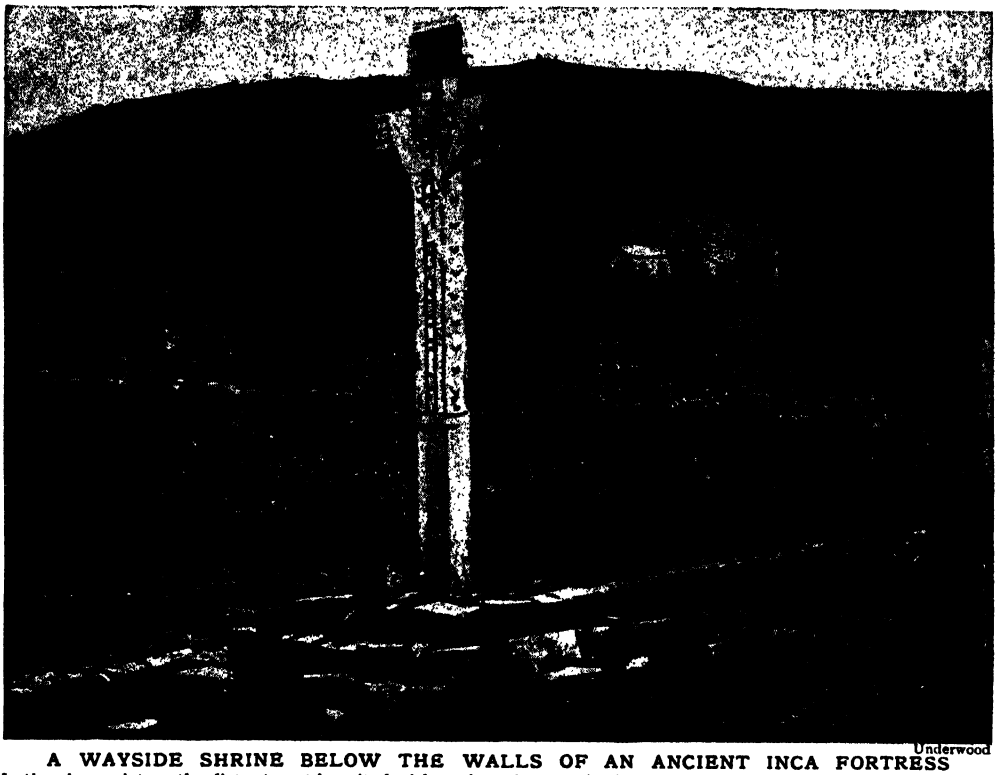
Finally, a compromise was brought about which enabled the aged king to spend his remaining years in peace and gave the real ruler the legal title he had won. The Inca who took the name of the god Huiracocha had to thank his southern neighbours, the Canes and Cancha, for the salvation of Cuzco and for his victory over the Chanca.

But there was collected beneath his standard, not a body of vassals, but a confederation which expected a rich recompense from the spoils of war. Here we have another proof of the fact that the Inca kingdom, both in extent and in internal compactness, was still far removed from its later perfection. But important strides were made under the rule of the far-seeing Huiracocha. In the first place, the subjugation of th



RUINED TEMPLE OF HUIRACOCHA, BETWEEN CUZCO AND THE LAKE OF TITICACA

The Temple of Huiracocha marks the beginning of that scepticism among the Incas and Amautas concerning their gods, to counteract which the more faithful of Huiracocha's worshippers caused a number of temples to be erected, this being the most important of them. Most of these temples also served as tombs, but only for the kings and high priests.



Underwood

A WAYSIDE SHRINE BELOW THE WALLS OF AN ANCIENT INCA FORTRESS

In the above picture the distant past is united with modern times, as it illustrates a wayside Calvary erected by some devout Roman Catholics near the ancient walls of an Inca fortress. The few descendants of the Incas to-day preserve, to some extent, their old religious forms, but many have been won over to Catholicism by the missions of the Church.

Chanca provided him with a numerous body of warriors immediately dependent upon him, whom he raised to honour and position. On the other hand, there were many little dynasties in the neighbourhood of Cuzco loosely dependent upon the Inca state who were disinclined to give in their allegiance to the new ruler, and had regarded his predecessors upon the throne with displeasure. Huiracocha, with extraordinary cleverness, now changed the feeble suzerainty of the ruler of Cuzco into a virtual dominion. The dependents of the previous Inca did not find courage for an open display of hostility, and as the individual dynasties were unable to unite for common purposes they were reduced to the position of vassal states. The Canes and Cancha, when they refused to recognise the sovereignty of the Inca by sending him tribute, were attacked and subdued after a vigorous resistance.

Canes and Cancha Subdued

They later became the most faithful, loyal and reliable subjects of the Inca; to them was reserved the honourable duty of providing bearers for the king's litter; for the Inca, like the princes of the Chibchas and Quitus, was invariably carried on a litter when he went on a journey. During a long rule the Inca Huiracocha carried his arms successfully against enemies in the most various directions; but his success was due as much to his political skill as to the bravery of his armies.

We have a particular proof of this in his interference in the quarrels of the Colla. On the western and southern shores of the lake of Titicaca, two rulers, Cari of Chucuito, and Zapana of Hatun-Colla, were struggling for pre-eminence, and each was short-sighted enough to invite Huiracocha's help. That gave him the opportunity of being the first of the Inca race to press forward to the sacred islands of Titicaca and the ruined cities of Tiahuanaco. He took the side of the weaker and more remote Cari, who readily became a kind of vassal to the Inca, in order to repel his more powerful opponent; and thereby he prepared the incorporation of both districts in the Inca state, an incorporation which a rising in that district enabled his grandson, Tupak Yupanki, to complete.

A fundamental reason for the rapid and brilliant success of the new Inca lay in the alteration of his religious policy. The sun-worship which the Incas had set up

as the religion for the state and the people could hardly appeal to the inhabitants of the highlands. It was a mixture of reverence for the powers of Nature and of ancestor-worship, which latter feature made it an important element in the Inca family life, strong emphasis being thereby laid upon the difference between the Inca race and the peoples subject to them, and so this cult became rather an opportunity for expressing disgust than an occasion for worship. The sun, with his beneficent influences of warmth and fruitfulness, was certainly an eminently suitable deity for the inhabitants of the bare, rough highlands, and Huiracocha, as he was originally worshipped by the Quechua and other neighbouring peoples, was no doubt an offshoot from a sun divinity. Although the Incas must have conceived of the sun-god, Inti, as their forefather in a human form, they none the less banished from their worship every kind of anthropomorphism. When worship was not directly offered to the luminary, as it invariably was on great feast-days, the god was represented only by a bright golden shield.

Inti the Sun-god of the Incas

Pictorial representation was systematically objected to by the Incas, not only in their own worship, but also in that of all other gods. In their campaigns against hostile peoples the destruction of temples and images was considered an important duty. The peoples who reluctantly bowed to the yoke of the Inca dominion were not brought into any closer sympathy with their religion when they saw the hall of the sun-god in the temple at Cuzco changed into a hall of ancestors; along the walls stood the embalmed mummies of dead rulers, a band of solar children grouped around their father, the sun-god.

There can be no question that this worship contributed to raise a barrier between the Incas and their subjects. The worship of Huiracocha now resolved upon by the new Inca, who borrowed his name from that of the god, implied a complete breach with the religious policy that had hitherto obtained. But this Inca, who was too cultivated to find any satisfaction for his own religious needs in sun-worship, could not afford to set up such a primitive idolatry as the ancient worship of the highland god must have been. The god whom the Amautas and Incas worshipped under the name of Huiracocha, as the almighty creator of all things, whom they honoured more than Inti, the sun-god, as being the source of all life, was no stone image; he defied all representation, pictorial and otherwise, as he worked and lived under no concrete form, existing as the mighty power which penetrates the whole world. Upon the occurrence of one of those religious ceremonies with which the rising orb of day was greeted, and which were crowned by the presence of the king, the Inca Huiracocha is said to have asked the priests and Amautas collected around him whether it was conceivable that Inti was the highest god and the ruler of all things, as he invariably accomplished his course around the earth in a manner both regular and fatiguing. Supposing he were free and powerful, would he not at some time feel a desire to take a rest or to strike out another path than the one of which his daily routine must have made him thoroughly weary?

Worshippers of the God Huiracocha

Similar beginnings of scepticism and eclecticism not difficult to understand, are related of his successors, and afforded an opportunity for the introduction of the ideas which the Incas attached to their worship of Huiracocha. In Cacha they erected a famous temple of Huiracocha for the benefit of the people; its ruins show strong divergences from the architectural style of the Incas, and also from that of all the other Peruvian peoples, and remain standing to-day as an unsolved problem. In Cuzco and other places altars were erected to the god, and his image was placed before them, generally in the form of an old man in flowing robes.

Revival of National Religions

Other national religions, which had been repressed hitherto, now celebrated their revival. In the version of the legend about the conquest of the Chanca, who are said to have been overcome with the help of the Pururauca, those stone statues of warriors which started into life and rushed into the ranks of the enemy at the Inca's call, we see at least a reminiscence of the revival of stone-worship. In the case of the succeeding Inca there is even better evidence of this, in the fact that after a visit to Tiahuanaco he ordered similar memorials to be set up in the neighbourhood of Cuzco; the results of this order were the peculiar steps, platforms, and sites hewn in the rock of Monte Rodadero near Cuzco. The worships of other subject peoples were also recognised

later by the Incas, and transported to Cuzco; as, for instance, the worship of Pachacamak, the chief god of the peoples on the coast of the Pacific Ocean. At the time of the Spanish conquest Cuzco was a meeting-place, not only for princes and governors, but also for the gods and priests of every race which belonged to the Inca kingdom—a regular arsenal of idols, differing widely in shape and meaning.

It was important for the Inca Huiracocha to find a successor to the throne who could continue and bring to perfection the work which he had begun. The rule of the Inca Yupanki, who was also called Pachacutek, was an open progress of almost uninterrupted triumph. On the east he extended the boundaries of his kingdom to the point where the mountain streams moderate their impetuous course in the boundless llanos. On the south he won several victories over the king of Hatun-Colla, and added the king of Chucuito to the number of his vassals. Upon the north he extended his dominion as far as Cajamarca and Conchucos; and as his father had left him no more room for conquest upon the west of the mountain valleys, he advanced to the shores of the Pacific Ocean and subdued the whole seaboard as far as the Rimak valley. His campaigns, which he sometimes led in person and sometimes entrusted to his brothers, and later to his successor, often lasted for years; under him was completed the military organisation to which we have already referred.

Inca Rule Extended to the Sea

The war upon the coast called for special precautions. Previous attempts to press forward in that direction had caused the Inca unusually heavy losses. His highland warriors could not endure the hot coast climate, and fevers were enemies against which they were almost powerless. But by relieving the armies fighting on the coast with fresh divisions at short intervals, and by removing the warriors to the highlands to recruit, he succeeded in extending his rule to the sea. When once this was accomplished, he found reliable soldiers in the races on the coast, and soldiers, too, who were inured to the climate.

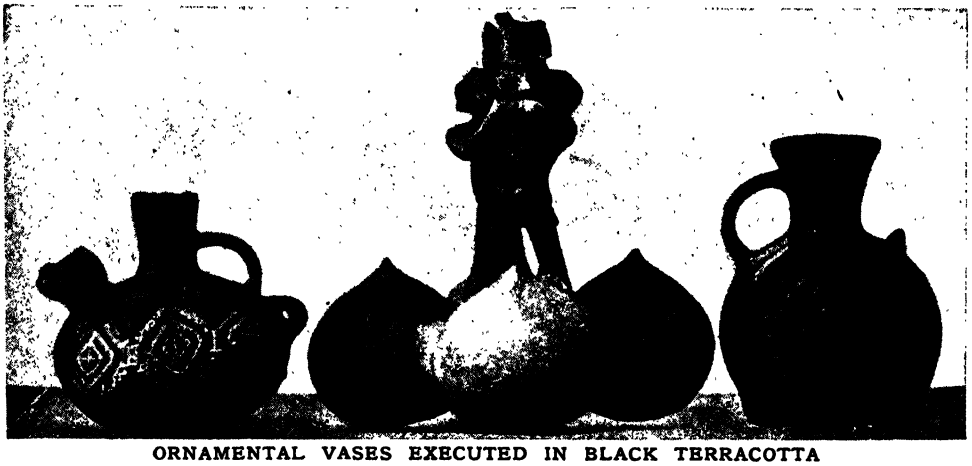
The principle of leaving an easy retreat open to the enemy against whom he marched was also followed by him. Numerous races and princes in the mountains and on the coast submitted to his display of power without obliging him to make them feel the sharpness of his sword. Among those which submitted voluntarily was the priestly state of Pachacamak in the valley of Lurin. The times when the Incas overthrew the temples had long since passed away. Pachacutek worshipped in person the gods who were honoured as far and wide upon the coast-land as Huiracocha was in the mountains, and left the temples and their treasures undisturbed; to these latter he even sent costly presents. The only condition he laid upon the conquered people was that upon the heights which overlooked the town and temple of Pachacamak a new and more splendid temple should be erected to his own god Inti, the sun, and he ordered a similar temple to be built in Cuzco for Pachacamak.

Honouring the Inca God

The Inca power had not been so firmly established in these extensive and recently subdued districts that Pachacutek did not have to deal now and again with revolts. The Chanca reluctantly bore the Inca yoke. Neither permanent fortifications in their land, nor the fact that their ranks had been repeatedly weakened by the transportation of their warriors into more peaceful parts of the kingdom, served to break or to appease their haughty spirit. On the contrary, they determined, when they were convinced of their weakness, to abandon their ancient home rather than give up their independence. The whole tribe started on a migration in a north-easterly direction, and founded a settlement in Chachapoyas, which was only again united with the kingdom under the last Inca ruler.

Pachacutek had also other battles to fight within his realm, but these did not seriously endanger it. Among the men of Inca blood there were still many remaining who knew to what change of succession the dynasty from which Pachacutek was sprung owed the throne of Cuzco. Thus an extensive conspiracy had been formed with the secret object of deposing the Inca Pachacutek and setting up in his place a descendant of the ancient royal family, the Inca Urco. But Pachacutek was informed in time of these treasonable designs, and before the conspirators had the least suspicion that their plans were known the Inca Urco suddenly and mysteriously disappeared in the royal palace, from which he was never again to issue.

Plot and Counterplot in the Inca Palace



ORNAMENTAL VASES EXECUTED IN BLACK TERRACOTTA

TERRACOTTA VASES IN THE FORM OF ANIMALS

OTHER SPECIMENS OF WORKMANSHIP IN BLACK TERRACOTTA

DECORATIVE POTTERY OF THE INCAS: ANTIQUE SPECIMENS FROM PERU

Photos Mansell

AMERICA BEFORE COLUMBUS

NATIVE CIVILISATIONS OF SOUTH AMERICA VI

THE FLOURISHING OF THE INCAS

THEIR SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS LIFE

PACHACUTEK won great fame for himself by his victorious campaigns towards the four quarters of the heavens; and with just pride he named his territory Tahuantinsuyu—the four cardinal points. But he left a still greater memorial of himself in the internal organisation of the Inca kingdom, an organisation that far surpassed anything else of the kind in existence upon American soil. To consider Peru under the Incas as a kingdom founded upon a basis of socialism is to misunderstand entirely the facts of the case.

The Inca rule was an absolute theocracy, at the head of which was the Inca, who concentrated temporal and religious functions in his own person as being the child of the sun-god and the chief priest of that divinity. His power was absolute over body and soul, property and person, of his subjects; the only laws that were binding upon him were his own will and pleasure, and these he might change to any extent he pleased. A consequence of this powerful position was that the Inca alone possessed real property; the whole extent of the kingdom belonged to him, with every living creature in it; other men had only the usufruct of his property. It appears a hard ordinance that, as our historical sources inform us, a third of the produce of the country was appropriated for the support of the ruler, another third for the service of the sun, while only a third remained for the people. But the oppression of this law is only apparent; the Inca and the sun represented the financial department of modern times, and a large proportion of the people lived at their expense.

The Inca Lord of Life and Death

Moreover, those portions of the land assigned to the people lay in the neighbourhood of the villages and places of population; as such settlements had been made purposely on land that was capable of cultivation, the best third of the land was in the hands of the people. The extensive tablelands of the Puna, the high mountain ranges, were included in the land belonging to the sun and to the Inca, where the low temperature precluded agriculture. Here was the home of the great herds of llamas, which belonged to the Inca or to the sun. The possession of these animals was forbidden to the common people. The llama is the only large domestic animal which the American natives possessed. Different kinds of fowl, and in many districts little dogs, were tamed and bred; but they were of use to mankind only as food; their possession was a compensation for the increasing difficulty of gaining a living by hunting. The llama alone has the character of a domestic animal, in the full sense of the word, among the ancient Americans, for it alone was of use to man during its lifetime.

Home of the Llama

In early times it was never used for riding or drawing vehicles. However, the Peruvians of the highlands—for the climate of the coast is fatal to the llama, and for that reason the animal was never used there in Inca times—made constant use of it as a beast of burden. The llama was equally valuable for its wool. Like the sheep, it can be shorn from time to time without occasioning the least injury to its health; and in the Inca kingdom its wool was always woven into stuffs.

The llamas, in common with all living animals, were the exclusive property of the Inca—that is, of the state. State servants performed the shearing, and officials divided the raw wool among the people according to their powers of working it and their necessities. The wool was not only woven for the clothing of the people, but a portion of it served in lieu of taxes. A kind of factory for wool-weaving went on in the abodes of the ladies of the sun, the Acllas; these were monastical retreats where hundreds of

Work of the Sun Maidens

girls were constantly employed in spinning and weaving. Here was also worked the finer wool of the vicuna, a variety of the llama which ran wild and was driven into herds only at shearing-time. These fine stuffs were not intended for the common people, but were invariably worn by the Incas. For the royal families, and especially for the ruling Inca, the sun-maidens were obliged to provide large supplies of the finest stuffs; for state ceremonial exacted from the king that he should always be clothed in spotlessly new garments. In the provinces, also, the Acllas worked the coarser wool of the llama, and thereby contributed to supply the royal storehouses, in which large quantities of woollen garments were collected for the use of the army in time of war.

Llamas on the Royal Table

The llama was also important as a food supply; game was neither plentiful nor varied, and the people could not have supported themselves thereby. Most of the inhabitants certainly kept and bred fowls in and near their houses. But beyond this there existed only the flesh of the llama, and a number of these animals were daily slaughtered for the Inca's table. But the herds were so numerous and increased so rapidly, that now and again a large number of them were slaughtered and divided among the people, who were thus feasted by the monarch. The llama had descended from its wild forefathers, the guanaco and the vicuna, and had become a permanent species. Such a development must have required an extremely long period of time for its accomplishment, and consequently the llama must have been tamed long previous to the Inca rule.

But although this acquisition of civilisation was not due to the Incas, yet they were the first peoples to systematise the breeding and the use of the animal. On one of his first campaigns of conquest the Inca Pachacutek subdued the district of Huilcabamba, and found that the veins of gold there situated were already being extensively worked by the natives. Although they could work only the upper strata, and with their primitive implements could naturally extract the gold from only the richest lodes, yet the astonishing amount of gold and silver which the Spaniards found in the Inca kingdom shows that the work was profitable. The people were obliged to pay their tribute to the Inca from these mining operations. The work demanded of them was not hard; they were always allowed sufficient time to satisfy their own personal requirements. But the mountain peoples had as little claim to the precious metal which they brought forth to the light of day as had the owners of the corn in the lowland, or the shepherds of the llamas, to the possession of these goods; for real property belonged to the Inca alone.

Gold in the Inca Kingdom

Gold and silver, the medium of exchange in the whole civilised world, brought neither power nor influence into the Inca kingdom, but were employed for the decoration of the gods and kings and were worthless in the hands of individuals. A state which had no money and practically no property had also nothing wherewith to pay taxes. But the citizen himself was the property, the slave, of the state, and consequently he owed a certain portion of his labour to the state. In the larger settlements a considerable number of the inhabitants paid their tribute in different kinds of manufacture, in which, in some cases, they had attained considerable skill. The ancient Peruvian weaving, both of woollen and cotton stuffs, though carried on with very simple implements, is of high quality in respect of both fineness and durability; and the weavers understood the employment of large and artistic patterns by the use of different coloured threads. Still more remarkable is the Peruvian pottery-ware, with its great variety of decoration, which is invariably tasteful, and with its rich and artistic colouring. Their artistic powers were almost exclusively exercised upon this pottery; and ware that has been shaped into realistic but very fantastic forms has come down to us from almost all the provinces of the Inca kingdom.

Agriculture a Divine Service

The country people were employed in herding the flocks of llama, or in cultivating the lands belonging to the Inca and the sun. The plough was unknown to the Peruvians; they turned up the soil with an implement like a spade, and, as they invariably worked in large numbers, digging in rows, their fields must have had a furrowed appearance. Agriculture was the foundation of the Inca kingdom; it was regarded as divine service, and every subject of the kingdom was entrusted with its accomplishment. When the season for tilling the soil had come round,

the Inca himself, followed by all his court, proceeded in great pomp to a field which was dedicated to the sun in the neighbourhood of Cuzco, and began the agriculture in person with religious ceremonies. Each of his courtiers had to follow his example.

The order was then transmitted by officials through the country that the subjects should begin the year's work upon the land. The head of every family was in annual possession of a particular plot of land proportioned to the needs of his household; if his family increased, so did his plot, a piece half the size of the original allotment being given him for each son, and a quarter of the original size for each daughter. But the land remained state property, and upon the death or migration of the occupant it reverted to the Crown. Cultivation was carried on in common and under the superintendence of overseers. First were tilled the lands of the sun; then those of individual citizens, including the allotments of the poor, the sick, and the officials; and finally the lands of the Inca were cultivated. In the milder districts of the kingdom a number of varieties of maize were raised. The mandioc, several kinds of pumpkins, beans, and some other vegetables, were grown more in the gardens around the houses than in the fields. But in many districts of the Inca kingdom the cold climate was unfavourable to these vegetables. In such cases potatoes formed the staple of agriculture.

Methods of Inca Agriculture

The Inca-Peruvians carried on agriculture not only extensively, but also with great energy. The use of manure, for which purpose, after they had conquered the sea-coast, they used guano, was as little a discovery of theirs as was the science of irrigation. In the narrow valleys of the highlands they increased the ground available for agriculture by making terraces for miles, at a great expense of labour, in the precipitous mountain heights, which were then carefully irrigated by canals from the river running down the valley.

Land that was in this way brought under cultivation naturally belonged only to the Incas; the amount of work necessary for its success was far more than individual sources could provide, and presupposed a strong and close organisation. A family of at least ten inhabitants formed the smallest administrative unity in the kingdom; an inferior official superintended this, whose business it was to care for and watch over it. Ten of such unities formed a "hundred"; here the superintendent was obliged to keep an eye upon the districts of his ten inferior officials, besides the care of his own office. The next political unity was formed of ten "hundreds," and a "ten thousand" was generally equivalent to a province of the kingdom. The highest power naturally lay in the hands of the Inca, who had a consultative council in Cuzco. But besides this council the governors of the provinces—who were generally chosen from the Inca class when political necessities had not left the rule in the hands of one of the old conquered princes—and also the officials of smaller districts, were obliged from time to time to appear personally before the central power, or to send in their reports with the help of the quipus.

How the Kingdom was Governed

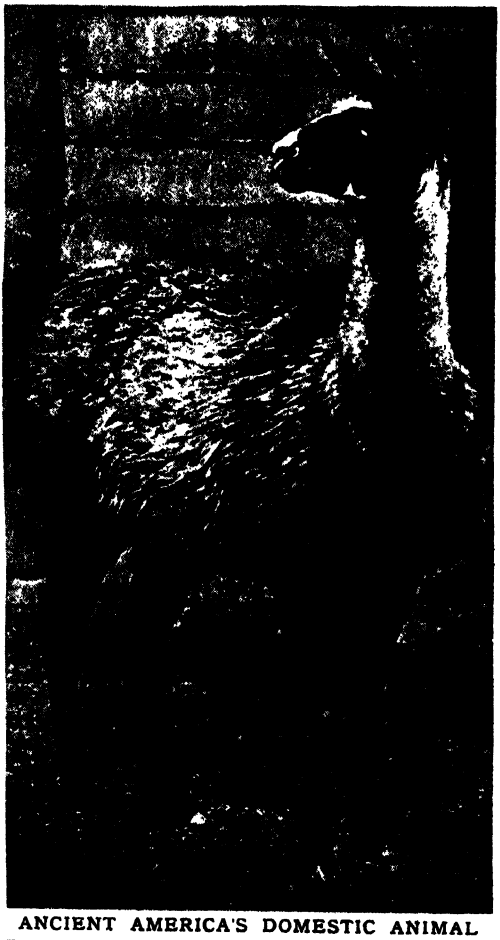
By this means the government was fully informed concerning the inhabitants of each province and their capabilities, and also concerning the supplies and provisions which every district was obliged to make, to meet its own necessities, and even to have a surplus in hand. Moreover, the overseers were constantly inspected by officials of a higher class. In cases where faults were discovered, the guilty person was punished, and so also were his superiors, who ought to have informed the subjects of their obligations and to have assured themselves that these were fulfilled.

As the common man, the "hatunruna," possessed no real property, he might also pay his taxes in military service. The Incas did not maintain a standing army, and any careful or extensive training in the use of arms seems to have been the privilege of the Incas alone, and of the sons of the nobles from the subject provinces. It is by no means clear in what manner the hatunruna obtained the training necessary to enable him to fulfil his part in the constant and distant campaigns of the Incas. There was, however, a system for regularly relieving the garrisons that were maintained in unsettled quarters, as well as for conveying reinforcements to the battlefields; an arrangement must consequently have been on foot somewhat similar to the old Prussian system of relief, according to which the hatunruna returned to his agricultural pursuits after a short period

Taxes paid in Military Service

of active service, until he was again called out in due course, though generally only for a very limited space of time.

An important duty of the overseers of the "hundreds" was to see that the people performed their allotted portion of work; the women were included under this decree. Their essential duties in their households consisted in the care of the garden and of the poultry; but most important were the spinning and weaving, which they were obliged to practise beyond the mere satisfaction of their household necessities, as we have already stated. Idleness was a punishable offence in the Inca kingdom. Even when women made visits to their neighbours they took their work with them, unless the person visited was of higher rank than her visitor; in this case it was the duty of the visitor to ask for permission to take her work. It was the business of the local overseers to apportion as much land to each inhabitant as would suffice for the maintenance of himself and his wife. If, as happened in exceptional cases, the land belonging to the community did not suffice, the inhabitants had a claim upon the lands of the Inca; but when the population of a province rose to such an extent that the land was no longer capable of supporting them, colonists, known as "mitimaes," were sent out into less thickly populated or new provinces. The state undertook the duty of providing for the support of each individual, but avoided poverty, with its evil results of beggary and vagabondism, which was, in fact, entirely obviated by the necessity of labour and the prohibition which was laid upon an unauthorised change of residence. The state also recognised its duty of providing for its subjects in extraordinary cases; and, thanks to the general industry, the storehouses situated in every province were sufficiently full of supplies to meet all necessities.



ANCIENT AMERICA'S DOMESTIC ANIMAL
The only large domestic animal possessed by the American natives, the llama was much prized by them, the Peruvians of the highlands making constant use of it as a beast of burden, while it was also valuable on account of its wool, which was woven for the clothing of the people.

The conception of private property was not wholly unfamiliar to the inhabitants of the Inca state. Houses and land were, it is true, the property of the community, to which they reverted at the death of the holder. But so ample was the provision made for the support of the individual that he was able to put aside some savings, and to lay out these economies as he wished, even in the purchase of luxuries, as the state, or community, provided his necessities. The objects found in the Peruvian cemeteries show us that luxuries were not altogether unknown even among the common people, and this personal property was almost invariably interred with its dead owner. As new members were born into the family, the land allotted to it was increased. The young Inca citizens passed a long and tranquil childhood. It was incumbent on their parents to give them a practical education and to train them in domestic duties, but it was not till the completion of their twenty-fourth year that the state made any claim upon the young people. At twenty-five they were married. Marriage was also strictly controlled by the law, which denied the Inca-Peruvian any opportunity of personal initiative from the cradle to the grave. The public officials were required to keep a register of persons

Underwood

PRESENT-DAY DESCENDANTS OF THE ANCIENT INCA PEOPLES OF PERU

of both sexes who every year attained a marriageable age in their districts. Each year a day was appointed for the celebration of marriages throughout the kingdom.

The young men and maidens, clad in their best attire, appeared before the officers of their district, who publicly, but with little in the way of ceremony, assigned to each youth a young maiden. On the same day, at Cuzco, the Inca himself officiated for those of noble blood. The consent of the young people was superfluous in the eyes of the law, but, when possible, their inclinations were considered. No one, however, might marry outside of his own district. The usual allotment of land was now made to the young couple, and the community saw to the building of their simple and primitive dwelling. In this way they entered the ranks of the hatunrunas, accepting all the responsibilities involved, except that for the first year—the honeymoon of their married life—they remained exempt from public service. The duties of labour were obligatory up to the age of fifty; after that time the community, as also in cases of temporary or permanent disablement, became responsible for their support to the end of their lives. While military service was demanded of the men, another tax was levied by the Inca upon the women. Every year the officials were required to select from the number of young maidens the best and most beautiful for the service of the ruler and of the sun. In each province the Inca had his palace and a house attached to it, in which these maidens led a privileged if a laborious existence. Whenever the Inca came into residence it was from their number that he chose the partner of his couch. If the connection resulted in pregnancy, the young mother returned to her native home, where great respect was paid both to her and to the child.

Very different was the lot of those selected for the service of the sun. Like the royal wives, they led a favoured but industrious life in religious seclusion. But in their case the law against incontinence was inviolable, and a cruel death awaited the sun-maiden and her seducer if this statute was transgressed. That the Incas should occasionally have taken children from their parents in their tenderest years for sacrifice to the sun-god is hardly probable.

Such sacrifices may in earlier times have been offered to the sun-god and to the deities of many of the peoples afterwards subdued. But such a usage is wholly inconsistent with the spirit of the national religion as it was practised under the later Incas. In the Inca state religion was much more a matter of politics than of dogma. The late Incas therefore imposed no restrictions upon the various races of their subjects as to the number of gods they might desire to worship. It was also from political motives that they established at Cuzco the temples and priests of the various religions; for thus they were in continual touch with the forces which they knew to exercise a great influence upon the masses.

Politics in the Inca Religion

The introduction into every newly acquired province of sun-worship as a supreme and universal form of religion was also meant to serve their political ends. Although there was at Cuzco a high priest of the sun-god, who exercised a kind of control over priests of all denominations throughout the country, yet the real head of the church was the Inca. As descendant of the sun-god he stood nearer to the deity than his highest priest, while as child of the sun he was himself entitled to divine honours after his death, upon which he returned to his ancestor. Dissensions between king and priesthood, which recur so frequently in the communities of Central America, were rendered impossible by the semi-divine character of the Inca. For this reason the decided revolution which the Inca Huiracocha brought about in the domain of religious politics never at any place or time caused the slightest difficulty, although it raised at once a host of formidable rivals to the priesthood of the sun.

The privileged position, and the endowment of a third of the land, remained their exclusive right; but even the Inca kings made numerous and costly offerings to the temples of Huiracocha and Pachacamak. The laborious life of the masses was relieved only by the festivals which were celebrated in honour of the sun-god; once at least in each month the inhabitants of each locality were summoned by the officials to a feast. Upon these occasions the flesh of the llama, set apart by the Inca for the people, was certainly consumed; at the same time large quantities of the maize beer called "aka" were drunk, and dance and song contributed to the enjoyment. Similar holidays followed the completion of all the more important tasks; the cultivation of the fields, the gathering in of the harvest, or any exceptional undertaking—house-building, roadmaking, and the like. Besides these, however, there were four high festivals common to all the land: the Hatun Raimi, the Cusqui Raimi, the Situa Raimi, and the Huaracuy.

Feasts in Honour of the Sun-God

The Hatun (or Inti) Raimi was celebrated at the time of the winter solstice (the 21st of June), and was the first and principal festival by which the year was reckoned. Lasting for nine days, it celebrated the return of the source of life and heat, the sun having reached and passed its extreme northern declination. The first three festival days were devoted to preparation; every inhabitant of the Inca kingdom was obliged to abstain from all food, with the exception of a little uncooked maize and water, and, if married, from conjugal intercourse; all fires were extinguished. During these days it was the duty of the young unmarried women in each household, and of the sun-maidens for the use of the Inca and his court, to prepare the sacred bread, the first food that might be taken after the fast. The principal ceremony took place on the morning of the fourth day. At the approach of dawn the whole population poured out of their houses into the open space where the priests were awaiting the sunrise. Here the thronging multitude crouched barefooted in a wide circle around the priests, and, no one daring to rise, awaited the moment when the sun's orb should appear above the horizon, to greet it with solemn sacrifice.

Religious Ceremonies at Cuzco

Naturally it was at Cuzco that the feast was celebrated in its most magnificent form. Here, upon that day, the square of Haucaipata, around which stood the royal palaces, was thronged with the highest and noblest from every province of the kingdom. Clothed in festal attire, but barefooted and in the same attitude of humility, they, too, awaited the moment of sunrise. Thereupon the Inca king was the first to rise; upon this day, as being the child of the sun, he himself performed the office of high-priest. In either hand he held a cup inlaid with gold, filled to the brim with aka. While he

addressed a solemn greeting to the rising luminary, he emptied the cup in his right hand into a golden basin that stood before him, whence golden pipes conveyed the libation to the Temple of the Sun.

The cup in his left hand he put to his own lips, and then invited his nearest relatives, and any on whom he wished to confer distinction, to take from this cup, with small golden chalices, a portion for themselves. Then, together with the higher priests and dignitaries, the Inca entered the temple in order to pay his adoration to the image of the god. The Temple of the Sun had undergone, at the hands of the Inca Pachacutek, a thorough restoration and extension; since which time, owing to its rich adornment with precious metals, it had been known by the name of Coricancha, "the Golden Precinct."

It was an extensive group of buildings, encircled by walls of squared masonry, lying somewhat nearer the mountains than the market-place. In and around the great court were a number of edifices, the most sacred of which was the Hall of the Sun. Here, on the wall at the back of the temple, so placed as each morning to catch the rays of the rising sun, was the great golden disc, encircled with rays, which constituted the Holy of Holies. Walls and roof, as well as the altars before this and the other shrines of the temple, were richly overlaid with gold, while along the walls, seated in their litters and wrapped in the most costly fabrics, stood the perfectly preserved mummies of the dead Incas. Behind the Hall of the Sun a similar room contained the image of the moon and the mummies of the coyas, the imperial wives who had given to the kingdom an heir to the throne. Here all ornamentation was in silver. Then followed smaller sanctuaries for the other heavenly bodies, the divine retinue of Inti, and for his earthly followers, the priests.

The Sacred Hall of the Sun

After libations and incense had been offered at these shrines also, the Inca returned to the square, where the rest awaited him; for on this day the great sacrifices were performed not in the enclosed court of the temple, but in the open market-place. The priests now led forth a young black llama. Black animals, as being more uniform in colour, were more highly prized than white ones, which as a rule showed darker patches; moreover black was the sacred colour and was specially favoured by the Inca. While the unbound victim was held by priests of lower grade, the high-priest cut open the body with an obsidian knife and tore out the heart and entrails. From these he foretold the events of the year that was just beginning. The body was now divided, and, in order to burn it as a sacrifice, the high-priest lighted with a burning-glass, which he wore on his right wrist, the new fire from which all the hearths in the city were kindled afresh. This concluded the more important ceremonies, which now gave place to general rejoicings. Numbers of the common llamas were slaughtered, but only the blood and entrails were offered to the god; the flesh was assigned to the people for food. The remaining days of the festival were spent in eating and drinking, dancing and singing, and revels of every description, the freedom of which often degenerated into licence. For the people the feast closed on the ninth day, after six days of rejoicing.

How the Festivals were Observed

The Inca and his attendants seem to have continued the celebrations for a month, and even then to have lamented their brief duration. The second of the common festivals, the Cusqui Raimi, was connected with agriculture. It was celebrated before the beginning of harvest, and was a sort of procession in honour of the sun-god, who, after everything in mortal power had been done to secure the success of the crops, was implored with his divine favour to bless and increase the harvest. This feast also was followed by days of continuous and unrestrained revelry, meant, no doubt, to provide the people with recreation after the labours of the field.

Of a different character was the third feast, or Situa Raimi, which fell at the time of the spring equinox, in September. The assumption that every calamity or unexpected event which befell the individual or the community was due to some transgression was current in the Inca kingdom as elsewhere, and was reflected in the laws. But if the guilt of the individual might be expiated by atonement or punishment, it still adhered to the community, which had likewise to bear the weight of all the terrors which threatened it from the evil spirits with which earth and air were peopled. To appease or drive away these was the object of the feast. It was

The Place and Power of Evil Spirits

preceded, like the others, by a three-days' fast and the preparation of sacred bread. In addition, however, to those intended for food, other loaves were baked, mixed with the blood of sacrifice. With this bread each man, on the fourth day at sunrise, rubbed his body, after bathing in running water, in order to purify himself. On the morning of the great day of the festival the crowning ceremony took place at the fortress of Sacsahuaman. This was a huge fortification built of enormous blocks of stone, which rose in five tiers on one of the heights commanding the city from the north-east. Its erection had been commenced by the Inca Huiracocha at the time when the Chanca invasion had threatened the as yet utterly defenceless city with extinction. The Inca Pachacutek had successfully completed the mighty structure. From the gate of the fortress, at the Situa Raimi, issued four youths of the Inca race, clad in complete armour. Brandishing their spears, they ran at full speed through town and country in the direction of the four cardinal points. Everywhere the gaily clad multitudes flocked from their dwellings to meet them and greeted them with loud shouts and waving of garments. At fixed distances others of the Inca race, similarly attired, waited to receive the lance in turn, and carried it farther and farther until the boundary of the district was passed. There the lance was driven deep into the earth, and it was supposed that the evil spirits had thus been expelled from the soil. During the night the Incas waved burning torches, which they extinguished on the farther side of the boundary in the streams that flowed out of the country. In this way the powers of darkness were also put to flight, and the following days were devoted to festivity.

The Great Day of the Festival

While at the Situa Raimi the chief actors were the Inca youths, who symbolically delivered the people from the dangers that threatened them. The fourth great feast, the Huaracuy, was almost exclusively confined to the Inca class, and the people could participate only in the general rejoicings. This feast marked the conclusion of the probations which the children of Inca descent, as well as the sons of the noblest families in the provinces, had to undergo before they might be admitted to the privileges of manhood.

Attaining Manhood's Privileges

THE LAST INCA RULER: ATAHUALPA FALLS BEFORE THE SPANIARDS Rau

The story of Atahualpa is told at length in the chapter which begins on the next page. A son of Huaina Capak, he became ruler of the kingdom of Quito on his father's death, and found occasion to go to war with his brother Huascar, who had succeeded to the Inca throne. Victory resting with Atahualpa, he was acknowledged as the ruler of the dual kingdom; but the Inca power was nearing its end, and Atahualpa fell before the conquering march of the Spanish forces.

LAST DAYS OF THE INCA KINGDOM

THE LANDING OF THE SPANIARDS IN AMERICA

IN spite of the efforts of the Incas to maintain the belief that the whole of the Inca class was descended from Manco Capak, and through him from the sun-god himself, they had not been able to banish from the memory of men the fact that a part of the caste could establish no blood-kinship with the founder of the dynasty. In the earliest times, in addition to the ruler of Cuzco, many other small dynasties of the Peruvian highlands had assumed the designation of Inca, which, like "Manco" and "Capak," was originally a mere title and not the name of a race. Whether these, on their incorporation into the empire of the son of the sun, maintained the name and privileges of the Inca is doubtful.

Thus arose a new class in the community, which, though unable to establish any blood-relationship with the Incas, shared all their privileges. When Manco Capak came to Cuzco, he was attended by a small band of dependents, with whose help he drove the Alcavizas from the city. In the infancy of the state these naturally formed a privileged class, and when, later, the constant extension of the empire brought to the capital a mixed population of every conceivable element, they and their posterity, the aristocracy of Cuzco, were admitted to all the essential privileges enjoyed by those of pure Inca blood.

Alcavizas Driven From Cuzco

On the other hand, the Inca stock increased with great rapidity by the natural process of reproduction. Among the masses no man was permitted to marry more than one wife, but from this law the whole of the Inca caste was exempt, and the ruler might also grant dispensation to others. For himself, especially, it was not only a privilege to possess a number of wives, but also a duty to leave behind him as numerous a progeny as possible. Only one, however, of the ruler's wives shared his royal rank; she bore the name of coya, and took an important part in the public ceremonial that was incumbent upon the Inca. The Inca Pachacutek was the first to enact that the natural sister or the nearest female relation of the ruling Inca should always be chosen as the coya, in order as far as possible to preserve the blood of the children of the sun from contamination. In addition to the coya, the Inca might take as many wives as he wished; if they belonged to the Inca class, they and their children were considered legitimate. The Inca also sought daughters in marriage from his vassal princes; this was considered a high honour, and no less so if the Inca married one of his illegitimate daughters to a dignitary or a vassal prince. Marriage between men and women of the Inca class was celebrated in the same way as that of the people, with the exception that the Inca ruler in person performed the ceremoney in Cuzco. Youths of Inca blood might take only one wife of their own accord, though they might also have numerous concubines; but after the completion of an important task, or upon the occasion of a feast, the ruler often rewarded his kinsmen with one or more wives.

Marriage Laws of the Incas

Individual rulers are said to have left as many as a hundred children, or even more. Each of these became the founder of a family, the connection of which with the common stock was preserved in their name and insignia; such families united to worship the mummy of their ancestor in the Temple of the Sun. By law the Inca king was as completely master of the bodies and souls of the Incas as of his other subjects; but, as a matter of fact, the Inca class obtained special privileges in the kingdom of Tahuantinsuyu. The duty of labour, which was incumbent upon everybody in the Inca state, was not binding upon them. A memorial of the time when the Incas formed a small band in the middle of a foreign race was preserved in the right which they had of eating at the ruler's

The Incas Specially Favoured

table; later this right became so extended that the Inca was obliged to support the whole of the Inca caste, and also all the officials of the kingdom who were not Incas, with the produce of that third of the land which belonged to him. The highest temporal and religious offices were filled with sons of the Inca race; and the man who could show his value in such a position was certain of the monarch's favour. To this many of the Inca sons owed their large palaces and bands of attendants both in the capitals and in the provinces. The education imparted to the Inca caste justified their special privileges. In the case of the young girls known as "ñusta," their education was a more refined type of that received by the daughters of the people and the sun-maidens.

Education Among the Incas

On the other hand, the young men, the "auqui," not only received a careful intellectual training, as previously mentioned, but were also obliged to undergo a thorough course of physical exercise. This was concluded, when the auqui had reached his sixteenth year, with the ordeal which preceded the feast of Huaracuy, and gave him the right of assuming the name and the insignia of an Inca. These competitions consisted of a foot-race, individual contests with weapons, similar contests between two bands, and finally a battle between two army corps, one of which had to defend a fortress while another attacked it. They also had to prove that they were able to bear pain and toil without complaining, and had to show their capability of making their own clothes and equipment.

When these tests had been gone through successfully, the youthful band would be led before the king by their masters, who were highly experienced Incas and Amautas. He invested them with the insignia of their new position, and henceforward they were no longer called auqui, but took the title of Inca. The king bored the lobe of each one's ear with a golden needle, and from that time he might wear gold and silver ear ornaments. This habit was carried to such an extent that the Spaniards gave the Incas the name of Orejones, "large-eared," because the weight of their ornaments had drawn out the lobes to a remarkable extent. Up to this point the youths had been clothed simply and almost inadequately; but on their festival day their nearest relations put upon them fine sandals, as they were worn by grown-up Incas, fastened the "huara" of fine vicuna wool around their loins, and placed the head-covering, "llautu," upon their hair, which was now closely cropped. The marks of rank worn by the ruler coincided very nearly with these; only his llautu was bordered with a fine fringe of red wool—in the case of heirs to the throne of full age, the colour was yellow—which descended to the eyebrows, and a thick tassel of similar colour, the "paicha," adorned his right temple.

Spaniards' Name for the Incas

A juristic system can scarcely exist in a kingdom where the ruler is the source of all law and of every decree; the officials to whom the Inca deputed the rule of certain portions of the people decided what matters were punishable and what could be allowed. As there was no real property, there could be no pecuniary troubles and no fines. Anyone who was guilty of an offence had outraged the laws of the Inca, the representative of the highest god, and was therefore almost invariably punished with death; that is to say, he was either strangled, knocked on the head, shot with arrows, or thrown from the rocks. The sun-maidens guilty of incontinence were walled up alive; but their seducers, and also the entire family which had brought up such an adept in wickedness, were put to death, and the place where their house had stood was sown with salt and left deserted for ever.

The Severe Punishment of Law-Breakers

The greater became the extent of the Inca kingdom, the more important became the means of quick communication. In early times the Incas had confronted the question of crossing the high mountain ranges which divided one highland valley from another, and the watercourses which rushed furiously down the deeper valleys. When the Inca Pachacutek marched against Huilcabamba, his enemy broke down the bridges over the Urubamba, and thought thereby to oppose an impassable obstacle to the advance of the Inca army; but the Inca called up engineers and workmen from the capitals and from the whole country to his aid, and a new bridge was completed after a few weeks.

The Inca Pachacutek, who here showed his great faculty for organisation, had a high-road built from Cuzco as far as Cajamarca, a distance of nearly a hundred miles; it ran over passes and through

valleys, over marshes and through rocks, and its remains are in existence to-day. In the time of the Spanish rule this high-road formed the main entry of the country, as did a similar high-road built by the Inca Yupanki, running on the west of Pachacutek's road down to the coast, which it followed as far as Tumbez, the most northern settlement of the Inca kingdom on the sea, lying not far from the Gulf of Guayaquil.

As the Peruvians were totally unacquainted with vehicles, the roads were intended only for the traffic of men, and at most for the llamas that were used as beasts of burden; consequently they were only eighteen to twenty-two feet broad, and were enclosed on either side by a parapet of some height. Upon deep precipices they became narrower, and flights of steps occasionally crossed the ranges which divided the several valleys. Where there were no fords, the rivers were crossed by bridges of stone, which in the mountain ranges gave place to suspension bridges constructed of hempen rope and of woven lianas. Long boarded paths gave a footing across the marshes of the Paramos and the watersheds. At regular intervals resting-places were built near the road, called "tambos"; they consisted of a walled-in courtyard intended for beasts of burden, to which adjoined two open rooms for the travellers themselves. Smaller refuges at shorter intervals on all the most important lines of communication were established for the public service. In them were stationed the foot-messengers, known as "chasquis," by whose help news of important events, from the remotest provinces, could be brought to the capital in a short space of time.

Resting-places in the Mountains

How highly swiftness of foot was valued can be seen from the fact that it was included in the tests which the sons of the Incas had to undergo. Thus even among the common people the foot-messenger was a privileged person. Several runners were invariably stationed in the little post-houses; as often as a messenger came in, wearied by the rapidity with which he had passed over his section, one of those waiting took over his message, which was delivered either by word of mouth or by means of the quipus, to take it on to the next station at an equal speed. The service is said to have been so admirably organised that fresh sea-fish were by no means a rarity at the ruler's table.

It may be an injustice to the merits of the other Inca kings to ascribe nearly all valuable institutions to the Inca Pachacutek; but his name shows that he must have established the lion's share of these. "Pachacutek" means "world-organiser." He was succeeded upon the throne of Tahuantinsuyu by his eldest son, Tupak Yupanki, who, like his father, united military reputation to a capacity for keen and vigorous government at home. Under his rule the Inca kingdom was extended in nearly every direction until it recovered that territory which it possessed at the time of the conquest. He completed the subjugation of the kingdom of Chimu, and pressed his conquest forward to Quito.

Extension of Inca Territory

On the other side he changed the confederation with the princes round the lake of Titicaca into a firm dominion over them, while he also extended his power into Chili as far as the Rio Maule. It was never the Inca policy to introduce the organisation of the ancient provinces, in all its carefully thought out details, into new districts immediately upon their subjugation. Where similar institutions already existed, as they did in the kingdom of Chimu, the process of assimilation was probably distinctly rapid. But other provinces, whose institutions showed marked differences, could only by slow degrees be incorporated in the social organism of the Inca state, as is proved by the frequent recurrence of revolts under the Inca régime. The Inca rulers found colonisation the best means of repressing these; Tupak Yupanki is said constantly to have practised it.

At the time of the Spanish conquest the language of the Yunca had not entirely died out upon the lake of Titicaca, among the mitimaes whom Tupak Yupanki had settled there after the conquest of the Chimu kingdom. This Inca was a zealous worshipper of Huiracocha; after the conquest of Hatun-Colla he made a pilgrimage to his shrine on the lake of Titicaca, and adorned it with new buildings in his honour, though these included a sun-temple and a house for the sun-maidens. At the same time he prosecuted those unifying religious tendencies which the Incas had made their guiding principle since the time of the Inca Huiracocha. When his son, Huaina Capak, ascended the throne, the Spaniards had

The Spaniards on American Soil

already got a footing upon American soil; reports of their arrival can hardly have failed to reach Cuzco. The subjects of the Inca upon the coast land carried on an extensive traffic upon the Pacific seaboard, exchanging their products for those of their northern neighbours, and such traffic must have been under the control and protection of the government. But the Incas were too entirely convinced of their own superiority to have had any suspicion that their period of prosperity was coming to a rapid end. The reign of Huaina Capak is full of those relations with the kingdom of Quito which were to exercise such influence upon the fate of his dynasty.

Conquest of the Quito Kingdom

The first act of his government was to take revenge upon the inhabitants of Quito for the blood of the Inca-Peruvians who had been slain upon the revolt of the provinces conquered by Tupak Yupanki. This business kept him far from the capital for many years. At that time the Inca developed a strong preference for the milder climate on the north of his kingdom; in Tumebamba, which he had fitted up as his headquarters during the campaign, he built palaces, temples, and gardens of a splendour almost equal to those of Cuzco. And when he eventually succeeded in completing the conquest of the kingdom of Quito he married the Princess Paccha, the only daughter of the last ruler, in order to unite the province more closely to his person and to his kingdom.

Huaina Capak was not very fortunate in his domestic life. While his father was alive he held the position of heir to the throne, according to the new laws of succession, and had therefore chosen his eldest sister to be his legal wife; but she bore him no children. Thereupon he took two other wives of the Inca race, a younger sister and a cousin, on the condition that the one who first bore him a son should receive the privileges of the coya. Shortly afterwards his sister presented him with a successor, Huascar. But while he was absent in Quito he began to forget the mother and child; and Paccha, whom he had made a legal wife in defiance of the law which governed his domestic affairs—for this princess was not of the Inca race—became doubly dear to him when she presented him with a boy whose lively spirit won his father's heart even in his childhood. Huaina Capak was naturally obliged to return at intervals to Cuzco, that being still the central point of the kingdom; but as soon as he had performed his state duties he again returned to his beloved Quito, and there he spent the greater portion of his life.

Heir to the Inca Throne

The Inca kingdom was at this time capable of extension only upon its northern boundary. On the west the ocean formed the boundary of the country for hundreds of miles. In the south the kingdom extended into Chili, where the highlands, which became wilder and wilder at every step, seemed scarcely worth the trouble of conquest. On the east every single inhabitant of the fruitful valleys of the Cordilleras was subject to his rule.

The boundless primeval forest which bordered the lowland was inhabited only by wandering tribes of savages who avoided every attempt to subdue them by vanishing without a trace as soon as the Inca armies approached; and the unhealthy climate, and the impossibility of following their usual mode of life, induced the Incas to renounce all plans of conquest in this direction. Upon the north, however, they were enticed by a valuable territory where the conditions of life were very similar to those of their home. Huaina Capak turned his arms more than once in this direction; and Quito was an admirable base of operations for expeditions northward. It does not appear that Paccha ever accompanied her husband to Cuzco; the feeling among the Incas, who were so zealous to preserve the purity of their race, was anything but favourable towards her. It is equally unlikely that the mother of Huascar accompanied her husband to Quito; but the young prince was summoned there at least once, with many of his elder relations, to learn from his father's mouth the manner in which he desired the government to be conducted in the event of his death.

Domestic Troubles of Inca King

He could not persuade himself entirely to exclude his favourite son from the succession. Atahualpa, who had grown up to the entire satisfaction of his father, accompanied him everywhere on his journeys and campaigns, and his lively manners had made him the favourite of the army. On the other hand, Huascar developed but slowly: his character was serious and quiet; the court which the ruler had abandoned, the coya who was scorned and rejected, and the danger

that he himself might be disinherited —all these facts tended to darken his early years. Huaina Capak did not venture upon the extreme step of changing the succession; but he stipulated that the kingdom of Quito should be held in independence by his favourite Atahualpa, and that Huascar should inherit the Inca kingdom, even as Huaina Capak had himself received it upon his accession.

Huascar gladly agreed not to disturb his brother in his possessions, and to remain on terms of friendship with him; the arrangement was for him a relief from long anxiety. But Atahualpa had also reason for satisfaction: he was better provided for than an Inca's inferior son had ever been, and in his person was revived the royal house of Quito. It was only the legitimist party at the court of Cuzco who were dissatisfied; they thought it was a disgrace that the unity of the kingdom should be endangered by the caprice of Huaina Capak, that a province should be lost again to the Sun state which had been bought with the blood of its subjects under two kings, and all for the sake of a child who had neither position nor right. However, such objections were naturally not ventured in face of the unlimited powers of Huaina Capak, and when he died a few years later, in the prime of life, in an epidemic of smallpox in Quito, he was able to close his eyes in the belief that he had secured the welfare of his kingdom and of his favourite.

Huascar Atahualpa

THE LAST OF THE INCAS

The sons of Huaina Capak by different mothers, Huascar received the kingdom of Peru at his father's death, while Atahualpa obtained the kingdom of Quito. In a war between the brothers, Atahualpa was victorious, but was subsequently strangled by the Spaniards.

Atahualpa had developed early, and, after sharing for years in all his father's business of war and peace, had become fully acquainted with the duties of a ruler. He immediately undertook the government of the state to which his father had destined him, and there remained at his side all those who had served Huaina Capak in his lifetime. In Cuzco, on the other hand, people clung obstinately to the old regulations. Huascar was not yet of age, and a council of the oldest relations of the dead monarch held the reins of power. In their eyes the capricious dispositions of Huaina Capak did not hold good, because they violated the succession of the house; they were willing to recognise Atahualpa only as the representative of the Inca for the province of Quito. The obligation of presenting himself in Cuzco to pay allegiance to the new king was as binding upon him as upon all the members of the royal family. The regents did not, however, venture to answer Atahualpa's contemptuous silence by an open attack. It was only when Huascar had been proclaimed monarch in Cuzco, after undergoing the customary period of preparation, and with all the usual brilliant festivities, that a different policy was begun. In order to make trial of the feeling entertained in Quito towards the claims of the legitimists, Huascar demanded of Atahualpa that he should send to Cuzco the wife and the treasures of the late monarch which were still in Quito. Atahualpa rejected this demand, appealing to the last wishes of Huaina Capak; yet he allowed it to be clearly understood that he was ready to continue negotiations. The embassy that Huascar had sent to Quito proposed to Atahualpa that he should put in an appearance as quickly as possible in Cuzco; he only asked to be allowed to make his entry with the ceremonial that befitted his rank, to be given a space of time for preparation, and to be permitted to bring a large company of retainers.

These demands the Inca was foolish enough to concede. A period of feverish energy now began in Quito. All the old generals of Huaina Capak who had remained in Quito from inclination to the prince and respect to his father's will were now called up to Atahualpa and ordered to reorganise their contingents. It was not difficult, with the treasures of

the old king, to provide the equipment of a powerful army; and small divisions of this force started toward Cuzco under pretext of forming the retinue of Atahualpa, who was coming to offer his allegiance. When the Inca's eyes were at last opened, it was not difficult for him to call his subjects together in arms in great numbers; but these contingents did not form an army. A few miles from Cuzco, not far from the place where once the Inca Huiracocha had beaten the Chanca in a bloody conflict, the armies of the brothers met. The young troops of Huascar could not withstand the superior tactics of the enemy; Huascar himself fell into the hands of the conquerors as he was trying to cut his way through their ranks to Cuzco. Thereupon all resistance ceased throughout the kingdom, and the capital surrendered unconditionally to the victorious army. Atahualpa made a cowardly use of his victory. Under the pretence of settling the limits which should divide his power from that of Huascar, he summoned every member of the Inca blood to Cuzco; but every person who entered the town was immediately arrested, and slain by his generals, who held the town under martial law.

The Last of the Incas at War

Atahualpa had not been able to forget that the Incas were not willing to recognise his equality, as he was the son of a foreigner; those alone were spared who had favoured him from the outset. But Cuzco was no longer the heart of the kingdom. Atahualpa disliked visiting the scene of his dreadful vengeance; such departments of the government as had to be carried on in Cuzco were undertaken by his officials. He himself made a journey of inspection through the central provinces of the kingdom. But before he had returned from this expedition, news reached him that strangers had landed in the extreme north of his kingdom. These were Pizarro and his following. The Spaniards have often been reproached with their ruthless destruction in the New World of a civilisation which was but little inferior to their own, and afforded the best hopes for future prosperity. The romantic enthusiasm for the manners and customs of the past which possessed men in the first half of our century extended also to the New World. The organisation of the Aztec states, and still more that of the Inca kingdom, appeared to be the ideal of a polity in which king and people, in their mutual relations, had solved with complete success the great difficulty of all political science—namely, to make the freedom and prosperity of individuals exactly correspond with the general good.

Landing of Pizarro in America

It is already sufficiently plain, from what we have said, that such a theory is refuted by an examination of the actual conditions of the Inca kingdom. Undoubtedly the Inca state succeeded to a remarkable extent in solving the problem of an extensive state control for the good of each individual subject; but this success was attained only by means of an unparalleled system of surveillance which reduced individuals to the position of helpless instruments in the community, and entirely destroyed all personal freedom.

Equally erroneous is the idea that anything remarkable was to be expected from a further development of the ancient American civilisation. Neither the Aztec nor the Inca kingdom represented the highest point of an uninterrupted development. The sites of civilisation in the new continent were the scene of the rise and fall of peoples, of their exodus, and of their immigration even as was the case in wide districts inhabited by uncivilised races, and the rise of a people implied a retrogression in civilisation no less in the New World than in the Old. Both the Aztec and the Inca kingdoms were in their decadence at the time of the Spanish invasion. The Inca kingdom had certainly passed through more than one internal dynastic revolution without receiving any important check to its development. But it would not so easily have survived the revolution which must have followed upon the fall of the Inca race—a fall brought about by the passionate hatred of Atahualpa.

The Decadence of Aztec and Inca Civilisations

Moreover, even here the size of the kingdom, in spite of the wonderful centralisation of the government, had almost reached the limits of what was possible at that period. The extraordinarily rapid successes of Cortes and Pizarro, who were able to shatter mighty kingdoms with a handful of hungry adventurers, can be explained only by the fact that both civilisations were in their decadence and bore the germs of destruction within themselves.

THE LURE OF THE GOLDEN EAST

AND HOW IT LED TO WESTERN DISCOVERY

THE ideas prevailing in the fifteenth century as to the formation of the earth's surface left no room for the existence of a new continent; although the learned had withdrawn their opposition to the theory of the earth being round, yet this doctrine had hardly penetrated the minds of the public, and a number of other erroneous ideas still prevailed both in learned and in illiterate circles. Petrus de Alliaco's "Imago Mundi" was still the text book for the science of geography, and no more modern work on this subject could seriously claim precedence over it.

The interest taken in the subject, moreover, remained for a long time very limited. The constructive method of the scholars of the day satisfied people so entirely that they did not consider it worth their while to acquaint themselves practically with that which lay outside their range of experience. Nor, indeed, was it eventually the science of the time from which proceeded that impulse which in its final consequences led to the knowledge by mankind of the habitable globe.

The Crusades as an Aid to Knowledge

Even the Crusades, which were undoubtedly an important factor in the extension of man's knowledge of the earth and of its inhabitants, affected that knowledge only within the limits of the world as it was already known through the traditions of antiquity. The Crusades might, indeed, serve to render such knowledge more real, and to reconnect those threads which had been severed by the events of the intermediate centuries; but they neither chiefly nor directly enlarged the stock of geographical knowledge. Such a knowledge was, however, evolved by the more intimate contact between the Christian and Mohammedan civilisations which the Crusades had brought about. The teaching of Mohammed had then already extended beyond the limits of the world which had been disclosed to previous ages. The brisk intercourse between the holy city of Mecca and all the districts inhabited by the followers of Mohammed, which was the natural consequence of the prophet's precepts in the first instance, not only enriched the knowledge of the Arabs, but also, through them, became the means of its extension in the Old World, and thus gave rise to the first voyages undertaken by two enterprising Italian merchants, Niccolo de Conti and Marco Polo, into the remotest regions of the East.

The First Voyages to the East

The news of the immense wealth of the kingdom of the Great Khan, of the town of Cathay, and of the island of Zipangu—that is to say, in China and Japan—which these travellers had either seen personally or heard from eye-witnesses, gave a powerful stimulus in mercantile circles to the extension of the knowledge, enterprise, and business of the time. This impulse was, moreover, not confined to those circles. The development of closer relations with the East led to the knowledge that Christianity had advanced further than had hitherto been imagined.

In place of the legendary tales of the journeys of the Apostle St. Thomas, who was said to have preached the gospel to the heathen in the Farthest East, came the story of the Christian realm of Prester John, which was reputed to have a remote but

happy and brilliant existence on the other side of that great desert which formed the boundary of the Old World of civilisation. The desire to join hands with these distant fellow believers, and with their help to open up new regions for the spreading of the gospel, which mission in the Old World was continually suffering reverses from Mohammedan rule, was combined with the thirst felt by adventurers and merchants for the fabulous treasures of the East. The first attempts to discover a route to the Indies sprang from these motives. The Italians were the chief originators of such ideas, but the political disruptions of their country proved a hindrance to the carrying out of any extensive enterprises on the part of Italy.

Fabulous Treasures of the East

It was rather the small kingdom of Portugal which, through accidental circumstances, became the focus of these ideas. This kingdom, which on the land side was cut off by the Spanish states, was, both by Nature and by political necessity, dependent on the sea, and a large colony of foreigners, among whom the Italians were numerously represented, quickened the spirit of enterprise of its own people and brought them into contact with all that went on in the wider circles of the civilised world. It was a peculiarly fortunate circumstance that in the person of the infante Henry—to whom posterity has given the name of "the Navigator," although he had scarcely ever been on board a ship—a man arose who brought energy and organising capacity to bear on the efforts to procure for Christianity a wider extension, and for the Old World a more direct connection with the legendary East.

When, at length, such voyages of discovery, originally undertaken entirely on Prince Henry's account, no longer merely involved sacrifices without returning anything save purely theoretical gains, Portuguese vessels pushed farther and farther along the coasts of Africa, at first, entirely at Henry's instigation, taking the course indicated by him, with the definite object of discovering a way to the riches of India and to the land of Prester John. They did not, it is true, attain their goal until after the New World had arisen from the waters of the Atlantic Ocean before the astonished eyes of Columbus and his companions; nevertheless, it was their action as pioneers which alone rendered possible the feat of Columbus.

Prince Henry the Patron of Discovery

Cristoforo Colombo or Colon—or, as we will here call him by his more familiar name, Christopher Columbus—the son of a weaver and innkeeper, Domenico Colombo, by his wife, Susanna Fontanarossa, was born about the year 1447. As his father travelled backward and forward several times between Genoa and Savona, Christopher's birthplace cannot be fixed, for he appears to have looked on both towns as his home. All the pretensions of the numerous other towns are without justification. He was the eldest of Domenico's five children, three brothers and one sister being born after him. The weavers of Genoa had their own guild school, which, no doubt, Christopher attended.

Naturally, the education which he received there was not very advanced, and the knowledge which he acquired in this period—and for those times it was not inconsiderable—was due to his bright intelligence and unusual energy. The boy had early to assist his father in his trade, although he seems to have had but slight inclination for the work, and even after he had succeeded in obtaining a berth on a merchant ship and had made some voyages, on his return home he was again obliged to resume his former occupation. It is certain that up to his twenty-fifth year he had not been able to free himself permanently. In 1474 he disappeared from Genoa, and some years later he reappeared at Lisbon as a sailor, making every endeavour to conceal the fact that he had ever been anything else.

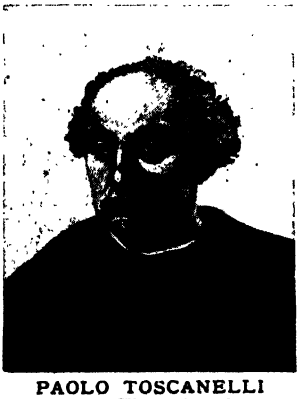
Character of Christopher Columbus

Columbus was not one of those great geniuses who, in the certain consciousness of their own worth, look back upon their path with peace and satisfaction. Like many of his contemporary countrymen, he was an aspirer in whom a fair amount of self-complacency and boastfulness was joined to cleverness and energy—a combination which in hundreds of cases produces a charlatan, and in rare instances a true man. He was ashamed of his low origin and of his humble trade; but if we were to rely only on his own words we should assume that he had been of gentle birth and a sailor from his youth.

As we can prove this to have been untrue, we may also doubt his alleged naval achievements. It is quite possible that he sailed across the Mediterranean Sea as far as the Levant, and had seen the

harbours on the coasts of the Atlantic, from England on the north to the coasts of Guinea on the south—the southern limit of the Portuguese voyages. Evidently he did not always sail as a peaceful merchant, for he claims to have gone as a privateer in the service of King René, which must have been about the year 1472, when René supported the rebellious people of Barcelona; and in 1476 he is said to have been shipwrecked on the Portuguese coast at the time when the Venetian gondoliers were engaged in severe battles with the dreaded French pirate Coullon. His naval activity can, however, have been neither of long duration nor very conspicuous, for the accounts of his career give no time for the former, and the practical proofs of his nautical skill were inadequate to support the idea of long and profound training. Columbus passed a number of uneventful years in Portugal, during which time he married Felipa Moniz, in whose veins the Italian blood of the renowned Perestrello flowed. This connection may possibly have had its influence on the formation of his life. In Portugal he evolved the plan for the western passage to India, and for this purpose the influence which he may have acquired through his wife's relations possibly proved of some use to him. The story that he had received from a dying sailor the secret of the discovery of a whole western continent, as a Christmas legacy at the house of his mother-in-law in the Azores, is so clumsy a fabrication that it is surprising that it has been so long credited. Truly such a gift was not needed to assist Columbus in his plan. The idea that the Indies might be reached by a shorter route by sailing around the globe in a straight westerly direction seemed more feasible to the Portuguese the more their discoveries led them to realise that the African continent stretched itself out in a southerly direction, necessitating a deviation from the eastern course. No doubt, in the first instance, the practicability of a western passage to the Indies was primarily taken into serious consideration by Portuguese circles; and as the opinions of Portuguese sailors were not considered sufficient evidence, the advice of foreign authorities on the cosmography of that region was also obtained. Fernam Martin, the king's confessor, consulted the celebrated physician and cosmographer, Paolo dal Pozzo Toscanelli, concerning this question. Following up this inquiry, the great Florentine drew up a somewhat lengthy document on the practicability of a western passage to Asia. It was this pamphlet that, probably for the first time, gave a chart illustrative of that part of the unexplored world which was to be opened up by the western passage. By means of this letter and the accompanying chart, which later on—probably by illegal means—came into the hands of Columbus, Toscanelli became the actual originator of the discovery of America. He realised as little, of course, as did Columbus to what results his instructions were destined to lead, but, taking into consideration the almost slavish dependence with which Columbus allowed himself to be guided in his voyage of discovery by the map and directions of Toscanelli, one cannot help crediting the latter with a very considerable share in the solution of the problem of the western passage. Stress must more especially be laid upon this point because Toscanelli's share did not consist of a combination of crude ideas and fatalism which, as in the case of Columbus, might lead an

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS
Born about 1447, Columbus earned undying fame by his discovery of America. From a picture painted in the fifteenth century.



PAOLO TOSCANELLI
A celebrated Florentine physician and cosmographer, he prepared a document on the practicability of a western passage to Asia, and by following his directions Columbus discovered America.

adventurer to sacrifice his life in the pursuit of a foolhardy idea; it was the result of well-founded and careful scientific research, which, though not proving to be absolutely correct, was nevertheless, in its principles, completely justified. Columbus's whole plan probably first originated through his having received information of Toscanelli's statements, and then in his adopting and giving out these views as his own. Such an origin of the plan nullifies the statement that the account of the voyages of the Icelanders and Esquimaux to the North American continent had influenced the development of Columbus's ideas.

Columbus's Indebtedness to Toscanelli

Columbus certainly maintained that he had penetrated in a northerly direction a hundred miles beyond Thule; but, considering that Thule was by no means an established geographical fact during the fifteenth century, the whole bears the stamp of a swaggering invention. The Arctic archipelago no doubt forms a bridge between the old and the new continents in the extreme north, and we know for certain that a connection, apart from Columbus's achievement, has been established in both directions, from west to east and from east to west, between the inhabitants of both continents, the Esquimaux having penetrated as far as Greenland; the Icelanders, on the other hand, having been driven by east winds to the coasts of northern America.

About 1000 A.D. Leif Eriksen—and some years after, his widow with Thorfinn Karlsevni—founded colonies of Norse Vikings on American soil, which are mentioned in the Northern Sagas. Through unfavourable circumstances, however, these colonies after a few years died out. It is impossible that the northern Scandinavian bards had the slightest idea that Finland and Huitramannaland—for so they called the newly discovered regions—were anything but a continuation of the chain of islands extending from Iceland and Faröe and beyond Greenland, and it is equally improbable that, even if it had reached the ears of Columbus, it would have proved of any significance to the furtherance of his plan for a western passage to the treasures of India.

What Columbus Sought

The sailors' tales were of far greater value, not only to Columbus, but also to the council commissioned by the king to consider the possibility of a western passage. The Atlantic Ocean had cast up on many different parts of the Old World coasts specimens which showed that it also washed a completely different world; and the fact that these objects thrown up were often in good preservation strengthened the idea that the trans-Atlantic distance of the east coast of Asia, which was regarded as the only possible home of these objects, could not be insurmountably great.

The same inference was drawn from the reports of the few travellers who had penetrated as far as the Great Khan. These had purposely somewhat exaggerated the distances, and had unintentionally overrated the deviations from the direct course, so that people had been led to the conviction that the distance from Europe by land to Quinsay and Zaitun must greatly exceed the half circumference of the globe, and accordingly the distance by sea, calculated in the western passage, would prove decidedly less. The great difficulty presenting itself, however, was that the greater part of the passage would have to be traversed without coming in sight of land, and, as a matter of fact, this really meant more than was then assumed. At that time people had indeed dared to attempt to cross the Mediterranean irrespective of the land, all its basins being well known in every direction, and the ships trading between the Mediterranean and Flanders, England and the Baltic countries, sometimes lost sight of land for days; but in general, in crossing the ocean from Guinea to England, the vessels always coasted, for the sailor kept within reach of land in case of threatening danger.

The Dangers of the Unknown Seas

There were supposed to be numerous more or less extensive islands in the Atlantic Ocean, and these were duly entered on the ancient maps. Among these were Antilia, the remnant of the continent whose destruction Plato describes in "Timæus," St. Brandan's Isle, and the Island of the Seven Cities, besides many others. Yet, although they appeared plainly on the maps, the sailors who had for days been driven out of their course on the ocean had never seen more than mere tracts of land on the farthest horizon, which invariably vanished from view on nearer approach. Columbus did not allow himself to be scared by such considerations; though conscious that he might go for

COLUMBUS EXPLAINING HIS PROJECT TO THE MONKS OF LA RABIDA
From the paining by Izquierdo, photo Lacoste

BEFORE THE COUNCIL OF SALAMANCA: COLUMBUS PLEADING HIS CAUSE
Columbus pleaded long and earnestly before he persuaded people to assist him in his maritime expeditions by providing the necessary means. His first assured partisans were the guardians of the Franciscan monastery, La Rabida, at Huelva, and the doctor of the neighbouring little town of Palos, Garcia Fernandez. He pleaded in vain before a learned assembly at Salamanca, and was about to journey abroad, in order to offer his plans to foreign monarchs, when in Queen Isabella he found a staunch friend, whose influence procured him the use of ships for his voyage.
From the painting by Julius Röting

weeks and months without discovering land, he was resolved to navigate the boundless ocean: this was the one peculiarity of his plan, and, above all, it merits recognition and regard.

Columbus's Flight from Portugal

There are no means of ascertaining the truth of Columbus's claim that he urged his project for the western passage upon the King of Portugal during fourteen years. It is, on the contrary, quite certain that he stayed in Portugal for only eight and not for fourteen years, and that during his stay there he was often absent from court for long periods, occupied with other concerns. As a matter of fact, we begin to know more about him and his projects only from the time when he left Portugal.

Neither did Columbus leave voluntarily, but because he had committed an offence for which he could expect only severe punishment. On account of this he deserted his wife and children, and, accompanied solely by his four-year-old son, Diego, fled the country. The nature of his offence is not recorded. Doubtful financial affairs and disputes with the royal officials have been surmised; but probably his crime was more closely connected with his project, for which he had appropriated Toscanelli's letter and chart, the materials most essential to his plan. The commentators of the Toscanelli correspondence have always had to face great difficulties, because the only correct and comprehensible portion is that addressed to Fernam Martin, while the alleged postscript to Columbus, which, as well as the former portion, is known only through a copy by Columbus, is filled with impossibilities.

The Case Against Columbus

Why, then, should not the man who disowned his ancestors and his antecedents, and invented a coat of arms and a noble pedigree for himself, also have invented the postscript to a letter of which Toscanelli is said for years—if Columbus's representations be correct—to have preserved the rough draft, and even to have stupidly kept the address and signature—a thing which Columbus did not even do in his forgery? This is also the explanation why King John was so willing to exempt Columbus from punishment and then assure his return when it became apparent that an attempt was to be made from Spain to carry out the project which John, with his seamen, had privately attempted. The plans of Columbus did not meet with an immediate friendly reception in Spain. He had in this country also to strive with precarious circumstances for some years before he succeeded in gaining a small number of trustworthy followers who, allowing themselves to be convinced by him, assisted in his endeavour to gain a hearing from the king. During this time he made his living by the sale of books and maps, and no doubt, while carrying on this trade, he acquired that singular knowledge of books which, later on, is so prominent in all his writings. An attachment to a young lady of Cordova, Beatrice Enriquez, for a time bound him to the old city of the caliph, but he proved as faithless to his mistress as he had been to his wife.

During the whole of his life he retained an interest in the son whom he had had by her, Fernando Colon, who in course of time became celebrated for his writings and for his library, which are still preserved in Seville. Of his mistress he thought again, and then with remorse, only when, face to face with death, he was making his will. The children did not accompany him on his wanderings. Little Diego was in charge of a brother-in-law in Huelva, and Fernando remained for a time with his mother. It was not until after Columbus had attained his desire of gaining over the Spanish rulers in favour of his voyage of discovery that his sons entered the royal service as pages, and from that time they shared their father's successes and failures.

The First Supporters of the Explorer

The first assured partisans whom Columbus gained for his plans were the guardian of the Franciscan monastery, La Rabida, at Huelva, Fray Juan Perez de Marchena, and the doctor of the neighbouring little town of Palos, Garcia Fernandez. Both voluntarily occupied their leisure hours with cosmographical studies, and when Columbus, during his flight from Portugal, sought shelter in the monastery, a friendship founded on mutual interests soon sprang up between these men, which was to prove of extraordinary value to Columbus in later years.

At that time he travelled on, after a brief sojourn, in order to make his own way independently, but it was many years before he again found anyone else to take so intelligent an interest in his plans, which were then shrouded with fantastic superfluities. Not until the year 1486 did Celi, Duke of Medina, espouse his cause. The duke probably would have entrusted him with a

ship for a trial voyage from his seaport town of Santa Maria, near Cadiz, had not Queen Isabella, in consequence of the duke's reports, manifested her interest and summoned Columbus to the court. The position of Columbus at that time, with his imperfectly constructed and unscientifically formed ideas, was naturally a difficult one in the presence of the ecclesiastical and secular authorities whom Ferdinand and Isabella had assembled at their court. He was universally pronounced to be an Italian boaster, and the proofs which he gave were not considered convincing either in Cordova or in Salamanca, where he was also permitted to explain his plans before a learned assembly.

It so happened that the final removal of the last remnants of Moorish power on the Iberian Peninsula formed the immediate aim of the Spanish ruler, and demanded the consolidation of all the forces of the country hitherto so imperfectly developed.

Columbus Waiting for Assistance

Columbus therefore had to remain satisfied, for although the further consideration of his plans was postponed to a more favourable time, the queen's interest, once aroused in his behalf, was the means of procuring him a yearly allowance. It is true that in his impatience the time of waiting seemed long; and he had already formed the resolution to continue his journey and to offer his plans to other monarchs, when at last a combination of various circumstances brought about the fulfilment of his desire, which meanwhile had grown into a fixed idea. He returned to the monastery, La Rabida, with the intention of fetching his son Diego from Huelva, and then travelling to France.

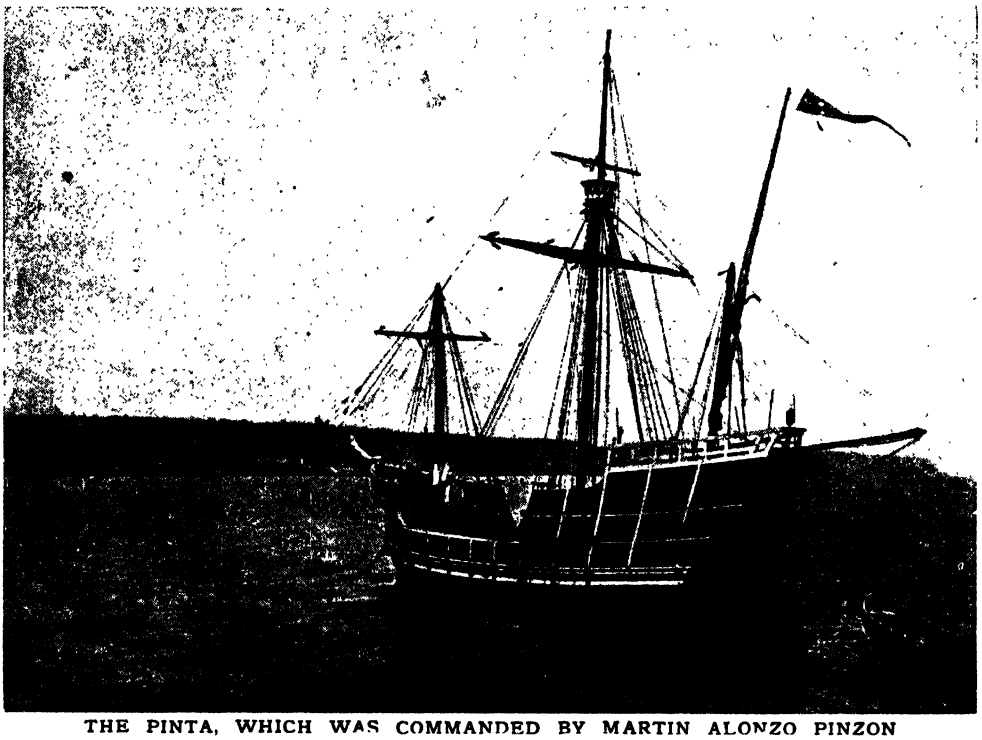
His friends there were so impressed by his projects, which in the course of the negotiations had gained much in clearness and distinctness, that the warden invited him to remain while he made another and final attempt on his behalf. Fray Juan Perez de Marchena had in former years been father-confessor to the queen, and on the strength of this he undertook to press Columbus's enterprise most warmly upon her attention. The words of the priest fell upon fruitful soil. His message reached the queen while in the camp of Santa Fé before the Moorish capital of Granada, just at the time when the fall of the last hostile bastion and the final consummation of the great life-work of the Spanish nation was looked forward to with feelings of exultation. Columbus was once more summoned to the court, and received the assurance that after the fall of Granada he should be provided with means for his attempt. He arrived in time to witness the removal of the crescent from the towers of the Alhambra, and the substitution of the cross, which, shining from afar, was raised on the Moorish citadel. In spite of all, the negotiations were, at the last moment, almost frustrated.

The Mighty Ambitions of the Explorer

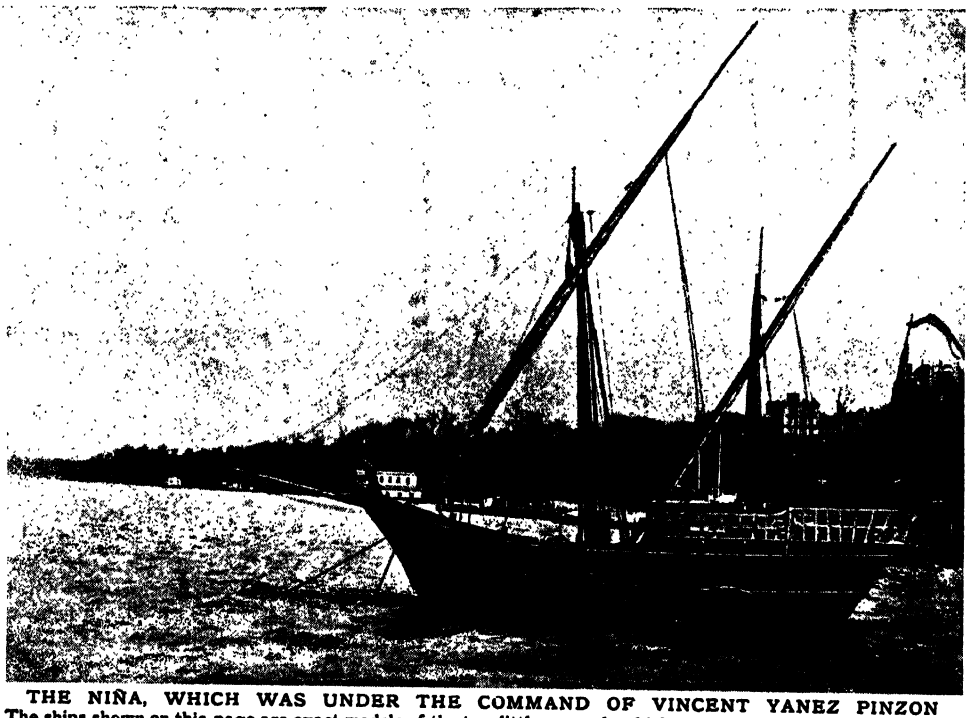
Columbus's plans had seemed so sure to his own mind that he, penurious adventurer as he was, conducted himself as though he had kingdoms to give away, and made demands on his own behalf which, if he were to attain his object, would make him richer than the rulers from whom he was now obliged to beg a few hundred pounds. He not only desired a certain share for all time in all the material gain which might accrue through his discoveries, but he also claimed for himself and his descendants the hereditary dignity of a royal admiral over the entire ocean, besides the position of a vice-king in all lands which might be added to the kingdom through his discoveries.

King Ferdinand was particularly enraged by this presumption. All transactions were broken off, and Columbus left the camp; but in spite of this, Queen Isabella prevailed upon her husband to agree to the conditions imposed by this extraordinary man. The treaty was drawn up to meet Columbus's demands, and the town of Palos, which was by chance under the obligation of providing certain ships for the royal service, received the order to place them at Columbus's disposal.

The Help of Queen Isabella



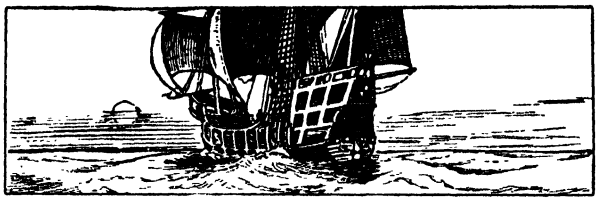
THE PINTA, WHICH WAS COMMANDED BY MARTIN ALONZO PINZON



THE NIÑA, WHICH WAS UNDER THE COMMAND OF VINCENT YANEZ PINZON

The ships shown on this page are exact models of the two little caravels which accompanied the Santa Maria on her famous voyage of discovery, and give an excellent idea of the style and size of the tiny vessels which braved the waters of the Atlantic. In 1892 these models set out from Palos to America, following the same route as that taken by the great admiral himself four hundred years before, and were exhibited at the World's Fair at Chicago.

COLUMBUS'S FAMOUS VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY



THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA

THE THREE FAMOUS VOYAGES OF COLUMBUS

NEVERTHELESS, all difficulties were not yet overcome. Columbus had to bind himself, on his part, to share the cost, for which he, at that time, actually did not possess the means; and the manning of the three vessels caused considerable difficulties as soon as their destination became known. By interesting the influential naval family of Pinzon, at Palos, in his plans, and gaining their material support for the undertaking by promising them a share of his chartered rights, he succeeded in fitting out and manning the ships for the daring voyage. The little fleet—consisting of the Santa Maria, piloted by Columbus himself; the Pinta, under Martin Alonzo Pinzon; and the Niña, with Vincent Yanez Pinzon—was able to put to sea on August 3rd, 1492. These caravels of Columbus were not large vessels—the Santa Maria had a tonnage of only 120; the Pinta, 100; and the Niña, 80—but they proved so exceptionally fitted for the special purpose of these voyages that they were soon after regarded as models when the much larger vessels which had been employed during the first delirium of success proved to give inferior results.

Start of the Famous Voyage

Columbus had taken Toscanelli's chart on board as part of his equipment, and treated it with the absolute and blind faith of a fanatic. After having lost almost three weeks on the Canary Islands while making necessary repairs, he sailed out into the unknown ocean on September 6th. Thence he took a decidedly westerly course, and he was so firmly convinced of its correctness that he would not permit himself to be diverted from this route even by apparent signs of the nearness of land, although he believed they coincided absolutely with Toscanelli's calculations on the chart. He kept a double record of the distance traversed, in order that the sailors should not become fully conscious of the adventurous nature of the voyage. In the public one he purposely minimised the distances; while in the private one, for his own use, his course followed the chart in order that he might ascertain the position of the land. In spite of all, he was not able to keep the courage of his ignorant sailors unshaken. He had reached the region of the monsoons, and the fact that a strong wind from the east swelled the sails day by day without bringing a sight of the daily promised land made the inexperienced men anxious about the possibility of their return. More than once their fear took the form of animosity against the unknown stranger, who proudly boasted of his authority and was by no means remarkably fitted for seafaring life.

The Trials of the Fateful Voyage

His heart gradually grew heavy, as, morning after morning, the waste of water sparkled with unceasing monotony in the rays of the rising sun. But he did not lose courage or hope, and although the pilots of the other vessels began to lose faith in his ultimate success, they stood firmly by their admiral and assisted him in suppressing the attempts at insubordination which were not infrequent among the crew of the Santa Maria. At last, at the beginning of October, the signs which announced to the sailors the approach of land began to increase, and Columbus impressed on the look-out man the necessity for special care, promising a reward to the one who should first sight the land. During the twilight of October 11th Columbus and several others believed they saw lights across the water in the distance; but night approached before a shot from the Pinta in the lead gave the sign that land had actually been sighted. The sails were hurriedly furled and the course altered, but a whole long night withheld from the expectant sailors the final certainty that the land which had so often been announced, only to vanish once more, was this time no phantom.

Land in Sight at Last

In the dawn of October 12th, 1492, Columbus and his companions saw a fairly large and well-wooded island rising from the sea; and before they had manned the boats and gained the island, they had been noticed from its shore. Brown, scantily clad men and women watched the approach of the strangers with unmistakable astonishment, and when the land was reached they proved to be good-natured and harmless people, though practically uncivilised, leading a miserable existence as fishermen and hunters. The land was the island of Guanahani (the modern Watling Island), and its inhabitants, whom the Spaniards, in their conviction that the eastern end of Asia had been reached, had called "Indios," were the Aruac Indians, who had not yet been supplanted by the Caribs.

Where Columbus First Landed

Al hough the reality compared unfavourably with the expectations which had been cherished, yet Columbus by the discovery of land had succeeded in his undertaking. Information which he obtained from the natives, in spite of imperfect means of intercourse, showed that this was not an isolated island in the ocean. With solemn public worship he took possession of the land, on behalf of the Catholic rulers of Castile and Aragon, and received the oath of allegiance as viceroy and governor from the crew, who from cowardice and hostility had veered round to the opposite extreme.

During the next few days almost every hour brought fresh surprises. After the ships had run up to a series of small islands, a larger expanse of land, the eastern end of Cuba, was sighted on October 28th, and was called by Columbus Isla Fernandina. After following up the coast in a westerly direction for some days without reaching its termination, he returned to the first anchorage, sailed round the eastern point, and, taking a south-easterly course, came upon a second expanse of land, to which he gave the name of Hispaniola. The novelty of the impressions received, and the tropical luxuriance of Nature, easily tempted the discoverers to disregard the fact that they had not discovered the slightest trace of the great commercial towns of Eastern Asia, Zaitun, and Quinsay, which they had set out to find. When, in addition to this, the discovery of gold was made by the aid of the inhabitants of Hispaniola, Columbus was far more anxious to return to Spain, in order that he might bask in the sunshine of the triumph consequent upon success, than to prosecute his discoveries.

Discovery of Hispaniola

He was not to return, however, without tasting the first drop of bitterness in his cup of happiness. On the morning of November 22nd the Pinta made no reply to the signal from the admiral's ship. Martin Alonzo Pinzon had deserted his superior officer, and had set out in search of adventures on his own responsibility, surmising, from the gestures of the natives, the proximity of a region rich in gold. It was the first instance of self-seeking treachery, which, in the course of colonial explorations, was to be followed by many similar ones. This proved the more unfortunate, as the Santa Maria ran aground and had to be abandoned, and thus the Niña, the smallest of the vessels, alone remained to Columbus for the return voyage.

Strange to say, while preparations were being made for the homeward voyage, the Pinta returned, and the admiral, probably more from prudence than from conviction, accepted Pinzon's excuses; and on January 14th, 1493, he set sail for home, leaving a small company of voluntary settlers behind. Until they reached the Azores the weather proved extraordinarily favourable for the return, but on nearing their native shore the waves again threatened to engulf the secret of the newly discovered continent. The Pinta was driven far towards the north, and finally entered Vigo harbour. Columbus, having escaped the dangers of the storm, arrived at Lisbon, and had the proud satisfaction of flying the colours of Castile on entering the royal harbour of that king whose belief in his now brilliantly vindicated plans he had failed to gain. His journey to the Spanish court, which was then at Barcelona, resembled a triumphal procession across the kingdom, and he stood in triumph before the rulers from whom he had previously departed as a beggar.

Columbus Returns in Triumph

Preparations for a second voyage across the ocean, planned on a much larger scale, were begun almost at once after Columbus's landing. Whereas for the first voyage the great difficulty had been to raise a sufficient number of sailors, in this case it was to know how to select the right men from among the thousands who were anxious to go. The first regulations for

COLUMBUS TAKING LEAVE OF THE PRIOR OF LA RABIDA ON HIS VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY TO THE UNKNOWN WEST

From the painting by R. Balaca, photo by Lacoste

the ordering of the colonisation date from the rules then drawn up. On September 25th a fleet consisting of seventeen large vessels, with more than 1,500 men on board, sailed from Seville for the newly discovered land, and was, as in the first instance, favoured by splendid weather. They first reached the island of Dominica by a slightly different course, and then, passing many new islands, they arrived at Hispaniola. Here, however, disenchantments began. The colonists who had remained behind had failed to maintain friendly relations with the natives, whose animosity they had aroused by their brutality, and through their recklessness they had succumbed to a man. Columbus, in order to lessen the impression that this news might make on the new arrivals, chose a different position for the founding of a permanent colony.

Fate of the First Spanish Colony

The first town on the soil of the New World received the name of Isabella, and through the united exertions of the colonists it rapidly rose above the ground. Not until after Bartholomew Colon had removed the colony and deserted the old town was the name of San Domingo given to the now existing capital. In spite of everything done, most of the settlers were filled with disappointment; they found neither treasures nor riches, and the reward of each man's work and duty seemed likely to be reaped only by future generations. The reports of those who returned home, therefore, sounded anything but encouraging. The value of the new discovery was doubted more and more, and the general feeling of enthusiasm which among all classes of society had preceded Columbus's second voyage was probably never again manifest during the entire history of Spanish colonial enterprise.

Having established a firm footing on Hispaniola, the admiral himself started out for fresh discoveries. As the coast of Cuba had been followed for weeks without its farthest point being reached, Columbus felt convinced that he had arrived at the Asiatic continent, and he thereupon drew up an authentic report which later on was frequently turned into ridicule. On his return to San Domingo he found that public opinion had quite changed. His authority among the disillusioned colonists was greatly shaken, and was still more weakened by the influence of the news of the failure of his latest expedition to discover any rich, populous and civilised regions, such as were believed to exist in Eastern Asia. Further reinforcements led by his brother Bartholomew also brought him the news from home that his reputation at court had suffered. When, in addition to all this, discord and rebellion broke out among the colonists, he deemed it advisable to retreat, and to return to Spain, in order to vindicate himself.

Columbus Mistaken in his Discovery

This time Columbus was able to leave his brother as his substitute at the head of the youthful colony; and as the latter, of all the brothers, possessed the greatest administrative talent, the admiral could cherish the hope that no such dire consequences would threaten the second colony as those that befell the first on his previous departure. When, without serious difficulty, he had succeeded, before the court of the Spanish rulers, in disproving the charges against him and had justified his actions, the government again placed three ships at his disposal, and he could not resist the desire to start once more with them on a voyage of discovery. On this third occasion he kept farther to the south than during his previous attempts, and, coming in touch with only a few islands, he reached the coast of the continent of South America just where it takes a decidedly western course. He followed it up for some distance, but at the highest point of the island Margarita he turned towards the north, more especially because he was himself ailing and in need of rest.

The Third Voyage to America

After a more or less uneventful voyage around the islands of the Antilles he arrived safely at Hispaniola. As proof of how vague and unscientific Columbus's cosmological observations were, is his report of his discoveries. In this, led astray by the huge quantity of pure water which the torrent of the Orinoco carries far into the Caribbean Sea, he gave himself up to the most fantastic speculations, believing that he had arrived at the environs of Paradise, and that his mission as the bringer of salvation appointed by God had been visibly established.

Bartholomew Colon had, during his brother's absence, held the reins of government with a firm hand, though he succeeded only in a measure in maintaining peace and order by banishing the most insubordinate members from the colony. Soon all those who for any reason whatever

were dissatisfied with Colon's government had joined them, and Columbus actually found two hostile camps in place of his peaceful settlement. But the means which he employed to put an end to this state of affairs were the most unfortunate that he could have chosen. He drew up a covenant with the dissatisfied, and he certainly achieved the return of these doubtful factors to his dominion not merely by pardoning the leaders, but by re-establishing them in the positions which they had forfeited through their own fault. By doing this he irretrievably lost the confidence of those who desired the re-establishment of law and order. While, therefore, one party forced him to make concession after concession, and so led him further from the paths of justice, the other party refused him their support, and turned with complaints toward their native land.

Columbus, in the midst of this confusion, was at his wits' end, and finally joined his entreaties to the complaints of the colonists, requesting the Crown to send an official across the ocean with full powers to examine into the administration of the vice-regent and to re-establish law and order in the unsettled colony. Ferdinand entrusted Francesco de Bobadilla with this difficult mission, as he was a man experienced in native administrative affairs, and one who had frequently distinguished himself in the Moorish wars; but he proved by no means the right person to deal with the abnormal circumstances in the colonies.

Hatred of the specially favoured strangers, who possessed almost unlimited power in the colony, but did not always make a just use of it, inspired the malcontents, and no doubt Bobadilla participated in this feeling even before he reached Hispaniola. The full judiciary powers, also, over the vice-regent himself with which he had been accredited by the Spanish ruler without doubt gave him a formal right to deprive Columbus and his brothers of their office. The vice-regent not only submitted unconditionally to the royal decree, but also prevailed upon the less submissive Bartholomew to consent to a similar mode of action. Bobadilla, not content with putting the brothers in chains and transporting them to Spain, confiscated their joint property in the colony in the name of the Crown, and incurred at least the suspicion of party animus, from which he was wholly unable to free himself in spite of the fact of his having inflicted heavy punishments on numerous friends as well as on opponents of the admiral, among whom were many Spaniards. It was a truly humiliating spectacle to behold the man who a few years

THE CLOSE OF A GREAT CAREER: DEATH OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

Dying at Valladolid on May 21st, 1506, the body of Christopher Columbus was first buried within the precincts of the Franciscan monastery at Valladolid, but, at the instigation of his son, it was eventually removed to a small church in Seville, and thence, in 1537, to San Domingo. In 1798 the discoverer's bones were taken to Havana, and laid to rest in the cathedral there. When, however, Spain lost the remainder of her American colonies in the war of 1898, the remains of the great navigator were brought back to Granada and buried close to those of the Roman Catholic sovereigns.

From the painting by F. Ortego

previously had returned in triumph to lay a newly discovered world at the feet of his sovereigns now land in chains to sue for the intervention of those rulers against the official whom they had endowed with their authority to act as vice-regent. The order which was sent immediately to Seville, that Columbus should instantly be set at liberty and despatched to the court with all the honours due to his rank, was as much instigated by gratitude as by justice; and of Bobadilla's recall there could be no doubt. But he had to rest content with the recognition of the validity of all his rights, and to see a new man—the choice of the rulers fell upon Nicolas de Ovando—appointed to conduct the inquiry into the grievances of the colonists, while he himself was strictly forbidden, until further notice, to set foot in the colony.

Columbus Fallen on Evil Days

Columbus was not the man to remain passive while a point of law was being decided which might be most unfavourably misconstrued by his inaction. The sovereigns had already given to others leave to undertake voyages of discovery, in spite of the wording of his contracts and without the knowledge and co-operation of Columbus. The best way in which most securely to preserve his rights of viceregal power over the whole region opened up by his discovery seemed to him to be to take as keen an interest as possible in the exploration of the land, which still presented many enigmas to him. The rulers placed no difficulties in his way, and for the fourth time he was entrusted with vessels fitted out for voyages of discovery—four in number—and in the event of necessity he received permission to run up to Hispaniola, but only on his return. How little attention Columbus paid to his duty is shown by the fact that he sailed almost straight to San Domingo and demanded permission to enter the harbour, a demand which Ovando justly enough refused, as it would most certainly only have tended to endanger the peace which had in a measure been restored.

Columbus Again in America

After he had weathered a severe storm in the shelter of the island—a storm that to his satisfaction had engulfed a number of ships just fitted out for a voyage home, and with them his enemy Bobadilla, because Ovando had not seen fit to pay any attention to his warnings regarding it—he turned to the south-west, reached the Gulf of Honduras, and coasted for months toward the east, the south, and again to the east as far as the Gulf of Darien, where the Central American isthmus joins the southern continent. On this voyage he first heard rumours of another ocean in the west, but as far as Columbus personally was concerned, he only reaped bitter want and privation. These reached their culminating point when the last of the four vessels ran aground on the then uncolonised Jamaica, and he had to wait for months without resources until he succeeded in sending news by a fishing-boat to San Domingo summoning help. When Columbus now actually again set foot in his viceregal residence, he was both mentally and physically too crushed to become a source of danger to the country. He returned to Spain after a short stay and found a fresh blow awaiting him there.

Queen Isabella, to whom he owed the achievement of his first voyage, and who had always proved his kind and sympathetic patroness, was dead, and a dispute for the regency of Castile now arose between King Ferdinand, as husband of the late queen, and his son-in-law, Philip the Handsome, of Burgundy, as the husband of her daughter and heiress, the crazy Joanna. While on the point of paying court to the youthful Philip, to whom Castile deserted when he, contrary to Ferdinand's wish, took over the regency on behalf of his mentally afflicted wife, the heiress to the Castilian throne, Columbus became ill at Valladolid and died there, May 21st, 1506, little noticed and mourned by few. His body in death was destined to be as unresting as he himself had been in life. His corpse, first buried in the Franciscan monastery at Valladolid, was, at the instigation of his natural son Fernando, conveyed to the small church of Santa Maria de las Cuevas in Seville, and thence, in 1537, when his heirs had again been restored to the viceregal administration, to San Domingo.

Death of the Great Discoverer

In 1798, when the Spaniards had to abandon the island of Hispaniola, the discoverer's bones were taken to Havana, and until lately reposed in the cathedral there. When, however, in the war of 1898, Spain lost the remainder of her American colonies, the remains of the great navigator were brought back across the ocean and buried close to the Roman Catholic sovereigns at Granada, the city in which the explorer's hopes were first realised.

THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA

AND THE SPANISH CONQUEST III

THE COMING OF THE CONQUISTADORS

BEGINNING OF THE SPANISH COLONISATION

COLUMBUS had died with the firm conviction that the country which he had discovered formed part of the continent of Asia. Even during his fourth voyage he intimated that there was another ocean on the western coast of the Isthmus of Panama, and this prediction would only have been correct had he found himself on a peninsula of Farther India, whose other coast was washed by the waves of the Indian Ocean. The discoveries of other navigators had already begun, even during his lifetime, to shake this conviction.

While Columbus in 1492 was carrying on the negotiations with the Spanish sovereigns, and was almost despairing of a favourable termination, his brother, Bartholomew, was endeavouring to interest the King of England in the project, and had almost achieved a favourable settlement when he received the news of the success of the Spanish deliberations. He thereupon broke off the negotiations; but Henry VII., whose interest had been fully aroused, soon after empowered another Italian, Giovanni Gabotto—more familiarly known to us as John Cabot—to set out in a westerly direction on a voyage of discovery under the protection of the English flag. In two voyages, which succeeded each other very rapidly, Cabot discovered the part of Northern America reaching from Newfoundland almost down to Florida.

John Cabot Discovers North America

After Columbus's third voyage, several Spanish sailors who had taken part in the admiral's voyages obtained leave to take an independent share in the extension of further discoveries. Among these were Hojeda, with the celebrated and oldest geographer of the New World, Juan de la Cosa, and the Florentine, Amerigo Vespucci, whose clear but unreliable descriptions of his experiences first popularised a knowledge of the New World and gave rise to the idea of calling the new continent by his name. Peralonso Niño and Cristobal Guerra had in the same year (1499) sailed as far as the northern coast of South America, beyond the borders which Columbus had himself reached. Vincente Yañez Pinzon, and after him Diego de Lepe, penetrated to the south as far as Cape St. Augustine, and were the first to discover the delta of the river Amazon. Another accidental discovery, however, proved of greater importance to posterity. On March 19th, 1500, the Portuguese Pedralvarez Cabral had sailed from Lisbon with thirteen ships with the intention of going to the East Indies by way of the Cape of Good Hope, where the Portuguese two years previously had arrived during their voyages of discovery. In order to avoid the dangerous passage along the west coast of Africa he had turned aside in the open ocean far towards the west, and, being driven farther in that direction by easterly winds, he came in sight of the coast of Brazil on April 22nd. After following the coast-line for a time, he took possession of it in the name of his king.

Brazil Claimed by Portugal

This mode of procedure was based on the agreement regarding the settlement of a line of demarcation which had been signed between Spain and Portugal almost immediately after Columbus's discovery. That is to say, the rulers of Portugal had, in order to prevent any legal disputes, made Pope Nicholas V. invest them, at the beginning of their era of active discovery, with all lands which they might discover during their voyages to the south and east. It so happened that Columbus's enterprise was directed towards the same India which, at the time of his first voyage, had not yet been reached by the Portuguese; the Spanish sovereigns therefore hastened, after the return of Columbus, to have their claims also sanctioned by the Pope. This was done in the following manner: Pope Alexander VI. awarded to the Spaniards all the land to the west

Claims Sanctioned by the Pope

of the degree of longitude which extended from pole to pole one hundred miles on the other side of the islands of the Azores, and to the Portuguese all that which was situated to the east. Subsequent negotiations between the interested Powers led to an alteration, the line of division being removed 370 Spanish miles to the west, on the farther side of the Cape Verd Islands. The Spaniards imagined, according to the position of the discoveries at that time, that they were surrendering to the Portuguese at the most some islands in the ocean, whereas they hoped to secure for themselves, by the displacement of the line, vast districts in the unknown eastern part of Asia.

New Territories of Spain and Portugal

Not until the discovery of Cabral was it proved to what extent the South American continent jutted out towards the east as compared with the latitudes reached by Columbus, so that a considerable portion of the newly discovered land belonged thereby to the Portuguese. Moreover, the latter were at first so much occupied with the extension and security of their East Indian territory that they gave but little heed to their western colonial possessions. King Manuel, for state reasons, authorised two voyages in order to gain information about the domains which had devolved on him; but as they did not lead to the discovery of any treasures, either in precious stones or rare spices, he left all subsequent exploration of these countries to the spirit of enterprise in general. During several decades certain Portuguese merchants alone undertook occasional western voyages in order to bring Europe colonial products, especially the highly valuable logwood, "brasil," from which the country in later times received its name.

One of these voyages led to the discovery of the river La Plata in the year 1514; but so trifling was the attention paid by Portugal to events there that the claims of the discoverers were never seriously formulated or protected. The last years of Columbus's life, as well as those following his death, were not taken up so much in new discoveries as with organising colonies in the land which had been acquired. Columbus had personally founded only the one town of San Domingo, on Hispaniola. He was averse to the division of the settlements over the entire island, because he feared that the colonists would thereby be removed from his control, and he deprecated any encroachment on his rights.

The One Town Founded by Columbus

During his last voyage Columbus had determined on a second settlement on the coast of Veragua; but it had to be relinquished almost before it had been decided upon, owing to the hostility of the natives. Nicolas de Ovando, who, not without design, in all questions of organisation advised exactly the opposite to that which Columbus ordered, as being the most serviceable to his own interests, first gave an impetus to the extension of the Spanish colonies in the New World. Not only do a number of new towns on Hispaniola owe their existence to him, but Puerto Rico was at least colonised by his order by Juan Ponce de Leon in 1510. No doubt he would have achieved much more in this direction had not the uncertainty of the colonial conditions of government exercised a deadening influence on him.

During his lifetime Columbus had proposed to King Ferdinand to renounce the enjoyment of his rights on condition that his son Diego should be permitted forthwith to possess them in their entirety. Diego urgently reiterated this demand on the death of his father, and as at first only a few financial concessions were granted to him, and the principal point at issue remained unsettled, he lodged a complaint against the government. Even so the settlement might have been long protracted had not Diego Colon—Columbus—by forming ties of relationship with the ducal house of Alva, gained influential intercessors with King Ferdinand. At any rate, Diego accomplished so much that in 1509 he was again permitted to take over the government of the newly discovered islands, with the title of Royal Governor and Admiral of the Indies. When, in 1511, judgment was passed on his appeal by the Court of First Instance, he was awarded all the official positions, titles, honours and privileges promised to his father in all the countries discovered by him.

The Claims of Columbus's Descendants

Diego Colon was, however, in no wise satisfied with this; he and his descendants had, moreover, for many years been at law with the Crown in order to secure the extension of their claims, not only over all the land which had been discovered by Columbus himself, but also over that which had, in addition to his father's discoveries,

been won for the Spaniards by others. This lawsuit, however, was mixed up with every imaginable sort of unnecessary litigation, which rendered it practically interminable and anything but honourable for either side, so that it lost its actual significance soon after Diego Colon's death in 1526. His legal successor, who was an utter scamp, surrendered the greater part of the prerogatives so that he might extricate himself from all manner of immoral transactions.

After Diego Colon had again attained his viceregal rights, he endeavoured to extend the province which had been secured by actual colonisation; and his first step in this direction was the founding of a Spanish settlement on the island of Cuba by Velasquez, Diego's friend of long standing, who was commissioned to carry it out. Diego, however, experienced the same fate with him as did his father with Martin Alonzo Pinzon. Velasquez undertook the management of the expedition, for which the vice-regent paid the expenses; but no sooner had he established himself in Cuba than he sent reports of his successes direct to the court, representing his achievements in such glowing colours that his authorisation as governor of the island as well as vice-regent, for which he had sued, was not denied to him. The first settlement on the continent also followed close upon the discoveries of Columbus.

Gold on the Coast of Veragua

The eyes of the government, as well as of the lovers of adventure, had been turned to these regions by the gold which he had found in larger quantities on the coast of Veragua. Already in 1508 Alonzo de Hojeda, a veteran explorer, and Diego de Nicuesa had received permission to found two new colonial provinces which were to extend from the Gulf of Uraba to the east, and from ocean to ocean in the west; but their undertakings had been followed by severe misfortune for many years. Not until both leaders had lost their lives through the vicissitudes incidental to their attempts at colonisation was the foundation of a modest settlement achieved on the coast of Darien, receiving the name of Santa Maria la Antigua.

This settlement also might have been ruined, owing to the lack of necessaries and the passive resistance of the natives, if Vasco Nuñez de Balboa had not made a specially suitable leader, who understood how to turn the undertaking into a success. Balboa wanted an accredited legal title for his influential position. While, on the one hand, he turned to Spain in order to have his leaderless companions' selection of himself confirmed, on the other hand he strove to commend himself to the government by some prominent deed. To him, as to Columbus, the Indians had given information about another ocean. The solution of this problem seemed particularly appropriate at a time when the necessity for a farther advance towards the west began to be felt. Partly through his personal ability in managing the Indians, and partly also by the extreme severity with which he met every attempt at insubordination, Nuñez de Balboa succeeded in confining the difficulties incidental to the crossing of the isthmus almost exclusively to bodily hardships and privations, which are unavoidable on a march through sparsely populated and tropically unhealthy forest-land.

De Balboa Discovers the Pacific

Even so he lost many of his followers before he, as the first European, caught sight of the Pacific Ocean from the last mountain range in the west, and was able some days later, on arriving at the coast, to take possession of it and all the islands situated within it. On account of the treasures of gold and pearls which resulted from this expedition, his discovery proved to be highly important. He was not permitted to reap the fruits of his labours, for, before the news of his discovery reached Spain, Pedrarias Davila had sailed as governor of the province of Darien, and by his jealous distrust had prepared a somewhat inglorious end for Balboa.

The country, however—the Isthmus of Panama and the adjoining northern territories—became the oldest most important continental province of the Spanish colonial kingdom, and on account of its treasures it received the name of Castilla del Oro, "Golden Castile." The question whether it was actually the eastern border of the Asiatic continent which Columbus had discovered received the first convincing answer through Balboa's discovery. Although people were soon certain that South America was separated from and different from the well-known regions of Asia, a considerable time elapsed before they were willing to concede the same with regard to the northern half of the American continent. On the whole, the knowledge

Spain's Rich Colonial Kingdom

of South America made far more rapid progress than that of North America. The mediæval superstition that the produce of the soil increased in value the nearer one got to the equator had in this case a distinct influence; and the rivalry between Spain and Portugal, though it was shortly given up, had its share in directing the expeditions of discovery in the direction of the equator. To it we are indebted for the voyages of Amerigo Vespucci (1502) and of Gonzalo Coelho (1503) on the part of Portugal, and for those of Juan Diaz de Solis (1515) on behalf of Spain, which opened up the coasts of South America far beyond the mouth of La Plata. They paved the way for the epoch-making achievement of Fernando de Magalhaês, who, during his search for a south-western passage to the east Asiatic Moluccas, or Spice Islands, which had in the meantime become better known to the Portuguese, sailed through the archipelago at the southern extremity of America.

The Great Discovery of Magalhaês

By actually reaching the Asiatic islands Magalhaês irrefutably exposed Columbus's error and first brought his project to complete realisation. When, after his death, his crew returned home by way of the Cape of Good Hope, the problem of the spherical form of the earth first received a practical solution. This voyage was infinitely more productive of scientific results than the achievement of Columbus.

Up to that time the colonies of the western Indies had hardly fulfilled the hopes which had been centred on their discovery. Many profitable tropical products had been found, and their importation into Spain, as well as the maintenance of the colonists already scattered over extensive tracts of land, who yet depended almost exclusively on their native country for support, had led to tolerably brisk trade intercourse, in which, as the mother country was hardly equal to the whole task of colonisation, the traders of foreign nations took an active part. The colonies had, however, proved by no means profitable to the state. The equipment of so many expeditions, and the establishment of the necessary administrative apparatus at home and abroad, entailed considerable expense. In spite of the attempt which had been made to raise an adequate revenue by means of duties and taxes, among which the royalty of a twentieth part on all ore discovered ranked first, yet these had so far yielded but moderate profits. Auriferous sand had, indeed, been discovered on Hispaniola and Cuba and in several places on the continent, and washing for gold had begun; but, owing to the poor quality of the sand, the labour was by no means combined with large profit.

Spain's Unprofitable Colonies

Moreover, the colonies suffered through this discovery; for the natives, overburdened with hard work, diminished with astonishing rapidity, and already in the first third of the sixteenth century threatened, on the islands first inhabited, to become altogether extinct. The colonists, who sought only to enrich themselves by the gold washings as quickly as possible and at any cost, in order that they might lead an idle life of debauchery, extravagance at home or in the settlements, were another dangerous element in the community.

The government must by no means be held entirely responsible for the fact that this state of affairs afterwards assumed such proportions that the Spanish colonies could even with exaggeration have been described as "mining colonies." Ever since the second voyage of Columbus it had been made a universally binding rule that all vessels conveying emigrants to the new continent should carry with them an equal cargo not only of indigenous cereals and seeds, but also of shrubs, trees, and useful plants for the colonies' experimentation in the various territories.

European Animals in the New World

The European domestic animals, the greater number of which throve in the New World, were first imported by the Spaniards. America possessed but few, and of these not many were productive. The horse not only became, in many districts of America, an almost indispensable possession, but it even propagated through wild breeding. Cattle also throve exceedingly well on American soil; not only did they, as livestock, form one of the most marketable articles for trade in the colonies, but their hides constituted one of the staple commodities for export to Europe.

Nothing, however, increased as rapidly among the Indians as did poultry; after the middle of the century the pioneers of western civilisation were greeted by the crowing of a cock, even in districts where the foot of a European had never been before. Experiments with less simple cultivation had also early been made in the colonies.

THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA

AND THE SPANISH CONQUEST IV

THE SPANIARDS IN MEXICO

THE VICTORIOUS CAMPAIGNS OF CORTES

THE fact that the interest of the government became more and more centred upon the quest for precious ores was chiefly due to the development of the discoveries during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Columbus had ascribed but trifling importance to the encounter with the Yucatan trading bark.

He assumed that because the traders had no ore on board none was to be found in their native country or in the land of their destination. The comparative development of civilisation with which the explorers had here first come in touch thus remained unnoticed. Not until the superficially explored coasts of the Gulf of Mexico had been submitted to a closer examination was this half-forgotten trading nation again discovered, and while the newcomers were following in their track the first of the American fairy-lands was disclosed to the view of Europeans. After Diego Velasquez had, during his personal attempts to colonise Cuba, achieved such important results, it is not surprising that he showed inclination and courage for further enterprise. Not many years after, in 1517, he sent a small fleet, in command of Francisco Fernandez de Cordoba, with orders to coast along the continent and barter with the natives.

Spanish Expeditions in Mexico

The ships reached the peninsula of Yucatan, not far from its south-eastern extremity; then followed it in a northerly and westerly direction, and only turned back on meeting with hostility from the natives. They gave astonishing accounts of massive temples in which the cross was adored side by side with stone idols; of towns in which thousands of people lived, following their respective trades. They also reported that the latter did not go about half-naked, like most of the natives whom they had hitherto come across, but were completely clothed, many wearing rich and costly garments almost like Europeans. These accounts sounded so extremely tempting that Valesquez in the following year decided on sending a second and larger expedition to the same regions, placing his nephew, Juan de Grijalva, at the head. The new fleet sighted land off the island of Cozumel. When the Spaniards found that the coast there extended towards the south, as it did in the west, they were confirmed in their idea that Yucatan must be an island, and they sailed round in the wake of the previous expedition.

Spaniards Trading on the Coast

Not until they had seen the rising land appear behind the coast, while following the yet undiscovered shores of Mexico farther to the north, did they believe that they had reached the mainland. A vessel returned to Cuba with this intelligence. Grijalva himself, with the remainder of the crews, sailed along the entire coast of the Mexican realm, beyond Panuco in the north, trading and gathering information, without, however, venturing to attempt a settlement. For this, on his return, he had to bear serious reproaches from Diego Velasquez, although his mode of action had been in strict accordance with the terms of the instructions he had received.

The remote possibility that someone else might precede and anticipate him in the discovery awakened in Diego Velasquez the most painful anxiety when the rumours of the discoveries by Cordoba and Grijalva had begun to circulate in the colonies. The preparations for the fitting out of a fresh expedition commenced upon the arrival of the first ship, and when Grijalva returned they were carried on with increased energy. Velasquez had already found a leader for this new expedition. His choice had fallen on Fernando Cortes, who, after spending fifteen years in the colonies, where he had gained abundant experience and manifested singular fitness, was alcalde of the capital

Cortes in Command of New Enterprise

Santiago, and one of the most distinguished men of the island. Fernando Cortes is one of the most congenial of all the personalities who have taken part in the extension of the Spanish dominion on American soil. He was descended from a distinguished family of Medellin, had the advantage of a superior education, and had even studied law for two years. Impelled by enthusiasm, he had, in 1504, gone to the newly discovered country, and had accompanied Velasquez during the first colonisation of Cuba, acting for a long time as his private secretary. The prospect of taking part, from that time under better circumstances, in the discovery of a new and promising tract of land was suited both to his temperament and to his desires; and he willingly agreed to share the cost of the expedition out of his own fortune. Velasquez, filled with jealousy, became suspicious of the enthusiasm which Cortes manifested in the affair. Even before the preparations were concluded he repented of his choice of Cortes, and, foolishly enough, allowed this to become apparent; but Cortes was resolved not to be displaced. For this reason he sailed to Trinidad, a western harbour on the island, without awaiting the equipment of his eleven ships. The order which he there received from Velasquez, not to leave until he had joined him for a further conference, served only to hasten him in continuing his journey. He suggested that Cape San Antonio, the western point of Cuba, should be the meeting-place of the fleet.

Velasquez Jealous of Cortes

FERNANDO CORTES
After conquering Mexico, this Spanish soldier developed the mining and agricultural interests of the country, and inaugurated a beneficent system of colonisation.

As the time needed for equipping the vessels threatened to result in dangers for him, he took the risky step of forcibly detaining two ships intended for the conveyance of provisions to Santiago and completed his equipment with their cargo, referring them for payment to Velasquez, whose servant he still nominally was. Cortes was able to put to sea in the middle of February, 1519, with rather more than 400 Europeans on board his eleven ships, with about 200 Indians, sixteen horses, and fourteen guns in addition. It was but a small troop considering all he accomplished with it, although, indeed, it was looked upon at that time as one of the most imposing and powerful forces that had ever been sent forth to found a new colony.

The voyage was at first along a well-known route to Cozumel, and around Yucatan to Tabasco. During the preceding expeditions the explorers had met chiefly with animosity from the natives at the latter place, so Cortes resolved to punish them. A footing had, however, first to be gained by fighting; but with the help of the muskets, and more especially of the guns and horses, the resistance of the people of Tabasco was overcome. Having felt the edge of the Spanish sword, these natives altered their previous demeanour, and, bringing presents, submitted themselves to him. Two further strokes of fortune succeeded this good beginning. A Spaniard was rescued from Indian captivity on the coast of Yucatan, where he had been shipwrecked years before with several companions, of whom he remained the only survivor. His knowledge of the dialects and customs of the country proved most useful to Cortes, more especially during the first part of his enterprise. He received similar assistance at Tabasco. There happened to be an Aztec woman among the twenty slaves whom, besides other things, the natives had presented to Cortes as a peace-offering; and this woman, who received the name of Donna Marina in baptism, rendered most valuable service to Cortes as an interpreter. From her, with whom he had become closely connected as his mistress, he first heard of the kingdom of the Aztecs and of the political conditions which then prevailed there. This information enabled him to form the daring plans for their subjection which he carried into effect with almost inconceivable success. Cortes sailed from Tabasco along the coast as far as the small island of San Juan de Ulloa, and founded not far distant from it the first Spanish colony on American soil, naming it Villarica de la Vera Cruz. He was accorded a friendly reception by the Aztec chiefs on landing. The news of the events in

Cortes Among the Aztecs

CORTES IN MEXICO: A STIRRING EPISODE IN THE SPANISH CAMPAIGN

Receiving costly presents from the Emperor Montezuma II., Cortes sent these to Spain, with reports of his doings, requesting at the same time for himself and his followers the governorship of the country, which he intended to subjugate to the Spanish crown. Then, desiring to be independent of Velasquez, who was associated in the expedition, Cortes, after despatching the best ship to Spain, ordered the destruction of the other vessels, and here he is seen giving orders for the burning of the boats. That accomplished, the followers of Cortes elected him as their commander-in-chief.

From the painting by F. Sans

Tabasco had spread to Montezuma's capital, and opinions as to the reception to be accorded to the strangers had, at the king's council, been very much divided. But the dismay which the defeat of the people of Tabasco had created strengthened their superstitious ideas, according to which Quetzalcoatl was said to have prophesied his return to his people across the eastern ocean. The Spaniards, who had as their attendants the lightning which flashed from the cloud, and the horse which sped along with lightning-like rapidity, seemed to give proof that they were the children of the God of Thunder-clouds and of the Wind. The governor of the coast was therefore ordered to give the strangers a peaceful reception and to meet their demands as far as possible.

The ships, guns, and horses of the Spaniards astonished the natives; but the amazement of the court of Montezuma was still greater, owing to the skill of the Aztec scribe who made faithful sketches of the Spaniards for the illustration of the report sent to the capital. Cortes added a statement to the governor's message, saying that he was the envoy of a great king in the far east, and the bearer of presents to the ruler of Mexico, as well as of a commission which could be delivered only by word of mouth. Montezuma's reply was not long delayed. It was accompanied by costly presents of gold and beautiful feathers; but it was to the effect that Cortes should be satisfied with these gifts and abstain from a personal visit to the capital.

That, however, was not the intention of the Spaniards, nor did the gifts suffice to induce them to decide on a fruitless return. Cortes repeated his request to be permitted to appear before Montezuma, at the same time making preparations for accomplishing his visit to Mexico in spite of the ruler's desire. He looked around for confederates for such a contingency, more especially as the attitude of the Aztec governor at the coast began to assume unmistakable signs of unfriendliness. The Totonacs, who inhabited the neighbouring country along the shore more to the north, and who had but recently submitted reluctantly to the yoke of the Aztecs, had from the beginning been in touch with the Spaniards, and had repeatedly invited them to visit their capital, Cempoalla. Cortes went there with part of his crew, and, returning to Vera Cruz, was

The Totonacs Friendly to the Spaniards

more than satisfied that he could now, with this cover for his line of retreat, safely venture upon a march into the interior. Before all things it was necessary to establish a feeling of unity in his small force. Cortes had no intention of allowing Diego Velasquez to reap the fruits of his labours after the evident signs of animosity which the latter had, at the last, shown towards him; and the majority of his followers were of the same opinion.

Velasquez now himself experienced what he had brought on Diego Colon during the colonisation of Cuba. Cortes sent Montezuma's costly presents straight to Spain with detailed reports, and at the same time demanded for himself and for his followers the governorship of the country, which he intended to subjugate to the Spanish Crown. The pilot, Alaminos, who had directed all the voyages of discovery along this coast, was sent with the best ship, as the bearer of this message, and, in order to prevent any attempt at desertion, the remainder of the fleet was declared to be no longer seaworthy, and was therefore stranded and destroyed. As soon as this had been accomplished, the followers of Cortes declared themselves independent of Velasquez, and again chose Cortes as their commander-in-chief. The followers of Velasquez at least made some show of opposition, but they were defeated by the majority. After the leaders had been severely punished by way of example, the remainder submitted to the inevitable. Cortes, having made sure of his men, started for the interior with a numerous retinue of native Indians. The farther, however, that he advanced, the more urgently Montezuma warned him against this visit to the capital; and as the Spaniards were repeatedly told by the Indians who accompanied them of the treacherous plans which had been laid by order of the Aztec ruler, the explorers advanced in continual anticipation of war. They first met with open hostility on entering Tlazcala's territory. These brave mountaineers, who had for centuries successfully repelled all the attacks of their neighbours, would not now submit to the newcomers. This meant a long and bitter struggle, entailing heavy losses for the Spaniards also, to convince the people of Tlazcala that even their fearless bravery could avail nothing in the face of firearms. They therefore sued for peace and became true and trusty friends of the Spaniards on hearing from the Totonacs that these strangers also entertained anything but friendly feelings for the Aztec ruler, and that they were resolved to put an end to his tyranny in one way or another. After the Spaniards had rested in Tlazcala's territory from the fatigues of the march and battles, and had reinforced their army with additional men from among the Tlazcalas, they resumed their march and first reached Cholula. Here they were again met by Montezuma's messengers, who forbade them to remain and advised their return. Cortes at the same time learned from his Indian confederates that the intention was to attack him and his followers on their departure. In order to anticipate this he seized the hostile ringleaders and gave up the town to his Indian allies to pillage. This they accomplished so thoroughly that even the great pyramid of the Temple of Quetzalcoatl was thrown into a heap of ruins. Montezuma, intimidated, denied all knowledge of the outrage, and did not again venture to oppose the Spaniards.

MONTEZUMA II

Aztec emperor of Mexico, he became a prisoner in the hands of the Spaniards, and was killed by his own subjects for demanding that their enemies should depart unmolested.

Unmolested, they climbed over the mountain ridge of Popocatepetl down into the valley of Mexico, and through the highway leading from Iztapalapan they entered Tenochtitlan, which is washed by the sea. Thousands of the natives stared at them with scarcely less astonishment than they themselves felt at the advanced state of civilisation which they encountered at every step. Montezuma, attended by a numerous retinue, met them almost humbly, and assigned to them as their quarters the palace of his father, which, owing to the thick walls surrounding the

THE SPANISH CONQUEST OF MEXICO THE VICTORY OF CORTES OVER THE AZTECS AT OTUMBA

From the painting by Manuel Ramirez

whole building, was adapted for defence as well as for a dwelling-place. At first the intercourse between the king and the Spaniard was to all appearances quite friendly. Montezuma, nevertheless, with quiet dignity, rejected all attempts at his conversion; on the other hand, he declared his willingness to acknowledge the Emperor Charles V. as his sovereign and to pay him a high tribute in ores and costly materials. Notwithstanding, his mode of dealing was not straightforward. An attack which had in the meantime been made by the Mexicans on the Spaniards remaining at Vera Cruz was proved to have been instigated by Montezuma, and this treachery served the Spaniards as a pretext for compelling the king to move out of his palace into the Spanish quarter, where he was treated more or less as a prisoner. He was forced to do homage to the emperor with solemn ceremony, and had actually to transfer the government to the Spaniards, who, after the suppression of one attempt to raise another descendant of the royal family to the throne as ruler, began to assume the government and administration of the country in an entirely peaceable manner. The transition would have been accomplished without bloodshed if disturbances from without had not intervened.

Montezuma and the Spaniards

Although Alaminos had received orders to sail straight to Spain without touching at the colonial harbours, he could not refrain from stopping at Cuba, though but hurriedly and in secret, to circulate the news of Cortes' extraordinary success. The greater the prize the keener became Velasquez' desire not to allow it to be wrested from him. For this reason he did not content himself with reporting the disloyal conduct of Cortes to Seville, but used every endeavour to fit out a second fleet for an expedition to deprive Cortes of the prize before he could gain a footing in the new country. Panfilo de Narvaez, to whom Velasquez entrusted the duty of humbling Cortes and bringing him back to a sense of obedience, headed a force which, though considerably superior to that of Cortes, yet lacked cohesion. The vice-regent, Diego Colon, had, without infringing the law, absolutely forbidden Velasquez to endanger Cortes' brilliant achievement by a forcible invasion, and the repeated protests of his envoy, who accompanied Narvaez' fleet to Vera Cruz, were not without influence on the crew, whose confidence Narvaez, who was less popular as a man than Cortes, failed to gain by his personal qualities.

Rival Fleets of the Spaniards

To the challenge that the town Villarica should be surrendered to him Cortes' representative replied by sending on the messengers to his commander in Mexico. Cortes, from his personal interviews, soon realised that there would not be much difficulty in drawing the men away from their allegiance to Narvaez. He therefore openly entered into negotiations with him for combined action, based upon a division of the administrative powers; but at the same time he collected all his available military forces and moved hurriedly forward to meet Narvaez, leaving a strong garrison, under Pedro de Alvarado, in the capital. As he had been exceedingly well informed by deserters, he was able to surprise Narvaez during a dark night, meeting with hardly any resistance. When the latter leader, who had lost an eye in the battle, had been taken prisoner, almost the whole force which he had brought with him joined Cortes, only a few, like Narvaez, taking advantage of a permission to return to Cuba. This victory more than doubled Cortes' forces, for Narvaez had brought far more horsemen and riflemen than had Cortes himself.

Cortes and his Army in Danger

Meanwhile, a threatening ferment had begun to show itself in Tenochtitlan immediately after the departure of Cortes, and when, during the celebration of a great festival, Alvarado was informed that the crowds were to be incited to attack the Spaniards and liberate Montezuma, he concluded that it would be highly advisable to anticipate such a stroke, and therefore he attacked the rejoicing multitude and dispersed it after a terrible massacre. The Mexicans now on their part changed to open hostility, and surrounded the Spaniards so closely that Alvarado had to summon Cortes to his aid as quickly as possible.

Cortes hastened to Mexico as soon as he had again reorganised his forces. The Spaniards, of course, perceived everywhere a changed and unfriendly disposition towards them, but as they did not find their movements barred, they were able to join the besieged after a sharp fight. Cortes recognised, when too late, that he had gained nothing thereby, but that instead he had

made the Spaniards' supremacy, which had been won under such difficulty, dependent upon the issue of a single battle. As soon as he entered the town all paths were closed to him, and the reinforced host of Spaniards found themselves now as hopelessly menaced as Alvarado's division had been.

At first the Spaniards attempted to gain the mastery over their adversaries by open fight, and in spite of the fact that they overthrew thousands of the badly armed natives, the latter seemed continually to increase. Cortes thereupon endeavoured to shelter himself under the authority of the imprisoned king, and the appearance of the latter on the battlements of the palace actually led to a short armistice. When Montezuma asserted that he was not a prisoner and commanded that the Spaniards were to be allowed to depart unmolested, then the rage of his subjects turned on him, and he was struck and wounded by so many stones that he died within a few days.

The Tragic Fate of Montezuma

With him vanished the Mexicans' last remnant of consideration for their opponents. It now became evident to Cortes that he would have to get out of the town, cost what it might. The investment by the enemy was so close that it was not even possible to make secret preparations. Each step of the retreat along the causeway over the lake, which was one and a quarter miles long, had to be gained by fighting. Cortes started, hoping thus to lessen the danger. The enemy, having long foreseen such a contingency, were at once prepared, and pressed forward vigorously, fighting from boats on both sides of the causeway, which was broken through in various places, sending a shower of missiles after the retreating men. Cortes had thrown a portable bridge over the first of the three canals that intersected the causeway, which his men actually succeeded in crossing; but by the time the second canal was reached discipline had already been so weakened by the severity of the attack on all sides that the bridge was no longer available; in fact, it had not even been carried forward. The crowd of fugitives now rushed on, over the bodies of those in advance, and when the mainland was at length reached, order was re-established to some extent.

A cypress-tree marks the spot where the rout ended, and is still preserved as a monument of the "noche triste" (sad night). Two-thirds of the Spaniards and an even greater proportion of their native allies had either been killed or taken prisoners there, and the latter were bled to death on the altars of the idols. All the artillery, most of the muskets, and forty-six out of the sixty-seven horses were destroyed. Cortes subsequently despatched only a fifth of the golden treasures as a royalty for the Spanish king, the remainder was handed over to the soldiers; but almost everything had been lost in the terrible fight. Those who had escaped were almost without exception wounded and were in a critical position, for they were still many hundreds of miles from the nearest friendly district.

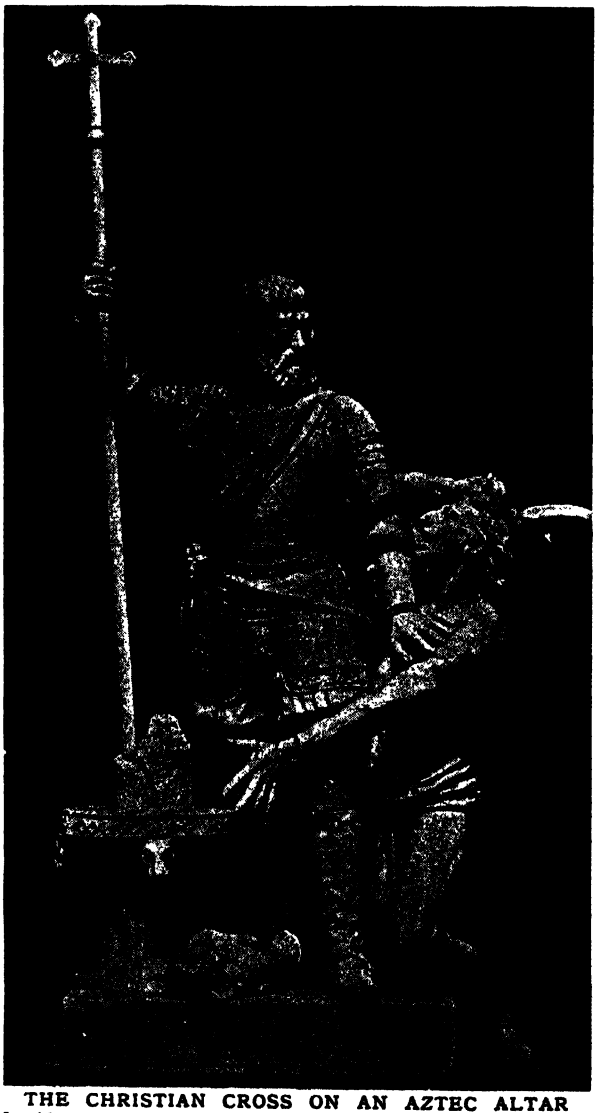
Spanish Prisoners on Aztec Altars

Cortes, thinking that the enemy would have rendered the old road impracticable for him in various ways, marched round the lakes on the northern shore, and actually reached Otumba via Teotihuacan before fresh numbers were added to the pursuing enemy, who intended attacking him in front. There the Spaniards had once more to fight for their lives against an overwhelmingly superior force (Cortes estimated the number of his enemies at 200,000), and the hardly won victory was no doubt due to the circumstance that they were able to kill the enemy's leader in the midst of his warriors. After the battle the Spaniards were, at any rate, able to continue the retreat under less pressure, but not until they entered the territory of Tlazcalan could they consider themselves safe, the Tlazcalans having remained faithful to the covenant which they had made with the Spaniards.

Months passed before the Spaniards had recovered from the terrible fatigues of the retreat, and been so far reinforced by contingents from the islands that Cortes could once more think of taking the offensive. He left the hospitable Tlazcalans during the last weeks of the year 1520, and endeavoured, by the subjection of the neighbouring tribes, to restore the prestige of the Spanish arms. He then attacked Tezcuco, intending to make it the strategic basis from which to prepare for the conquest of the island town of Tenochtitlan. In consequence of the political situation which had been computed by Anahuak, Cortes found confederates at Tezcuco after the banishment of the Aztec governor. Cortes now proved himself to be as good an organiser as he had hitherto been a

Cortes as an Organiser

leader. While carrying on the war against the coast towns, chiefly with the aid of his allies, who were in command of small Spanish divisions, he made a canal from Tezcuco to the Gulf of Mexico, and in a practically unassailable position he built a fleet of thirteen ships, which, on the opening of the canal, put to sea, so that he was able to ward off the troublesome invasion of hostile vessels. Attacks on one coast town after another were now undertaken from both land and sea, those towns which commanded the entrance to the canal being the last to fall. As the fleet at the same time gained a decisive victory over the Mexican fleet of boats, which accordingly now no longer existed as a fighting sea force, the Spaniards were in a position to turn to the invasion of the capital itself. Cuitlahuac, the king who had led the battles of the "noche triste," had died in the city after a reign of only four months. He was succeeded by Quauhtemoctzin—Guatemocin—who, as a brave ruler, proved in no wise inferior to him. After a few unsuccessful attacks, the Spaniards had to acknowledge the impossibility of taking the town by storm, but the systematic siege to which they had reluctantly resorted proved both tedious and difficult. Every inch of the ground, as well as every house, was defended with the greatest courage by the natives, who were crowded together in overwhelming numbers in Tenochtitlan; and so long as the entrances to the town on the water side were not completely in the hands of the Spaniards, Cortes' ships were not in a position entirely to prevent provisions from reaching the besieged. In spite of this, the Spaniards advanced slowly but surely, and, after a siege lasting almost ten weeks, succeeded in confining the enemy to a small portion of the town by pulling down the surrounding houses, so as to ensure the deployment, during the battle, of the artillery and cavalry which largely formed the Spanish strength. Quauhtemoctzin then, realising the impossibility of holding the starved-out town, attempted to escape by sea, but fell into the hands of the Spaniards. The besieged then also gave up all resistance, and on August 13th, 1521, the heroic defenders quitted the ruins of Tenochtitlan. Immediately after this success, Cortes resumed the activity which had been interrupted by the appearance of Narvaez on the coast. Montezuma's record of taxes enabling him to form as correct an idea as possible of the extent and constitution of the kingdom, he organised the territory and



THE CHRISTIAN CROSS ON AN AZTEC ALTAR
In this reproduction of a beautiful piece of statuary, Cortes, the conqueror of Mexico, is represented placing the Christian Cross on an Aztec altar, supplanting in so doing the native image, greatly to the dismay and indignation of the Mexican chief, who has in vain endeavoured to prevent what to him is an act of sacrilege.
From the statue by Molto y Such

THE SPANIARDS IN MEXICO: BATTLE SCENE FROM AN OLD DRAWING

Of the many battles fought by the Spaniards in Mexico, perhaps the most desperate was that with the inhabitants of Michnacan, towards the middle of the sixteenth century, when the Spanish forces under Cortes were joined by the Tlazcalans, who brought their famous war-dogs to bear upon the struggle. This engagement was the outcome of Indian treachery, which is typified by the figure of a man hanging in the background of the picture. That the battle ended in a victory for the Spaniards and their allies is signified by the mutilated body of an Indian champion in the right-hand corner.

regulated the taxes on this basis. The news of a rich and highly civilised country which had at last been discovered on American soil, and was secured to the Spanish Crown by his energy, proved exceedingly useful to Cortes, for an impetus was thereby given to the desire for emigration such as had not existed since the second voyage of Columbus. The capital of Mexico, which, with his wonted energy, Cortes at once rebuilt, numbered, after a few years, several thousands of inhabitants, and from thence a network of smaller European settlements spread over the whole of Montezuma's territory.

During this period the return of the Victoria, the only ship out of Magalhaês' fleet to complete the voyage around the world by the southern points of America and Africa, had directed attention to the Spice Islands. These were presumably situated within the Spanish sphere of authority; and the question of finding a shorter route than the one discovered by Magalhaês arising, two ships were immediately built at Zacatula, and shortly after began a systematic and careful exploration of the Pacific coast of Mexico.

Cortes for a time indulged in the hope of discovering a passage through Central America. This desire, and the wish to ascertain the southern boundaries of the country conquered by him as quickly as possible—for an invasion from the colonies of Darien might with certainty be expected, in consequence of the impression which his conquests had created—led him to equip two fresh expeditions as soon as circumstances in the interior of the province allowed of such a step. One, under the command of Pedro de Alvarado, advanced from the southern

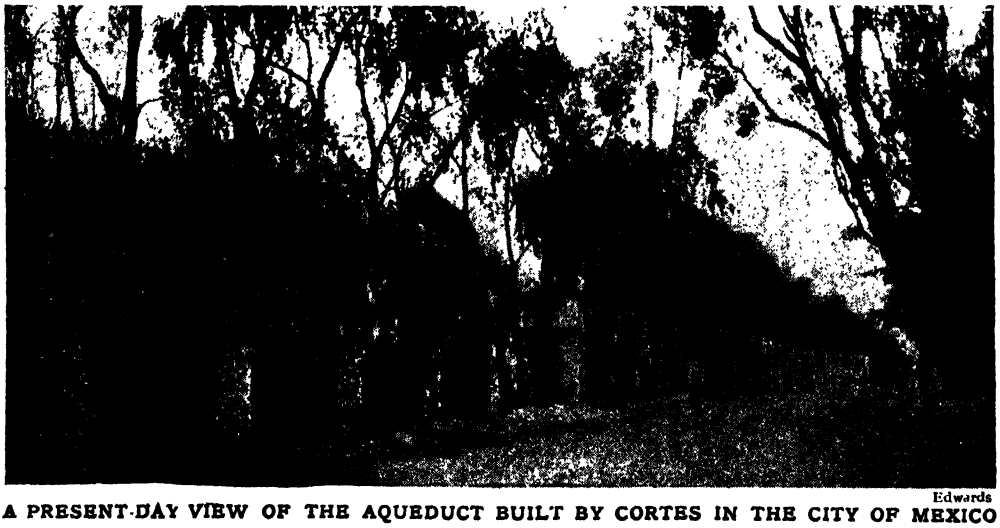
Pacific territories of Mexico into the province of the Maya tribes, who occupied the mountain districts to the north of the Isthmus, which is the Guatemala of today. Alvarado was able to take advantage of the same conditions which had proved of such assistance to Cortes in gaining the victory, and through the jealousies of the various chiefs he was able to incite one tribe against the other.

Though occasionally encountering an obstinate resistance, he was obliged to concede that the bravery of the natives equalled the courage shown at the defence of Tenochtitlan; but they were not able, either here or elsewhere, to hold their own permanently against the Spaniards, and the campaign proved rich not merely in glory but also in material results. The other expedition, which Cortes sent at the same time along the coasts of the Atlantic to the south, was less successful. The leader, Cristobal de Olid, from the beginning gave rise to the suspicion that he intended to serve Cortes in the same manner as the latter had served Velasquez. He had indeed, at Puerto de Caballos, after circumnavigating the peninsula of Yucatan, taken possession of the country in the name of Cortes, and founded a colony which he called Triunfo de la Cruz.

Then he evinced the desire of securing for himself a small territory between Castilla del Oro, now an organised province of Central America, and the Mexican territory belonging to Cortes. He began by attaching to himself all the restless and adventurous elements in both provinces, and with their help he either got rid of or intimidated the conscientious ones. It so happened that several contingents which Cortes had sent after Cristobal de Olid disappeared and never reached their destination, so that the commander-in-chief only heard rumours of his proposed defection. Cortes, however, foresaw no serious danger. His efforts to gain from the king his recognition as governor had not been crowned with entire success; therefore, had Olid, in league with Velasquez, succeeded in establishing himself independently in the south, it would certainly have cost Cortes the greater part, if not the whole, of his governorship.

Cortes, therefore, with the quick determination peculiar to him, quitted Mexico in October, 1524, and sailed along the Atlantic coast as far as Usumacinta. From thence traversing Yucatan where the peninsula joins the mainland, he crossed Lake Isabel and reached Olid's colony on the coast. The object of his journey had been attained before his arrival: Olid had been removed, and the colony had returned to obedience. During his march, passing through considerable regions of unexplored country, Cortes had become acquainted with the towns and countries of the Maya tribes of the east, establishing his claims on this country in such a way that all danger of foreign intervention was removed. The subjection of the peninsula of Yucatan, the seat of the last tribes who still adhered to the ancient, genuine Maya traditions, was not, it is true, seriously attempted until some years later by

Cortes in Unexplored Regions



Edwards

A PRESENT-DAY VIEW OF THE AQUEDUCT BUILT BY CORTES IN THE CITY OF MEXICO

Francisco de Montejo, and it was carried through comparatively slowly and with varying success. After the peninsula had been explored on all sides, both by land and sea, its acquisition was but a question of time, as its principal secrets had been disclosed by Cortes. For a number of years, until new discoveries drew attention in other directions, the "flotas de Yucatan" sailed there from time to time from Seville, bringing back rich treasures. But while Cortes advanced into the jungle to punish the insubordination of his subjects, they boldly held up their heads in the capital. Cortes was looked upon as dead, and his enemies—the energetic, unscrupulous conquistador possessed an abundance of them in men who found that he had not been able to fulfil their exaggerated hopes—were so superior in force that they were soon able to annul the regency which he had instituted, and to seize the reins of government for themselves. This rival government, however, collapsed upon the approach to the town of the returning commander, who in the meantime had been constituted governor and commander-in-chief of the province of New Spain by Charles V. But the germs of discontent which compelled him in 1527 to go over to Spain in order to lay his case personally before the court date from these circumstances. In spite of endless lawsuits he succeeded in acquitting himself well before the Council of the Indies, but, like Columbus, he, too, was not reinstated in his former position. When he returned to Mexico in 1530 he was forced to tolerate a new governor placed immediately over himself, and this weighed heavily on the proud conqueror. During this period he gave a fresh impetus to discoveries in a north-westerly direction. He sent ships along the Pacific coast and also discovered the Bay of California. In the year 1535 he himself once more penetrated far up the coast of the Californian peninsula. Although he was not the discoverer of the desired north-west passage any more than he had previously been the discoverer of Central America, he furthered a knowledge of the truth that North America was not connected with the continent of Asia, even in higher latitudes. Long before the middle of the century the Spaniards had also pushed on far into the interior of the regions to the north-west of Mexico. Nuño de Guzman had, in addition to the subjection of the northern districts of the Aztec kingdom, advanced, in 1530, into the subsequent New Galicia—the provinces Durango and Sinaloa of to-day—with an army composed of Spanish and Indian warriors. Rumours of towns rich in gold had enticed him to these districts. They received apparent confirmation when a few of the followers of Fernando de Soto, who had gone from Florida straight through the southern provinces of the United States as far as Texas and Mexico, told of colonies where the houses were many storeys high and where life was even as gay and as luxurious as in Mexico itself. They called the largest of these towns Eibola. It became the goal of an expedition which Juan Vasquez de Coronado undertook in 1535 from Culiacan in a north-westerly direction. After he and his companions had, with many struggles and privations, wandered through the arid regions between the Great Colorado and the Rio Grande, they did, in fact, arrive at the towns of the Pueblo Indians, which had umistakably given rise to the rumours, but they failed to discover the reported treasures in possession of the homely husbandmen of Zuñi, Walpi, and Moqui, even as they had failed to find Nuño de Guzman. The reputed City of Gold now received a new name.

The Proud Conqueror Superseded

Where Life was Gay and Luxurious

FERNANDO DE SOTO
A Spanish discoverer, he greatly distinguished himself in the Nicaragua expedition and in the conquest of Peru, being subsequently appointed governor of Cuba.

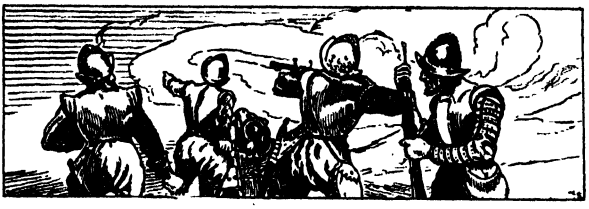
Even after many centuries the phantom of the treasures of Quivira still lured the Spaniards into the desert prairie land of the Llano Estacado. The Spanish power, in reaching the Pueblo towns, had practically attained its northern boundary, beyond which it advanced only indirectly during the nineteenth century, when the opening of the Far West set in motion on all sides a great stream of immigrants for California.

PIZARRO DESCRIBING TO CHARLES V. OF SPAIN THE TEMPTING RICHES OF PERU

Immediately after the discovery of America by Columbus, the golden land of the Indian tribes who inhabited Peru held a strange fascination for Spanish adventurers, of whom at once the most unscrupulous and the most brilliant was Francisco Pizarro, an erstwhile pig-tender of Estremadura. Returning to Spain after one voyage with a glowing account of the Inca kingdom, with its reputed wealth of gold and other precious minerals, he found no difficulty in persuading Charles V. to grant him the exploring rights for the conquest of the new province.

From the painting by Lizcano

THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA



AND THE SPANISH CONQUEST V

THE SPANISH CONQUEST OF PERU

PIZARRO'S BRUTAL METHODS WITH THE INCAS

NOT only had new life been infused into emigration by the achievements of Cortes, but they had also inspired the desire for fresh discoveries. The Council of the Indies had never previously been so occupied with requests for permission to make fresh attempts at colonisation as during the years subsequent to the conquest of Mexico. There was now no longer any need for the government officially to continue exploration in the new regions of the world; the enterprising spirit of its subjects competed for pre-eminence in the matter of discoveries.

Of course, all the adventures for which the Council of the Indies had granted concessions were not actually undertaken, while some, again, proved such absolute failures that the holders renounced their claims within a short time, and even colonies which, like Santa Marta, had subsisted for a number of years, had occasionally declined so rapidly that they required to be completely reconstituted. Even though vast tracts of land on the confines of the Spanish colonies remained for more than a century still unreclaimed—tracts over which the Spaniards were never in a position to exercise more than a formal claim—yet scarcely an unexplored region of larger dimensions was left in the southern half of the New World, with the exception of those lowlands to the south of the river Amazon, which to this day are still almost unknown. In isolated instances the explorers pushed far forward into regions which up to now had not been identified with certainty, because no white man who could give an account of his experiences has ever again advanced so far.

The Spanish Explorations in South America

The Spaniards had presumably heard vague rumours from the Indians in Central America of the existence of rich and powerful states both in the north and also in the south, and when the expansion of the Central American province to the north was closed by the conquest of Mexico, their attention was naturally directed towards the south. The voyages along the Pacific coast had so far resulted only in the knowledge of various races who were in an unusually low state of civilisation, and no doubt it was on that account that so long a time elapsed before the Spaniards guessed at the existence of the country of the Incas. Through a misunderstanding, the name of Peru was again assigned to it. Biru was the name of a small kingdom on the bay of San Miguel, at the south-western end of the isthmus. Balboa had already touched there, and it had been the goal of an expedition which Pascual de Andagoya undertook in 1522. The direct result did not surpass what the expeditions into the regions of Darien had led men to expect. The natives, however, who had by that time become more intelligible, made it clearer than ever to the gold-seeking Spaniards that there existed great kingdoms in the south on the Pacific coast, where they would find the yellow ore in plenty. This news could apply only to the kingdom of the Incas.

Spaniards' Lust for Gold

The assertions of the Indians had made an indelible impression, especially on one of the followers of Andagoya. Francisco Pizarro was an adventurer of the ordinary type. He had tended the pigs at his home in Estremadura, but when still a youth he had, with Hojeda, crossed the ocean in 1508, and had also shared in all the dangers which preceded the founding of the Darien colony. After its annexation he was numbered among the constant participators in all voyages of discovery. In this way he had gained vast experience in all kinds of difficult positions, and manifested throughout quiet but almost inflexible perseverance, which was highly appreciated by his superiors and comrades. While evolving the plan for the discovery of the golden land of the Indians, these same qualifications also proved of immense

Pizarro's Voyages of Discovery

service to him. As his means were insufficient for the equipment of an expedition, in spite of fifteen years' service in the colonies, he turned to the colonists for assistance. Diego del Almagro, a man of the same type as Pizarro, brought him a host of resolute comrades, but, like Pizarro, he did not possess the necessary financial means. These, nevertheless, were also found. The vicar of the church of Panama, Fray Hernando de Luque, not only possessed a small fortune himself, which he was prepared to stake on the undertaking, but his relations with the governor, Pedrarias Davila, and with other notabilities of the colony, made it possible for him to smooth the way for the enterprise in every direction, so that Pizarro was able to make the first advance into the south in 1524.

Pizarro's Gold-seeking Expedition

The result of the expedition was by no means remunerative. Both Pizarro, who had sailed in advance, and Almagro, who followed him some months later, reconnoitred the coast from Panama about halfway up to the northern boundary of the kingdom of the Incas, and gained but little treasure as a reward for great hardships. Pizarro, however, again gave brilliant proofs of his imperturbable powers of endurance. Twice he sent his ship back to Panama, remaining behind on the totally strange coast with a little band of followers; and when he finally decided on a return, it was only with the object of attaining, through personal influence, the equipment for his expedition which seemed indispensable to him for such distances.

The conquest of Peru now became the object of a financial speculation for which a thoroughly business-like agreement was drawn up. Luque and his sureties found the money, while Pizarro and Almagro staked their lives, and the division of the proceeds was regulated accordingly. Not many months after his return Pizarro was able once more to put to sea, this time accompanied by Almagro, in order again to resume the exploration of the coast on the southern spot which had been previously reached. This time, as a result of the better equipment and the more favourable time of year, more rapid progress was made; but, in spite of all, their provisions ran short before they reached the more densely populated regions. Once again reinforcements and provisions had to be procured from Panama, and even thus the expedition threatened to become completely frustrated. Upon hearing the accounts of the disappointed men who returned, the governor decided that a continuation of the undertaking was only a useless waste of money and lives; he therefore sent to Pizarro and his followers on the Isla del Gallo and ordered their return. Pizarro remained immovable, and for seven months held out on the island with only twelve companions, until his partners were in a position to send him a ship and provisions.

Spanish Adventurers in a Plight

With these he energetically resumed his voyage to the south and finally reached the Inca kingdom. He got on friendly terms with the natives of Tumbez on the Gulf of Guayaquil, and was at length able, with his own eyes and ears, to investigate the truth of the rumours circulated by the Indians. The greatness of his discovery actually far exceeded all his hopes and necessitated another return home. This was no task which could be accomplished with the funds provided by his partners, and on this account a basis with extensive capital had to be established. On his return with the news of his discoveries in Panama he had no difficulty in convincing his partners of the necessity for first acquiring in Spain the exploring rights for the conquest of the province, and it became evident to them that he would be the most suitable person to lay this proposition before the Council of the Indies. In the spring of 1528 he travelled over to Seville and presented himself at court. When he returned to Panama, two years later, he carried with him the nominations for himself as "adelantado," for Almagro as commandant, and for Luque the reversion of the first bishopric.

Pizarro at the Court of Spain

Almagro, to be sure, felt that he had been slighted by the unequal division of the honours between him and his partners, but for the moment he was appeased. Apparently on the best of terms, they led a band of about 200 Spaniards towards the south. Even before they reached Tumbez the expedition was strengthened by more than one reinforcement. Their reception by the natives there was again peaceful, the more so as Pizarro delivered them from their hostile neighbours, the inhabitants of the island of Puno, whom, incited thereto by the people of Tumbez, he defeated completely. He there also

heard of the war between the brothers Huascar and Atahualpa, which had just terminated, and of the seeds of discontent which the latter had sown. This information made Pizarro hasten to the scene before the favourable opportunity for intervention had passed. When he had founded a colony—San Miguel—for the adjustment of the trade, he started for the interior, and made straight for the spot where, according to the accounts of the natives, he might expect to find the Inca Atahualpa.

To advance to meet a host of ostensibly 40,000 men, in quite an unknown country, with 168 Spaniards without any confederates, was most foolhardy. The smallness of the number may have been the means of his success, as the Inca-Peruvians did not consider it necessary to place hindrances in his way or to arm themselves for resistance. Atahualpa, on the contrary, seemed almost anxious to make the acquaintance of the Spaniards, to whom he repeatedly sent messengers with presents and an invitation to appear before the Inca. Unmolested, Pizarro climbed up into the mountains from the plains of the coast, and at last reached the town of Cajamarca, near which the army of the Inca was encamped. The town was deserted—a circumstance which was not unwelcome to the Spaniards, enabling them, at any rate, to prepare unnoticed for defence, and also to make arrangements for their attacks. On the day after their arrival Pizarro sent to the camp a small division, composed entirely of horsemen under Hernando de Soto, and through them invited the Inca to honour the Spaniards with a visit. He had arrived at the conviction that it would be foolish to measure the strength of his own forces with those of the Inca in open battle. All his hopes were set on getting possession of the Inca's person, and then, as Cortes had done with great success in Mexico, under cover of his authority, to get the country into his power. Atahualpa evinced unmistakable interest in the appearance of the horsemen, a novel sight for him, though he took scant notice of the message which Soto brought him ostensibly in the name of the Emperor Charles. He promised, however, to appear in Cajamarca on the following day, in order to make the acquaintance of the other Spaniards and of their commander-in-chief. It became evident to Pizarro that the following day would decide the issue of his undertaking, and his suggestion that they should at once fall upon the Peruvians and take Atahualpa a prisoner at the earliest opportunity was received with universal satisfaction. All the preparations for the success of the daring plan were carefully made. With growing impatience the Spaniards watched the greater part of the next day pass without a single person coming within reasonable distance from the camp of the Incas, and they began to fear that, in spite of all the precautions which had been taken, their plan had been discovered. Late in the afternoon, however, a procession began to move towards Cajamarca, and in a moment every Spaniard was at his post. The town seemed deserted when the Inca entered; he was able to proceed as far as the market-place without seeing a soul, and the market, too, was at first empty. When the Inca, carried in an uncovered litter, halted, he was met by a monk, Fray Pedro de Valverde, accompanied by two natives whom Pizarro had enrolled among his followers on his first voyages and had taken to Spain, where they were trained to be interpreters. The monk made the customary speech to the Inca which by command of Charles V. had to be interpreted to the natives each time before force might be used towards them.

The Wily Tactics of Pizarro

Atahualpa Among the Spaniards

FRANCISCO PIZARRO
An adventurer of the ordinary type, he conquered Peru on behalf of Spain, employing the most brutal and cruel methods in his campaigns against the Incas.

Beginning with the creation of the world, he told of the vicariate of the Pope over the globe, and deduced from the papal deed the claim of the Spanish rulers to the obedience of his Indian subjects. Atahualpa listened to the address without change of countenance, and, as Valverde repeatedly referred to

the Bible, which he carried open in his hand, the Inca desired to see the book. Not perceiving anything extraordinary in it, he threw it contemptuously on the ground, after turning over its leaves. It needed only the exclamation of indignation which this conduct evoked from the cleric to give the signal for the attack to the Spaniards, who had been following the proceedings with the keenest interest. The two small field culverins, which had been placed in such a position that they swept the market-place, were discharged; the horsemen, standing near their saddled steeds at the back of the adjacent houses, mounted and dashed forward toward the market-place and the litter of the Inca, knocking down everything which happened to come in their way.

The Inca Taken Prisoner

The musketeers and unmounted warriors at the same time endeavoured to prevent the followers of the Inca, numbering several thousand men, from going to the assistance of the combatants in the market-place. The daring plan was carried out most satisfactorily during the confusion which followed upon the sudden and unexpected attack. As the bearers were thrown down, the Inca fell from the litter and was secured by the Spaniards without injury. His followers undoubtedly fought with great bravery in order to liberate him, but the large expanse of ground which had been most cunningly chosen gave them no opportunity. After a short but cruel and ferocious battle the Peruvians, of whom about 2,000 are said to have been killed, were forced to retire and leave the Inca to his fate.

By the success of this daring feat the conquest of the kingdom of the Inca had practically been accomplished. The tribe dispersed and left the country open to the Spaniards, who, secure under the authority of the Inca, obtained the realisation of all their desires. Atahualpa at once recognised that force could avail nothing. He was treated with every consideration, being waited on by his wives and household, but he was not permitted to leave Cajamarca, where he was lodged in one of the strongest buildings and carefully watched. He hoped to gain his liberation by means of negotiation. When he perceived with what greed the Spaniards fawned for gold and treasures, he offered to fill the room which he inhabited, as high as a man could reach, with gold and silver, on condition that he might be permitted to return to the throne of his ancestors. The Spaniards took care not to reject so good an offer, and watched with delight and astonishment while, at the order of the Inca, the treasures actually poured into Cajamarca from all directions. The doubts which they had at first felt as to the possibility of such a promise ever being fulfilled vanished.

Treasures for the Spaniards

But this did not prevent them from continuing the attempt to conquer the country, which was their goal, by other means. Pizarro had, in the meantime, collected further information about the dispute concerning the succession, and found that Huascar, the rightful Inca, still lived. He was too valuable a tool not to be secured, but Atahualpa did not remain in ignorance of the design. In order to remove his dangerous rival he gave the secret order that Huascar should be immediately executed. He little guessed that in so doing he had sealed his own fate. As the collection of the ransom did not proceed fast enough to please either the Inca or the Spaniards, it was decided to send a contingent to the sanctuary at Pachacamac. Pizarro placed his brother Fernando at the head of this troop, which was the first to penetrate farther into the Inca kingdom. The real object of the expedition was not attained.

Unopposed March of the Spaniards

Fernando Pizarro found the temple practically robbed of its treasures, and could do nothing but destroy the mud idol and replace it by the cross. On his return he again gave glowing accounts of the high state of civilisation and of the excellent administration of the kingdom. His reports were surpassed by those of two other Spaniards who had also pushed on as far as Cuzco with a safe-conduct from the Inca on account of the ransom. Nowhere was the slightest sign of resistance shown, and now, as before, gold flowed into the Inca's room. The sight of such treasures, however, proved too much for the avaricious eyes of the adventurous troop, and even before the ransom was completed a division was decided on.

The amount of gold and silver which had accumulated may be computed from the fact that the royalty for the Spanish king was worth a sum approaching £400. From that time Atahualpa, who now claimed his liberty, was regarded only

CONQUEST AND EXTERMINATION: PIZARRO SEIZING THE INCA OF PERU

The barbarous method of colonisation, by which the inhabitants of a country were driven out or murdered by new conquerors, was employed in the great days of Spain's colonising. The settling of a new land began with wholesale slaughter. The picture, by Millais, shows Pizarro seizing the Inca of Peru and putting the natives to the sword.

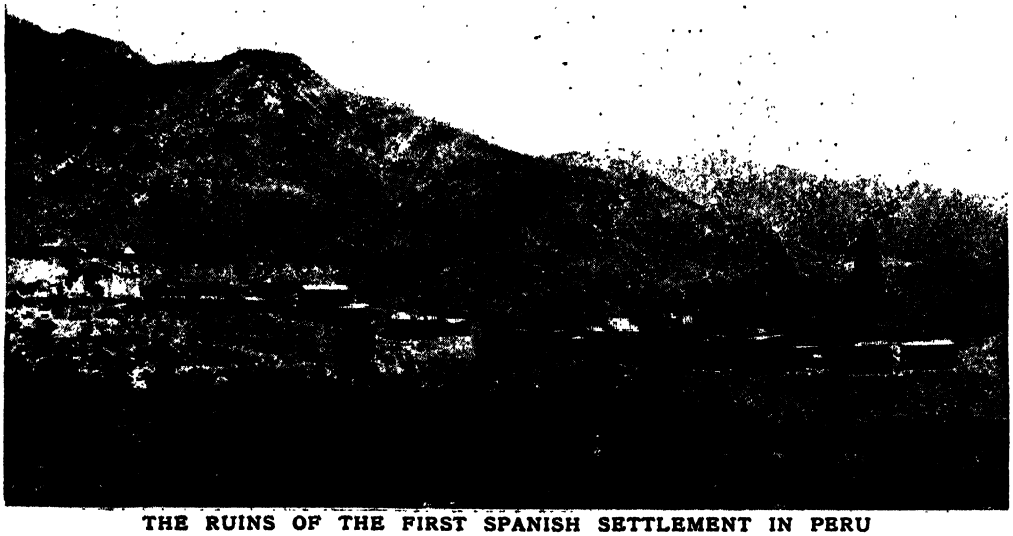
as an encumbrance. The strength of the Spaniards had been almost doubled by the addition of considerable reinforcements brought by Almagro. Upon the advice of several of his followers Pizarro put Atahualpa on his trial as a usurper and fratricide, and ordered his execution; he then nominated another member of the royal family as Inca, in order to secure the continued obedience of the natives. This object was, however, only partially attained. After the death of both Inca kings the bond of obedience was severed in this realm also. The natives withdrew more and more from the Spaniards, and at times even showed open hostility.

Atahualpa Executed by the Spaniards

Pizarro then decided upon leaving Cajamarca. He led the main force towards the south in order to occupy the capital, Cuzco, and at the same time sent a smaller troop, under the command of Benalcazar, in a northerly direction to take possession of Atahualpa's capital and with it the kingdom of Quito. This was a very important step, as the report of the treasures of Peru had already aroused the envy of other Spaniards. Pedro de Alvarado, Cortes's confederate in the conquest of Mexico, and now governor of Guatemala, arrived in Peru some weeks later, accompanied by a host of adventurers, with the avowed intention of securing for himself in Quito a wealthier dominion than the one he had found in the north. The spectacle presented by Cortes and Narvaez in Mexico was almost repeated here, though Alvarado showed less consideration. He entered into negotiations with Pizarro and Almagro, and finally transferred the whole equipment to them in consideration of an indemnity; which agreement was accepted by his confederates, for the kingdom of the Inca was large and rich enough to hold out the prospect of further spoils for them also.

Up till then the Spaniards only once had to draw sword. Pizarro found, when pushing on to Cuzco, that the way was barred by a hostile force which only retreated after heavy fighting wherein the Spaniards suffered great losses. They were, however, again able to establish themselves without resistance and founded a Spanish colony in Cuzco, but Pizarro did not again constitute it the capital. Its position in the south-east of the realm and its distance from the coast precluded it from becoming a suitable spot for Spanish purposes. The arrival of Alvarado necessitated Pizarro's hasty return to the coast, and there the future seat of the provincial government was established—the modern Lima, on the river Rimac, the Ciudad de los Reyes. The continual reinforcements which Pizarro's forces were continually receiving placed him in the enviable position to continue his discoveries in every possible direction, and soon to push beyond the borders of the old Inca kingdom. Almagro began a series of expeditions, soon after the colonisation of Cuzco, by advancing towards the south between the

Pizarro's Further Discoveries



THE RUINS OF THE FIRST SPANISH SETTLEMENT IN PERU

THE FATE OF PIZARRO: ASSASSINATION OF THE CONQUEROR OF PERU

A succession of civil wars broke out in the Peruvian province between the Pizarrists and Almagrists, and during these Almagro was defeated and executed in 1538. Three years later the Almagrists, led by Almagro's son, had their revenge, a party of them falling upon Francisco Pizarro at Lima and assassinating him when he offered resistance.

From the painting by J. Laguna, photo Lacoste

two Cordilleras, through the present Bolivia. In doing so, he subjugated without difficulty the provinces round the lake of Titicaca, and then marched on over the mountains towards the south, enduring untold hardships, cold and hunger finally necessitating the risk of crossing the icy crest of the western Cordilleras in order to regain the less impracticable coast. He followed it beyond Coquimbo, in the region of Copiapo. On his return along the seashore, he had once more to undergo the severest privations in the desert of Atacama. In spite of all this the only gain from his expedition was the exploration of a great part of modern Chili, and the conviction that there were no treasures there which could be carried away with ease. Almagro returned just in time to rescue the Spaniards in Cuzco from a great danger. The Inca whom Pizarro had nominated in Cajamarca had soon after died, and Manco Inca had been made king in his place. The Spaniards, however, not meeting with resistance anywhere from the submissive natives, regarded him as superfluous. They paid so little attention to him that he was easily able to escape from Cuzco into the north-eastern highlands, whence he planned a far-reaching conspiracy against the Spaniards. The weak garrison of Cuzco was surprised and fell into great straits, Fernando Pizarro's impetuous bravery alone saving them from complete destruction. While Almagro had been suffering useless privations in Chili, Spain had at least done him justice, for Charles V. made him governor of a province to the south of the Peruvian kingdom, which extended from a westerly and easterly direction about 750 miles to the south from the river Santiago (in modern Ecuador), to undefined southern latitudes, and Almagro was of the opinion that Cuzco belonged to this province. Fernando Pizarro refused to acknowledge this, and as deliberations led to no decision, Almagro in the end forcibly entered Cuzco and took Fernando Pizarro and his brother Gonzalo prisoners, while Francisco Pizarro made the attempt to liberate the brothers by force. When, however, the contingent which had been sent was also beaten by Almagro, he agreed to negotiations, which he immediately afterwards annulled,

Escape of the Inca King

as his attempts to liberate the brothers had been crowned with success. A succession of civil wars now began in the Peruvian province, which terminated only when all the leading members of the "conquista" had met a cruel end. First Fernando Pizarro engaged in battle with Almagro, and, beating him at Las Salinas, had him executed in a most summary manner. When he returned to Spain, in order to lay his brother's case before the court, he was himself placed on his trial, and it was only because of his imprisonment for life that he survived his brothers. For the purpose of re-establishing justice and order, the Council of the Indies sent the licentiate Vaca de Castro, with supreme authority, to undertake the government of the province. His arrival closed another scene in the cruel drama. Almagro's faction, led by his son, had fallen upon Francisco Pizarro, and slain him when he offered resistance. The younger Almagro had no wish to be nominated to the governorship of the whole of Peru, but he laid claim to at least the southern province which had been assigned to his father.

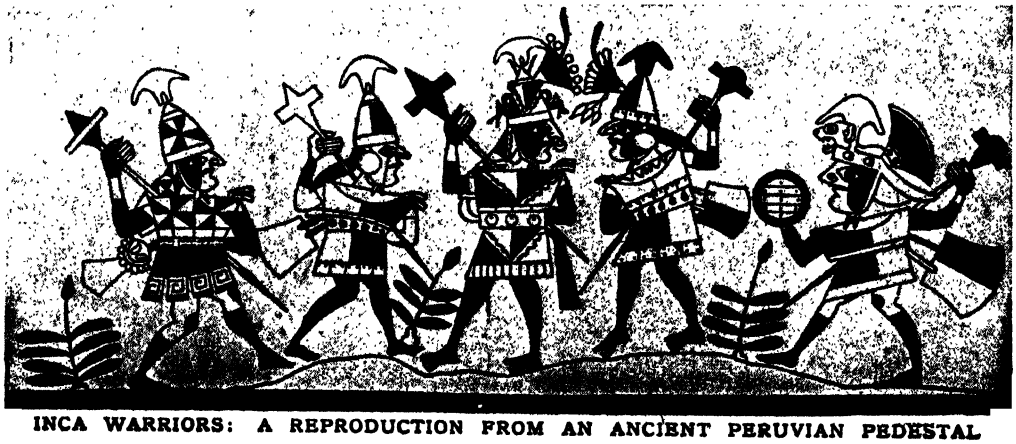
Civil Wars in the Peruvian Province

Upon Vaca de Castro's refusal to grant this, he rose against him, and a large number of the conquistadors were only too ready to follow his leading. Fate, however, did not treat him kindly, for his party suffered a severe defeat in the battle of the Chupas, not far from Huamango, in 1542, and he was himself treacherously delivered over to his opponents and paid the penalty of his mutiny by death. Of the representatives of both conquerors only Pizarro's youngest brother, Gonzalo, still remained at liberty. Since 1540 he had been governor of Quito, and in the battles of Vaco de Castro against Almagro he had remained in faithful allegiance to the former. When, however, in 1544, Blasco Nuñez Vèla was entrusted with the regency—chiefly in order to procure a happier lot for the natives, who, during the period of the fierce party wars, suffered must unjust oppression—he also could not resist temptation. To the rough Peruvian settlers, the protection of the natives seemed synonymous with the loss of their own rights.

Therefore, as Blasco Nuñez showed a great want of tact in the discharge of his commission, even the judges of the Audiencia, the Supreme Court of Lima, joined against the government in the insurrectionary movement of which, at his own instigation, Gonzalo Pizarro was elected leader. The more prudent among the colonists immediately returned to obedience when Blasco Nuñez was followed by Pedro de la Gasca, a priest who proved himself a discreet and energetic successor.

Gonzalo Pizarro became intoxicated by the consciousness of his power, and prolonged his resistance until, thanks to Gasca, his position became untenable and his case hopeless. During the battle which ensued most of his false friends deserted him, and he was taken prisoner, together with the ringleaders of his faction, and was put to death. Gasca, who had reached Panama in 1544 without troops (it was then still subject to Pizarro) in six years established quiet and orderly conditions in Peru for the first time, then asked for a successor, and retired to a monk's cell, from which he had been summoned by the command of Charles V.

Gasca Goes Back to His Monk's Cell



INCA WARRIORS: A REPRODUCTION FROM AN ANCIENT PERUVIAN PEDESTAL

LAST OF THE SPANISH CONQUESTS

THE VAIN SEARCH FOR EL DORADO

FRANCISCO PIZARRO had also turned his attention to the southern province which had been discovered by Almagro. After the execution of his rival he considered it a constituent part of his own governorship, from which he sought to exclude all foreign intervention. For this purpose he despatched an officer, Pedro de Valdivia, his faithful ally, with a commission to usurp governmental power by the establishment of a Spanish colony.

Valdivia chose the same road as Almagro, but during a more favourable time of year, so that though he had to contend less with natural difficulties he came more into contact with the enmity of the natives, who were anything but friendly after their experiences with the Spaniards. The inhabitants of the newly founded town of Santiago led a wretched existence on that account during the first years, although reinforcements were frequently sent there from Peru, especially after rich mines had been discovered and started in the valley of Quillota. Valdivia made use of the reinforcements more especially in order to continue the exploration of the country to the south. Commissioned by him, the Genoese, Pastene, sailed along the coast in the year 1544 until he reached the western outlets of the Straits of Magellan, which had been set as the southern boundary of the province.

The Aruacs' Fight for Independence

When Pedro de la Gasca eventually took over the governorship of Peru he gave Valdivia his continued support, because, during the periods of unrest, the latter had rendered him valuable service. He was then able to continue his advance by land into the more southern regions of the province. The foundation of the town of Concepcion, on the borders of the district inhabited by the warlike Arauca Indians, followed in 1550. The battles with this tribe, which for quite ten years fought with wonderful bravery for its independence, have been celebrated in song by more than one poet. But the heroic deeds which were performed on both sides during this period were quite out of proportion to the reward gained by the Spaniards' victory. This country, which Spain had won with such bloodshed, was certainly fruitful and possessed a good climate, yet the advantages which it offered did not by any means equal those of many other parts of the Spanish colonial kingdom, so that its colonisation and usefulness at first promised to make but very slow progress.

Spanish Advance in America

The Spaniards had, in addition to the conquest of Peru, advanced beyond the borders of the Inca kingdom in two other directions. There is no easier approach from the west coast of America to the vast lowlands of the east than the one to the south of Lake Titicaca, where the eastern Cordilleras extend into a series of moderately high mountain ranges which together surround and break into the highlands of modern Bolivia. Reference has been made in a previous chapter to the great part which this country played as the cradle of the races of primitive times.

By this road also the Incas seem to have carried their conquests beyond the sources of those rivers which flow, some through the Madeira to the Amazon, and some through the Pilcomayo to the La Plata. Almagro came into touch with those regions in 1535, during his expedition to Chili; but their exploration was systematically undertaken a few years afterwards, when Blasco Nuñez Vela, during his short period of office, entrusted the governorship of the provinces of Charcas and Tucuman to Captain Francisco de Rojas. The first explorers passed the immense treasures of Potosi, not suspecting their existence, and pushed on far into the lowlands in a south-easterly direction, through the provinces of Jujuy, Calchaqui, and Catamarca,

Undiscovered Treasures of Potosi

fighting not only with the natives, but frequently quarrelling also among themselves, until at the river Tercero they came upon traces of the Spaniards who had advanced thus far from the east. This completed the transit of the continent.

The First Explorer of the Paraguay

After the Portuguese had, in 1514, discovered the mouth of La Plata, and extended their exploration to the south far beyond it, without, however, attempting to found a settlement there, the Spaniards hastened to secure, by actual usurpation, their claims to these districts in the face of the adjoining kingdom. Diego de Solis was the first to explore a tract of the Paraguay in 1515, but after he had been killed in battle with the natives his followers returned to Spain. Then Sebastian Cabot and Diego Garcia, one after the other, quickly appeared on the river and carried on a lucrative trade with the natives, in consequence of which it received the name of Rio de la Plata —Silver River—but they also were not able to found a settlement. Owing to the reports which they brought back, Pedro de Mendoza undertook the colonisation of these regions in 1534. His fleet of fourteen ships is said to have had no less than 2,000 men on board, who became the progenitors of the Spanish population of the Argentine provinces.

After Mendoza had founded the first colony in Buenos Ayres, and had for months unsuccessfully endeavoured to secure the conditions essential to its continuance, he was discouraged and gave up the attempt. The men, however, whom he had left to carry on the undertaking, understood what was needed in order to vitalise the colony. Ayolas, the first of his deputies, resolutely forsook the low ground down stream, and founded the town of Asuncion, more than 100 miles higher up, at the confluence of the Pilcomayo and the Paraguay, and it became the centre of the gradually developed province. He himself lost his life in the endeavour to extend his explorations farther to the west; but his worthy successor, Domingo de Irala, again took up his plans, and Francisco de Rojas' comrades found traces of his journeys near the Tercero. On a subsequent expédition he advanced from the Upper Paraguay, through the territory of the Chiquitos, as far as the regions which had been colonised from Peru; and though he had again to return thence in obedience to an order from Gasca, the establishment of Santa Cruz de la Sierra as an intermediate station for trade communication between the Atlantic Ocean and Peru is the direct result of his achievements.

Asuncion the Centre of Development

Only one other incident in the earlier history of the colony of La Plata is of importance in connection with the exploration of the South American continent, and this was the arrival there of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, in 1540, to take up the governorship of the province in succession to Pedro de Mendoza. It seemed to him to be an unnecessarily circuitous route to sail first to the south as far as the mouth of the river La Plata, and then again up the river; so he landed with most of his 400 followers opposite the island Santa Caterina, and pushed on from there in a westerly direction through the wooded lowlands as far as Asuncion. It was only due to specially favourable circumstances that the march was accomplished at all, for both he and his followers had to pass through untold struggles and privations, and had, except for the opening up of the country, achieved no results. Some years later, however, when the colonists compelled him to resign his office in favour of Irala and return to Spain, he involuntarily discovered the easier approach by way of Buenos Ayres.

Relations of Spaniards with the Natives

The colony of Asuncion—or Paraguay, as it is more familiarly called—occupied a special position among all the Spanish provinces, because there the Spaniards' relation to the natives developed most unusually. The Spaniards, from the beginning, had been accorded a friendly reception by the Guaranis about Asuncion, and as these terms continued in the future the consequence was that there, more than elsewhere, they married the daughters of the natives. The colonists everywhere made the Indian girls their concubines, especially before the influx of European women had increased. Actual marriages, also, often took place between the various races, more especially with the wives and daughters of the caciques, and resulted in an increase in the number of half-castes. In Paraguay the difficulty the Spaniards had in communicating with their native country, together with exceptionally friendly relations with the natives, combined to produce conditions especially favourable to the crossing of races. An

SOUTH AMERICA IN THE 16TH CENTURY: MAP OF THE SPANISH CONQUESTS AND COLONIES
The conquest of Peru by the Spaniards about the year 1528 marks a new era in the history of South America. Previous to that time the country had been practically immune from invasion by Europeans, and, although large tracts still remained unexplored, it possessed a not inconsiderable population of Indians. The above map shows the Spanish conquests and colonies, and the direction of the routes of exploration in the first half of the sixteenth century.

endeavour has been made, even to quite recent times, to trace the results of these conditions in the peculiar characteristics of the inhabitants of the province and subsequent republic of Paraguay.

Expeditions into the Interior

Just as the La Plata and the Paraguay had in the south suggested to the Spaniards the way from the coast to Peru, so, in like manner, another of the great rivers led them, almost against their will, farther to the north from Peru to the sea. During the few years of peace which succeeded the downfall of Francisco Pizarro, his younger brother, Gonzalo, to whom had fallen the governorship of Quito in the place of Benalcazar, undertook an expedition.

The rumours of a wealthy kingdom in the depths of the continent decided its destination, and gave rise to a whole series of adventurous expeditions far into the interior, part of which has not even to this day again been thoroughly explored. If the crest of the Cordilleras through one of the passes from Quito is crossed in an easterly direction, it is quite evident that one must come upon one or other of the rivers which flow to the Rio Napo, and then with it to the Amazon. Later on, in the time when the missions instituted by various clerical orders in the regions of the Upper Amazon called forth a noble spirit of emulation for the conversion and domiciliation of the natives, the road to Quito over the Embarcadero de Napo became a much-frequented highway.

Famous Voyage on Rafts

Almost a hundred years previously, when Gonzalo Pizarro led the first Spaniards by this road, they naturally, also, met with only the ordinary fate of all explorers—weariness, hunger, and sickness; so that Gonzalo, in order to facilitate the departure of his band, decided on placing the sick and weak, with the baggage, on rafts, and, with the stronger, to follow along the banks of the river. Often, when the provisioning became more and more difficult, he sent the vessels far in advance, so that they might send or bring back food for those following by land. In doing this, however, the track was once lost just where the raft had been carried on especially far ahead, before known regions had been reached, and Gonzalo and his followers were obliged to turn back without being able to communicate with the others. Gonzalo had appointed Francisco de Orellana pilot of the raft. When the latter realised that he had been abandoned, and saw the impossibility of taking his raft back against the current, he formed the daring resolve to drift along with it, knowing that it would finally bring him to the sea somewhere or other.

With only fifty companions on rafts which they had had to construct themselves, he drifted down the Napo into the Amazon, and then not only on to the ocean, but also some distance along the coast to the north, until, after a water journey of seven months, he reached the first European settlement on the island of Cubagua. In spite of many battles he lost only a few of his followers, and not many other conquistadors have had to endure greater sufferings than they endured, or had to contend with such dangers as they overcame.

A Tragic Voyage of Discovery

This same expedition from Peru was again undertaken in the sixteenth century. In the year 1559 the Marquess of Cañete, then vice-regent of Peru, after hearing the accounts of an Indian who had come from Brazil to Peru, out of the Marañon and Huallaga, and was supposed to have discovered inhabited and wealthy towns on the way, organised a voyage of exploration under the leadership of Pedro de Orsua. This expedition gave him an opportunity of getting rid of numerous unruly spirits who, since the various risings, had threatened the security of the province. These malcontents, however, gave quite an unexpected turn to the undertaking.

As soon as they had advanced far enough into the unknown district to be secure from pursuit, they murdered Orsua and completed the voyage up the river under the leadership of Lope de Aguirre, whom they had themselves chosen. After this they turned to Venezuela, and, having tyrannised over the province for months, they were at length overpowered in a battle near Barquisimeto, and the greater part of them were slain. The Amazon first became a permanent public road after the Portuguese had, in 1641, advanced with a great expedition from Para as far as Quito. This was the beginning of the methodical exploration of the mighty river system in detail, which came to an end when the Indians became extinct and the missionary activity on their behalf had consequently terminated.

The north-eastern portion of South America had at length become not quite an unknown region. Although Columbus

had there first come in touch with the American continent, and almost the oldest attempts at colonisation on the continent itself had also been made on the northern coast, it had for a considerable time remained comparatively neglected, because it held out no prospect of unusual wealth and the natives were more warlike there than elsewhere. It was the tribes of the Caribs belonging to this coast who had greeted the first Spaniards with poisoned arrows, and then vanished into the dense forests of the interior, in order to conquer by passive resistance the opponent whom they were not prepared to meet in open battle. Their name was so terrible to the Spaniards that it became the typical designation of all warlike and hostile races, and in its altered form, "cannibals," has become synonymous all the world over with "man-eater."

A considerable number of attempts at colonisation in the territory between the mouths of the Orinoco and of the River Magdalena were entirely frustrated before the Spaniards succeeded in gaining a footing in the region of the coast. However, this territory only played an important part in Spanish colonial affairs when, owing to the rapid decline of the population on the islands of the Antilles, it became, on a large scale, the hunting-ground for slaves, while the island of Cubagua, on the coast, served as the principal market-place for the spoil. Not until the first twenty years of the sixteenth century did Rodrigo de Bastidas succeed in founding a settlement in Santa Marta which promised to result in a permanent usurpation of the country. But it is possible that upon his violent death it, too, might again have been lost had it not received support from the neighbouring province, which the first Spaniards had already named Venezuela—Little Venice—after its native lake-dwellings on Lake Maracaibo.

The Hunting-Ground for Slaves

The great German merchants had taken part in almost the first voyages of exploration to the West Indies as well as to the East Indies, and the accession of Charles V. in Spain enabled them to secure for themselves an important and permanent share in colonial trade. Besides these mercantile agents, numbers of adventurous young Germans had also gone there, many of them passing through almost all the phases of discovery of the Conquista. It is small wonder, therefore, that two Germans once sued for and gained a concession for colonial discoveries. The Ehingers were closely connected with the house of Wels, whom many members of the family had served. When, therefore, they received from Charles V. the right to colonise the interior from Cape Maracapana as far as the extreme end of the Guajiro Peninsula, from one ocean to the other, they counted with certainty on the help of the Welses, and some years later they transferred their prerogative to them. The Germans did only the pioneer work in colonising Venezuela, and helped forward the development of this province by the Spaniards.

Pioneer Germans in Venezuela

This establishment of a colony was of peculiar importance in connection with the opening up of the unknown interior of South America, as it, in the first place, prevented the complete destruction of the colony founded by Bastidas in Santa Marta, and thereby formed the basis of the successful expedition of Gonzalo Jimenez de Quesada up the River Magdalena, besides becoming itself the starting-point of a succession of voyages of discovery. Almost simultaneously with Quesada and Benalcazar, Federmann led an expedition on to the plateau of Bogota, while George Hohermuth and Philip von Hutten started along the eastern foot of the Andes; and, although they did not, as has often been asserted, advance as far as the River Amazon, they were the first Europeans who came upon its mighty northern tributaries, the Caqueta, and probably also the Putumayo.

The rumour of the existence of another country rich in gold was still maintained after the conquest of Peru, and the accounts of the natives pointed to the northern regions beyond the Inca kingdom. Ambrosius Ehinger—whom the Spaniards called Dalfinger—had already explored the valley of Upare and along the Magdalena on the strength of these rumours, and had almost reached the boundary of the Chibcha kingdom when he decided to return. His successors, starting from the eastern Llanos, sought in vain for the entrance to the land of gold. George Hohermuth reached the entrance to the territory of the Chibchas while he was resting in San Juan de los Llanos, which region carried on a continuous trade with the Chibchas. Nicolas Federmann was the first to discover the pass from Llanos across

Vain Searches for the Land of Gold

the Cordilleras, but on setting foot in the country of the Bacata he found the kingdom had been overthrown and was in the possession of the Spanish victors.

The Pearl of Spain's Possessions

The fortunate conqueror of this province, which, under the name of Nuevo Reino de Granada, became the pearl in the crown of Spanish colonial possessions, was Gonzalo Jiminez de Quesada. He had come to Santa Marta in the year 1536 with the governor, Pedro Fernandez de Lugo, and was by him immediately afterwards deputed, with several hundred followers and three small vessels, to explore the River Magdalena up stream, and to advance upon the powerful ruler who, according to the stories of the natives, dwelt there. Near the river itself Quesada only met with the same fortunes as his predecessors, who, after many hardships, had discovered single Indian villages which were, no doubt, occasionally rich in spoils. The winter floods at length compelled him to leave the valley and ascend to the mountains. After he had with much toil advanced through the Sierra de Oppon, he came almost by chance upon the country of the Chibchas, in the neighbourhood of the subsequent Velez, for since he had quitted the river he could find no intelligible guide.

The resistance which the Spaniards met with from the rulers of the states and provinces of the Chibchas, who were divided among themselves by all kinds of rivalries, did not prove serious, and during three years Quesada gained almost fabulous treasures with comparatively small loss. He had just organised the newly acquired province and was on the eve of departure, when, within a few weeks of each other, Nicolas Federmann from the east, and Sebastian de Benalcazar from the south, appeared upon the scene. How the former arrived there has already been referred to.

A Trio of Unsuccessful Spaniards

Benalcazar had, as is well known, at first taken possession of the kingdom of Quito on behalf of Pizarro, and later on he, too, was induced, by precisely the same rumours which had guided the other two conquistadors, to undertake a voyage on his own account.

None of the three attained the object which they had desired—the regency of the rich province of Chibcha. Federmann ended in prison, a fate he well merited owing to the perfidy which he had shown on all sides. Benalcazar had to be satisfied with the governorship of Popayan, to which was added the territory to the west of the Magdalena. Quesada did not reap the fruit of his conquests either, for he had to relinquish the governorship of Santa Marta and New Granada in favour of the unworthy son of Lugo, who in the meanwhile had died. After many years spent in legal proceedings he returned to the scene of his early conquests with the title of marshal, and died there, at a great age, after many adventures. Although with the conquest of the Chibcha kingdom the land had come into the possession of the Spaniards, in whose Institutions the legend of "El Dorado," the Golden Man, originated, yet the voyages in search of El Dorado were never pursued with greater zeal than during the next following decades.

Philip von Hutten, Hernan Perez de Quesada, brother of the conqueror of Chibcha, and finally the latter himself, sought for the Golden Man in Llanos des Caqueta and Putumayo; but after an enormous loss of life they came in contact with only a few half-civilised Indian races. In consequence of this the kingdom of El Dorado was transferred to a lake of Manoa, which was sought for between the lower reaches of the Orinoco and the Marañon.

The New Era of Colonial Administration

On this occasion Quesada's son-in-law undoubtedly for the first time threw light on the river system of the Orinoco from New Granada as far as its estuary—during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Guaviare was universally regarded as the river source of the Orinoco. In Trinidad he fell into the hands of Raleigh, who had recommenced his journey to the land of gold from the mouth of the Orinoco towards the Andes, and who, by his account of the expedition, has assisted more than his predecessors to spread abroad in Europe an idea of the geographical configuration of these regions. As a matter of fact, however, his whole expedition was only through a region which had long since been explored by the Spaniards.

The hope of finding El Dorado was gradually abandoned, for in the vast colonial territory owned by the Spaniards there was no space left for it. Love of exploration could no longer find an outlet for its activity, and it was succeeded by the serious and difficult task of organising the extremely vast regions which had at least become known, if only superficially.

SPAIN'S EMPIRE IN AMERICA

ORGANISATION OF THE COLONIES AND THE PROBLEM OF THE SLAVE TRADE

ACCORDING to the interpretation which Columbus believed he might put upon his prerogatives the whole of the vast colonial empire of Spain in America should have constituted a great empire over which he and his descendants should exercise almost unlimited authority as hereditary viceroy, governor, and admiral, united in one person; while the Crown in the meanwhile should possess in the right of suzerainty only a limited influence in the appointment of officials and a certain share of the revenue. Not only was this view held by the explorer, but his descendants also, in a lawsuit against the Crown, upheld the claim that the documentary concessions extended not only to islands and lands which had become known through the personal activity of Columbus, but also to all land which, during subsequent trans-Atlantic voyages of discovery undertaken by the First Admiral, should become the possession of the Spanish Crown.

The lawsuit terminated in a very simple manner—for the descendants of Columbus proved so utterly unfit for the duties imposed upon them by their claims that they finally themselves renounced their acknowledged documentary rights, because they had by vulgar debauchery incurred punishment at the hand of justice, and had consequently fled. Apart from this, the point of law which was at issue proved by no means a simple one, for Columbus, on his part, had failed in more than one direction to fulfil the conditions of the Treaty of Santa Fé. He had neither gained the object which had formed the aim of the entire undertaking, nor had he been able, or even shown a serious desire, to discharge the financial obligations which had been imposed upon him by the negotiations of 1492. Though he left the equipment of the expeditions to the government, he would nevertheless not give up all claim to the share in the profits which had been assigned to him only as compensation for his proportionate share in the expenditure. Within a very short time the question was transferred from the footing of a theoretical and legal debate to purely practical jurisdiction.

Failures of the Great Columbus

Columbus's Colonial Ambitions

The prospect which lay in store for the colonies under the government of Columbus, between the second and third voyages of the explorer, had already become evident. The colonial method which had been adopted by the Portuguese on the coast of Guinea appeared to the First Admiral as the only feasible model—with this one exception, however, that he wished to be lessee of the general monopoly in the West Indies—that is to say, he desired to occupy the position which the Infante Henry had filled before his rights had reverted to the Crown. But he was entirely wanting in that keen spirit of enthusiasm which induced the infante, for many years, to make one sacrifice after another for the discovery of new countries and for the extension of Christendom; moreover, his one object was, in a mean-spirited way, not to miss any possible gain for himself.

For this reason he would not permit the settlers of San Domingo to spread themselves over the continent, and then, at their own risk, to undertake the search for precious ores and other trade commodities.

He feared that by such means a portion of the spoil would escape his control and diminish his share in the profits. For the same reason, also, when sufficiently large quantities of other staple trade commodities were not procurable, he did not hesitate to freight his ships with stolen natives, in order to sell them to the mother country, after the example of the Portuguese. Not even the humane laws of the Spanish Government had power to prevent the rapid extinction of the native population in the Antilles, and it is obvious that a similar result would have been the immediate and inevitable consequence of Columbus's ideas on colonisation.

Columbus's Weakness as a Ruler

The first attempt at a slave trade with Spain had been checked by the categorical inhibition of Ferdinand and Isabella; and as Columbus was incapable of maintaining order in his only settlement, this afforded the government an opportunity for a breach with his entire colonial system. He requested the assistance of an officer of the Crown to re-establish order, and the subsequent investigation showed how impossible it would have been to entrust the government of the entire territory to the explorer, although he claimed it as his prerogative.

It is evident the government of Ferdinand and Isabella had originally planned a colonial undertaking according to the Portuguese model, and Columbus's expedition had given rise to the expectation that the discovery of flourishing and well-organised states would result in Spain's carrying on an extensive and successful trade with them. The real object of Columbus's expedition was not so much to acquire territory as to divert the costly and much sought after products of the Far East from the existing trade routes, and to establish the monopoly of the Spanish harbours. The extension of Christianity in these far-off realms was doubtless a second object. The Spaniard, who had for centuries carried on a dreadful war upon the soil of his native land for the extension of Christianity among unbelievers, without doubt did not shrink from pursuing the same object by identical means in far-distant lands. If Columbus had really reached the harbours of Zaitun and Quinsay, with their treasures, their trade, and their organisation, most probably Spanish rule would have been established there in the same manner in which the Portuguese ruled in the East Indies. In this way the first "Institution" established by the Spanish rulers for the benefit of colonial affairs—the "Casa de Contratacion," or the "House for Commerce," intended primarily for all commercial undertakings—was, in essentials, a copy of the "Casa da India" at Lisbon.

Spanish Wars to Extend Christianity

The Casa de Contratacion was, on its foundation in 1503, intended to watch over the interests of the Crown in colonial matters, more especially over commercial intercourse with the colonies. At that time the administrative powers were, according to the contracts of 1492, almost exclusively in the hands of Columbus, and the establishment of the Casa de Contratacion is sufficient evidence that the government in no way aimed at disputing these prerogatives, although Columbus had then already been suspended from the absolute power of exercising them and a governor had been nominated by the administration. But the foundation of settlements over the whole of Hispaniola and on the neighbouring islands, and the subdivision of the land among the colonists, as well as the advance into the interior of the island, portended a breach with Columbus's colonial system, for his plan had been to draw the mercantile profits of the land only from permanent ports on the coasts. The Crown's second decree for the Casa de Contratacion already showed an altered face, though mercantile interests still occupied the foreground.

The Founding of New Settlements

The realisation of the profits which the government confidently anticipated from direct participation in the colonial trade is therein less prominently dealt with, and it now becomes more a question of the ordering and control of navigation and mercantile intercourse between the mother country and the colonies generally, whether carried on at the expense of the Crown or by the private individual. As the Casa de Contratacion developed into a court of administration, direct and judicial powers accrued to it. At least one lawyer is referred to in the regulations of 1511, besides the manager, treasurer, and bookkeeper, as being in its employ.

The control of the correspondence, which was transferred to the Casa, formed the most important extension of power which was accorded during that year, and laid the foundation for its future significance. Not only all the letters which arrived for the

government from the colonies had to be opened and read, but all the government deeds intended for the colonies had also to be registered in the books of the institution, the officials even receiving orders to enter protests against such governmental instructions as seemed to them injudicious or risky and to suspend their execution. By reason of these powers the Casa de Contratacion became more and more a board of administration. The qualifications necessary for such a board were in later years also specially assigned to it; in less important matters the decision of the Casa was regarded as final, whereas upon greater and more important questions the Consejo de Indias could be referred to as a superior court.

Administering the Spanish Colonies

In spite of the far-reaching prerogatives which had, according to agreement, been assigned to Columbus as viceroy, governor, and admiral of the Indies, colonial affairs, from the beginning, required extensive supervision and guidance on the part of the government. These increased considerably in importance from the moment when Columbus was suspended from the full enjoyment of his authoritative powers, and when a Crown official was appointed in the interim to act for him provisionally. Ferdinand the Catholic, in order to secure the necessary uniformity and continuity of the colonial policy, had then already transferred the business connected with these powers to one distinct person. The Archbishop Fonseca was the authority on colonial affairs in the Privy Council; Secretary Gricio first acted as Under-Secretary, but after a short time he was succeeded by Lope de Conchillos, then already known for his unfortunate share in the quarrel about the succession between Ferdinand the Catholic and Philip the Handsome.

During the years 1509 to 1512 Don Diego Colon was reinstalled in the prerogatives of his father, but only to a limited extent. The division of the continually expanding colonial kingdom was then already in prospect, by which division only those countries which had been won for Spain by the direct invasion of the First Admiral were ceded to his descendants under the conditions of the treaty of Santa Fé. Even so these prerogatives were not granted without limitations, though the heirs were permitted to retain, as had been stipulated, the power to exercise jurisdiction, in the first instance, throughout the entire range of the country assigned to them. On the other hand, in 1511, by the establishment of the "Audiencia" of San Domingo, a court of appeal was instituted more especially for the entire colonial department, where appeals could be made against the decisions of the vice-regal courts of justice.

A Court of Appeal Established

The court was authorised to give judgment directly in the king's name, and it could eventually even summon the vice-regent himself before its bar. Owing to the fact that in all departments of national life government and the administration of justice had not as yet become detached from each other, each magistrate not only pronouncing judgment, but also executing it throughout the circuit of his authority, the Audiencia, in its capacity of a court of appeal for the legal settlement of all kinds of colonial affairs, became an important factor in colonial administration.

This importance grew in proportion as the government recognised the necessity of creating a counterpoise to the vast prerogatives of the vice-regent and governor, and of constituting an authority in touch with the governor, by which to control him, and act under the immediate direction of the government in the colonial territories which were not administered according to the treaty of Santa Fé. The government provided itself with another influence in the clergy. At first priests belonging to a religious order were almost exclusively sent to the islands to watch over religious interests and promote missionary work among the natives.

Missionary Work Among the Natives

Almost immediately upon their advent conflicts arose between them and the temporal authorities. Fray Bernal Boil, who had accompanied Columbus on his second voyage as vicar-general, had, like the latter, soon to be recalled, because he became too argumentative in defending his own version of the official duties against the officials. As soon as the government had convinced itself of the vast extent of the newly acquired possessions, it also became seriously concerned about the organisation of religious matters. At Ferdinand's suggestion Pope Alexander VI., in the year 1502, founded the first two bishoprics in San Domingo and La Vega on the island of Hispaniola. Almost immediately upon the definite settlement

the erection of new dioceses ensued, and soon an extensive network of archbishoprics, bishoprics, and parochial dioceses was spread over the whole colonial territory. The possibility arising, however, that the Church, now being a state within a state, might become dangerous to the power of the government, care was taken that the Crown should receive, from the Pope himself, the right of presentation to all benefices in the New World, in order to make the clergy of the colonies entirely dependent on the government, so that they even became a strong and influential support in all the vicissitudes of colonial events.

Colonies the Property of the Spanish Crown

When, therefore, in the year 1516, Charles V. inherited from his grandfather the extensive colonial possessions with the Spanish Crown lands, he found the colonial government under safe guidance; indeed, one might almost say that the government had already begun to shape for itself a system for its colonial policy. As the discovery of America had been due exclusively to the initiative of Queen Isabella, the colonies, by political law, formed an integral and constituent part of the Crown of Castile. In the idea of a colony the sixteenth century conceived a country that was almost exclusively the private property of the Crown, at least so far as the possession of all privileges was concerned. The Spanish Government, therefore, after the abolition of the prerogatives belonging to the Colons, regarded the colonies as a domain whose revenue should accrue exclusively to it and be employed at its discretion. One consequence of this idea was that the government issued strict regulations for admission to the colonies.

In order seriously to control the execution of this decision, the entire intercourse between the mother country and the colonies was confined to the town of Seville, with the outer harbour of San Lucar de Barrameda. The disadvantages for trade, which were the natural consequence of this monopoly by Seville, soon became evident. During the first years of Charles V.'s reign, an especially vigorous agitation arose, no doubt as a consequence of the union of the Spanish kingdom with the German and Dutch territories under one and the same sceptre; and this was the means of procuring a considerable mitigation of the system, if not an advance in the participation also of these nations in the trans-Atlantic trade. For a time this counter-current was successful, and it probably gave rise to a hope for still greater success hereafter; but the fiscal interests finally conquered, and Seville's monopoly of the colonial trade was rigorously maintained for a considerable time.

The Mother Country and Her Colonies

The fiscal and monopolist system, though characteristic, does not exclusively distinguish Spanish colonial policy, but it has, as in the case of the other states which have recognised it, left its special marks. But the most remarkable feature of the Spanish policy is its attitude towards the aborigines of the colonies. Columbus also considered the natives from the Portuguese point of view—that is to say, he regarded them either as a power with whom war could be waged and a treaty concluded; or as a commodity, like other colonial products, to be bought or sold, according to the requirements of commercial interests.

In any case, the natives were, from this point of view, either foreign persons or foreign things. As a result, Columbus, on his third voyage, endeavoured to cover his unsuccessful search for gold, spices and other costly wares by freighting the home-sailing vessel with a cargo of slaves, to be sold in Seville. But in this he met with opposition from the Spanish Government, and more especially from Queen Isabella of Castile, as sovereign of the colonial kingdom. Immediately upon the news of the arrival of the living cargo, the officials in Seville received an order to stop the sale and to wait for a decision as to whether the slavery of the Indians was permissible according to the laws, human and divine.

Spain's Humane Treatment of the Natives

It was followed by an order that the Indians should be taken back to their native country and set at liberty. This was a decision on the highest principles and of the widest scope, and it inaugurated a colonial policy such as had up to that time nowhere been attempted. It is probable that King Ferdinand, a politician of temperate views, who by no means regarded the whole colonial enterprise of his consort and co-regent with favour, would have decided differently had his own view of the matter served as a standard.

One is strengthened in this belief by the insistence with which Queen Isabella, in her will and its codicil, urges upon her husband the protection of the natives. This codicil is the next significant step in the legislation of the native question.

Although short and concise, its statements regarding the natives are so far of great importance, that the latter are therein recognised as subjects of equal birth, and their lives and property as under the protection of the Crown; and it is especially urged upon King Ferdinand, as executor, to repress and make compensation for any possible injustice which the natives might have to suffer.

The practical treatment of this question did not quite attain the high level of the theoretical decision. The declaration that the Indians were to enjoy the privileges of free subjects provoked opposition not only from the colonists, but also from the colonial officials and even from the clergy. It was impossible to form any conception of the revenues and produce of the colonies without having sufficient working material in the shape of native labour. Without a certain amount of compulsion, however, the native could not be induced, either to perform a sufficient amount of work to meet the requirements of the colonies, or to remain on a permanently friendly footing with the settler; yet this was indispensable if the civilising influence, and more especially the conversion of the natives to Christianity, which had from the beginning of the history of discoveries been so strongly emphasised, were to be carried on with any degree of success.

The Natives Under a Form of Bondage

For this reason, both the temporal and spiritual authorities were unanimous in declaring that the granting of unlimited freedom to the natives would mean the ruin of the colonies, from both a spiritual and an economic point of view. The "Repartimientos" and "Encomiendas" were finally the result of the negotiations which were carried on with regard to these matters. The personal liberty of the natives was therein specially recognised, but in order to promote their education by European methods of civilisation and to secure their conversion to the Christian doctrine, they were assigned (repartir) to the charge of individual colonists and placed under their protection (encomendar). The latter thereby acquired a certain measure of patriarchal authority over their protégés which, according to the letter of the law, was most humanely designed, though in reality it created for the native almost everywhere a sure state of bondage; and this bondage, along with the simultaneous existence of Indian slavery, often made the well-meaning designs of the law-makers entirely illusory for certain classes of the natives.

The law required certain moral guarantees from the holder of a repartimiento, and, on the other hand, quite definitely fixed the maximum of work to be done by the natives. The governors of the various colonial districts, and, above all, of those territories which had been newly discovered, and had yet to be colonised, could not, however, under the pressure of the actual circumstances, evade the claims made upon them to reward, by the bestowal of the repartimiento, the services of the colonists who had first taken possession of the country. During the voyages of discovery and conquest it was not generally men of specially high morality who gained the highest honours for their comrades and country.

Difficulties in the Way of Government

As, however, these expeditions made such great demands upon the participators, as to both daring and powers of endurance, naturally these characteristics preponderated among the recruits, who had nothing to lose and everything to gain. It is only natural that anyone who had so schooled himself as to face famine and death at the hand of the enemy for months should not be particularly disposed to treat with lenience and consideration the lives of beings whom he was easily induced to regard as creatures of an inferior order, creatures who could be brought to a peaceful state of subjection to the European yoke only after cruel and devastating wars.

Even with the best intentions of the favourably disposed governors, it was almost impossible to carry through a conscientious administration of the laws of the encomiendas. In the districts which were but sparsely populated by Europeans these rough settlers, who could hardly be dispensed with for the extension of the Spanish power, in numerous instances mutinied against the officials when the latter, in pursuance of the law, endeavoured to seize what the former looked on as the well-earned wage of their own superhuman exertions and privations. More than one governor was killed by his unruly followers, owing to his efforts to enforce respect for the law.

Fate of Law-respecting Governors

That great evils existed in the treatment of the natives in the extensive regions of the "Conquista" is certainly undeniable, although it is also incontestable that the

horrors of the Indian oppression have been extremely exaggerated by the agitators for the rights of humanity, among whom Bishop Bartolomé de las Casas occupies a prominent place. The Indians were undoubtedly often overburdened by toil, and thousands of them succumbed; yet, from the point of view of self-interest, it was of great importance to the colonists that those peoples under their protection should be preserved; unscrupulous exploitation cannot therefore be taken as the universal rule. The native population on the first discovered and colonised Antilles diminished with extraordinary rapidity; but, no doubt, this was brought about by many different causes.

Antilles Inhabited by Aruacs

In the first instance their number had been considerably overrated. Columbus made a point of doing this in order to enhance the value of his discovery, and the vehement agitation for the freedom of the Indians, which had already begun twenty years after the discovery, did still more to falsify ideas as to the number of the natives. If one remembers that the Antilles were only gradually populated by the Aruac race from the continent, and that this race of fishermen and hunters has nowhere else founded larger or more densely populated settlements; and if one also bears in mind that this race had for generations to suffer from a war of extermination with the dreaded native pirates, the Caribs, a dense population on the Antilles at the time of their discovery would be an impossible assumption.

The natives, however, soon realised that the newly arrived Spaniards would prove far more dangerous enemies than the Caribs had been. For this reason many of them fled from their villages into the jungle, where they suffered great loss among themselves and in war with the Christians. To these factors were further added those of unaccustomed kinds of labour, a change of food and manner of life, and finally maladies which had been imported by the Europeans and became epidemic among the natives, causing fearful devastation. The combination of all these influences must be held responsible for the depopulation of the Antilles.

Factors in the Depopulation of the Antilles

This depopulation in one sense became of importance to the entire native question, as it led to a rupture with the general principle of the universal liberty of the Indians. In 1505 Ferdinand the Catholic had already allowed the natives who by arms might oppose civilisation and Christianity to be attacked and enslaved. Possibly this permission may in the first instance have been aimed at the Caribbean races, but the more apparent the retrogression of the native population became, when the larger islands grew to be more densely populated by Europeans, the more was this licence employed as a cloak for the concealment of an extensive Indian slave trade.

Nothing was easier than by a defiant bearing to provoke the natives to take up arms so that without a violation of the law they could be dragged away as slaves. By these means the smaller Antilles, on which no Spanish settlements had been established, became within a short time entirely depopulated. But natives who had been exported to the larger islands as slaves, and there branded on the thighs with hot irons—a curious consequence of a law designed to be humanitarian—in order to prevent their exchange with peaceable Indians, were soon, also, no longer able to supply the ever-increasing demand for labourers and to replenish their own reduced numbers. The slave-hunts were then extended to the continent and more especially to the northern coast of South America, whose inhabitants, of kindred origin with the island population, showed an unusually violent and lasting opposition to the first attempts at colonisation.

Slave-hunts on the Continent

At this stage the doings of the slave-hunters assumed such proportions that they gave rise to the first movements of opposition, and these soon became of great power, as points of view were brought to bear upon the question which had nothing actually to do with the matter itself. The clergy of the colonies, as has already been mentioned, had at first not considered themselves in the least obliged to interfere on behalf of unlimited liberty for the Indians. Not only the secular priests, but also the Franciscans, who since the days of Columbus—when he also had belonged to the order as a lay brother—had played a prominent part in colonial administration, did not regard it as scandalous that the Indians were compelled by moderate pressure to join the Christians, or, in cases of resistance, were enslaved and treated as enemies. The Dominicans maintained a different attitude. The antithesis between the two points of view also

aroused the opposition of the one order against the other, and thus, no doubt, contributed not a little to the aggravation of the question. The first who ventured to stigmatise from the pulpit, as a disgrace and outrage, the hitherto existing treatment of the natives was the Dominican brother Pedro de Cordoba, who thereby became distinguished far beyond his own diocese of San Domingo, where he preached.

Outcry Against Slavery

Bartolomé de las Casas, who at that time was himself a keeper of slaves in Cuba, was won over to his views. His impetuous spirit took up the cause of the natives with such zeal that he became one of the best known among the champions of native liberty. Las Casas presented himself at the Spanish court, for the first time, shortly before the death of Ferdinand the Catholic. Though his vivid descriptions of the horrors practised in the treatment of the natives were met by the public with mixed feelings, he was the means of bringing about the decision that a special commission should be sent out to hold an inquiry into the actual circumstances. The native question had by that time become such an object of contention between the Franciscans and Dominicans that both orders were, on principle, excluded from election to the commission; but as the question was intended to be treated purely as a matter of conscience, and had for this reason been placed in the hands of the clergy, it was finally agreed that three Hieronymite monks should be chosen and sent to the islands with discretionary powers.

Las Casas vehemently impugned the impartiality of the three fathers because they refused to take his point of view, but he certainly wronged them. As a universal remedy he proposed the formation of self-governed and self-administered communities of Indians, to which only the clergy from among the Spaniards should be admitted as leaders in religious matters, and this was also attempted by the Hieronymites Las Casas, a few years later, failed to colonise, on the same plan, a tract of the Paria coast, far removed from intercourse with the white man; and the Hieronymites, contending against still more unfavourable conditions, were equally unsuccessful in their attempt to colonise San Domingo. No doubt, however, the fact of their being sent greatly increased the opposition of the religious orders among themselves, so that the government was forced at last to take the matter entirely out of the hands of the clergy and entrust it to a secular official.

Circumscribed Area of the Slave-hunters

The licentiate Rodrigo de Figueroa kept quite aloof from all theoretical points of view and regulated the native question solely from the standpoint of the hitherto formulated laws on that point. These guaranteed a certain amount of liberty to the peaceable Indians, but permitted the enslavement of the hostile ones. In order to do this he first of all had to settle which Indians were to be regarded as hostile. As he was guided by entirely disinterested and well-intentioned ideas, he considerably circumscribed the territory remaining to the slave-hunters. The improvement in the treatment of the Indians as a whole, in the repartimientos and encomiendas, was the necessary consequence of the increased attention which was paid to the regulations bearing upon it.

An economic revolution was, in addition to this, carried out about the same time, at any rate in the island colonies. In spite of all efforts to the contrary on the part of the government, the Spanish settlements had for a long time been little more than permanent trade factories; all valuable objects which could be got from the natives by barter were collected, and with native help precious ores were dug and washed. But whenever the government sent seeds and plants across the ocean, their cultivation was not a success, because the natives did not understand their treatment, and the colonists considered it beneath them to have anything to do with the matter.

Profits of the Sugar-cane

As therefore only a limited amount of the valuable products of the soil could be found, the exchange trade soon also collapsed, and though the new discoveries revived the carrying trade of San Domingo, it at the same time continuously withdrew the labourers from the island, thus diminishing its individual importance. The settlements suffered much in consequence until, by the cultivation of the sugar-cane, new and profitable livelihood was found for the colonists. Labourers were also required for this, and though the necessary work was not as irksome as gold-washing, it entailed a settled mode of life and continuous work for the colonists, whereas the other implied only an uncertain search for fortune.

The cultivation of sugar-cane had an important share in maintaining the vitality of the Spanish colonies up to the time when, through the great extension of these colonies, further opportunities for gaining a livelihood arose. Besides this, it was also of immense importance in their development, because it gave the impulse to the importation of negro slaves. These had, in isolated instances, been imported in the service of their Spanish masters from the time of the discovery of America. It was not long before it became evident in the colonies that the negroes became acclimatised exceedingly well there, and far surpassed the Indian natives in their capacity for work.

Negro Slaves Imported to the Colonies

The government did not regard the importation of negroes with favour. It was feared that they, being but recently baptised, would be only half-hearted adherents of Christianity, and might have a bad influence upon the conversion of the Indians; so on that account the African negroes were entirely excluded from the colonies, and the immigration of black house slaves was also restricted as much as possible. The repeated petitions of the colonists for a plentiful supply of black labourers disclosed to the government the importance of this matter, so that it gradually came to be regarded in quite another light when Las Casas, from motives of philanthropy, urgently recommended the introduction of negro slaves in order to rescue the Indians from slavery. Although on this point the government still maintained the principle of inhibition for negro importation, it was now only on account of fiscal interests.

It is a fact that since 1516 about 4,000 negroes alone were almost annually transported by the agents of the slave monopoly from the coast of Guinea to the New World—exclusive of the considerable number who reached the colonies by special license, and in later times through smuggling. No doubt the negroes, and the half-castes who had already sprung from the union of whites with blacks and Indians, constituted in the middle of the sixteenth century a very important element in the agricultural population, and, as such, demanded special attention. These negroes had received, even less than the Indians, the merest semblance of a civilising education from the colonists, and, as they were by nature far less submissive, they were more inclined to forsake their masters and revert to the manners and customs of their native life in the jungle. In 1550 the Spaniards had already to suppress dangerous insurrections of the negro population. These again recurred from time to time, until, after a successful insurrection in the year 1808, the negroes even succeeded in founding an independent state on the western half of the island of San Domingo in the Republic of Haiti.

The New World's Trade in Slaves

The mixing of races was comparatively of less importance in Spanish America. In most of the colonies during the first years savage marriages with the native women were no doubt the rule, so long as European women did not go there or could not, under the circumstances, be imported; and wherever this continued, as was the case in Paraguay, it naturally resulted in a greater mixing of the races. In Mexico and Peru, as well as also in Bogota, the marriages of Spanish conquistadors with women of the native nobility were more often made from political considerations, and the Spanish kings acknowledged this aristocracy by giving it an equal standing with the Spanish nobility. On the whole, however, the Spaniards in the colonies guarded the purity of their blood with no less care than in the mother country, and the creoles to this day regard it as the highest distinction to be the descendants of grandfathers and great-grandfathers of pure Spanish blood. Although the colonists of European descent, on the one hand, felt themselves the living antithesis of the native races, yet, owing to changed conditions of life, an altered climate, and different social circumstances, in course of time an indistinctly recognised but later on fully appreciated variation on the Spanish type was developed, the pure-bred Spaniards remaining in the colonies only temporarily as merchants, soldiers and officials, and never losing the feeling of being aliens.

Blending of the Races

On his accession Charles V. found the native question at its height, and for a time he let it run its course. The bitter paper war between Las Casas and Sepulveda about the admissibility of native slavery belongs to the first years of his reign, as well as the unsuccessful attempt at colonisation by the Dominican who had been elected patron of the Indians The institution

of a special advocate for the natives also became general, and in every colony a spiritual chief pastor was then charged with the protection of the natives. The laws, also, for the treatment of the Indians were permanently altered and developed in a more decided recognition of their interests, until the Edict of Granada, of November 17th, 1526, included in six paragraphs all the regulations bearing upon their treatment.

The edict still distinguished between two classes of Indians, friendly and savage, and permitted the enslavement of the latter, while special officials were charged with the decision of each individual case. From that time this law became the standard for the treatment of the natives, not only in all the colonies, but also in all the agreements concerning discoveries. It was nevertheless followed, in rather rapid succession, by further regulations in favour of the Indians. In 1530 Indian slavery was definitely abolished, after many disputes both for and against it.

In the same way the government made several attempts to abolish the encomiendas, but this regulation was never carried through, for two reasons: first, because it threatened to be prejudicial to the material advantage of the colonist; and, second, because it hindered the advancement of the civilisation of the Indian. The government, therefore, confined itself to freeing the system of the encomiendas more and more from all the imperfections which adhered to it, and to watching more and more carefully over its conscientious execution. The principle of promoting the social advancement of the Indians by a closer union with the Spaniards, and of granting to the conquistadors and their descendants, as a reward and recognition, the supervision of Indian wards, was adhered to. All the Indians were, however, by no means divided into encomiendas.

From the beginning the Crown had retained certain portions both of the land and of the population of every province and district, which were destined for the service of the Crown and not for the use of the individual colonist. Beyond this, the more the misuse of the encomiendas was attacked, the greater grew the difficulty of extending the system, so that finally only those Indians who were in the immediate neighbourhood of the places founded at the time of the conquest remained under the protection of the colonists. The vast territories which had not been so densely populated by Europeans remained, as before, the free land of the Indians, whose conversion and civilisation were almost exclusively transferred to the religious societies and to the missionaries sent out by them.

VICTORS AND VANQUISHED: A GROUP OF SPANIARDS AND PERUVIANS

From the painting by H. P. Briggs in the National Gallery

MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE IN BOLIVIA: A JESUIT SETTLEMENT AT SAN JOSÉ

The warlike Guaranis for long resisted the religion and customs of their Spanish invaders, and towards the middle of the sixteenth century Jesuit missionaries were sent to Paraguay in aid of the first Christian preachers. So successful were their efforts that in a few years the entire control of the province, civil and religious, was handed over to them. They founded a number of villages, at each of which a settlement in charge of two priests was erected. The above picture shows such an edifice, with a portion of an Indian village.

THE JESUITS IN SOUTH AMERICA
AND THE CIVILISING OF THE NATIVE RACES

THE merits of the Spanish clergy on Spanish territory can hardly be rated too highly. The mysticism of the Renaissance united with the enthusiasm for the natural conditions of human society which had arisen from Romanticism in casting upon the Spanish missionaries the reproach that they, with blind fanaticism, had annihilated the last remnants of sacred antiquity in the New World and had brought to the people of America only spiritual servitude instead of spiritual salvation.

It had been purely an act of necessity for the missionaries and clergy in the provinces, where they were confronted by a well-developed system of religion and an influential hierarchy, to interfere radically and energetically with the inhuman customs which they frequently found to exist among the natives; as, for example, in Mexico. It can certainly not be disputed that in so doing they had occasionally destroyed objects of heathen adoration, which destruction has been deplored by modern ethnographical science. On the other hand, it was just these clergy, and in many provinces only they, who considered it worth their while to investigate, collect, and record the language, customs, and traditions of the natives, so that modern science is indebted to them for the most copious and valuable material for philological and ethnological research. No doubt, few of them were fully conscious of the services they were rendering to latter-day research, as they were more engrossed by their immediate aim, the civilisation and conversion of the Indians.

The Vandalism of the Spanish Missionaries

Wherever the temporal and spiritual governments were in line in their treatment of the natives, one naturally hears less of the successful activity of the monks; although the fact of the appearance of the Dominicans and of Las Casas, besides the existence of numerous isolated notes in the official records and in the secular and clerical chronicles, prove that their activity extended in the same measure into territories other than those in which they were more especially active. They have raised for themselves an immortal monument, more especially in the history of these latter parts. After the whole of the new continent had been superficially explored during the period of the conquest, Spanish colonial activity was, towards the close of the sixteenth century, concentrated on those regions whose agricultural development promised immediate advantages from a European point of view.

Missionaries the Pioneers of Civilisation

But wide tracts of land, where it was assumed that, owing either to climatic, political, or trade reasons, no remunerative cultivation was possible, remained almost entirely untouched. The greater part of the South American continent to the east of the Cordilleras and to the north of the mouth of the river La Plata belonged to this rejected territory. In this vast district, through which the mighty Amazon, with its tributaries, the Paraguay and other tributaries of the river La Plata, flowed, the work of cultivation and of introducing and maintaining European standards of civilisation were almost exclusively the work of missionaries.

At first it was chiefly the Franciscans and Augustinians who, from the monasteries and colleges of the Peruvian highlands, undertook the conversion of the Indians living farther down stream and along the rivers flowing from the Cordilleras towards the east. These spiritual fathers, with incomparable self-sacrifice and self-forgetfulness, wandered among the savage natives, often only gaining, after months and years of activity, the means for the closer understanding which laid the foundation for their material and religious labour of civilisation. Recognising that the wandering life of the Indians was extremely fatal to all enduring spiritual

Converting the American Indians

influence, and that to gather them together in fixed settlements was an essential condition of their progress in civilisation, the missionaries invariably aimed, first of all, at finding and pointing out to the Indian tribes whose conversion was in contemplation likely dwelling-places which would suit not only their propensities, but also the requirements of civilisation. In doing this they intentionally avoided the proximity of European settlements, in spite of the laws which prohibited to Europeans in general a prolonged sojourn in the Indian villages.

Villages Closed against Europeans

Moreover, in quite early times they covered the upper and middle valleys of the tributaries of the Marañon, and during the seventeenth century the valleys of this river also, as well as of other great rivers of South America, with a network of Indian villages and hamlets. The greater number of these fell into ruin in course of time, owing either to the retrogression of the native population, which became evident there also, or to the persecution which was afterwards stirred up against the activity of the spiritual fathers. But they had laid the actual foundation for the advance of European civilisation throughout the entire territory.

The sphere and the character of the missions to the Indians of South America became most familiar through the Jesuits, who, in the second half of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries, extended their missionary activity, which had been inaugurated by the devout Francis Xavier in the east, to the New World in the west. One must not, however, overlook the fact that the peculiar constitution of the so-called "reductions" and "missions" was neither invented by the Jesuits nor ever exclusively maintained by them. Its conception has been more especially attributed to their order because the Jesuit missions of Brazil and Paraguay have influenced the political history of the South American continent as no other order has done. The Jesuits, in concurrence with other religious associations, early began their activity as missionaries, if anything, in a greater degree perhaps in the Portuguese than in the Spanish territory. But they only assumed an exceptional position when, in the year 1608, a special district in Paraguay was assigned to them, free from all civil authority, where they were able to carry out the attempts at the civilisation and conversion of the Indians on a larger scale. There was no special motive attached to the fact that the government, in so doing, endowed them with an unusual amount of independence.

The Jesuits Active in Paraguay

The Bull of Alexander VI. with reference to the line of demarcation had in principle established the boundaries of the Spanish and Portuguese colonial sphere, but its general and indefinite wording was quite inadequate for a really political demarcation. Both governments soon recognised this when the mouth of the river La Plata was discovered simultaneously by rival explorers. Several attempts at a diplomatic understanding were made in consequence of this, but, in point of fact, both Powers still attached far too little importance to the unexplored and unpromising territory whose possibilities seemed doubtful.

With time these circumstances assumed real importance, chiefly through the dissimilar colonial policy pursued by the two Powers in these border districts. Asuncion, on the Paraguay, was the chief of all the Spanish colonies, where from the beginning the relations between the natives and the colonists had been especially friendly, and where the best spirit of Spanish legislation for the Indians found expression regardless of outward circumstances. Bonds of friendship were formed between the brave and honest Guarani and the confederates of Irala which, during the course of centuries, were scarcely ever seriously doubted. The covenant with this mighty and widely dispersed Tupi tribe soon brought out the underlying contrast between the Spanish colonists and their eastern neighbours, the Portuguese.

Portuguese in South America

The powers of little Portugal were so entirely engrossed by East Indian politics that the Brazilian colonial territory was, scarcely ten years after its discovery by Cabral, given over entirely to private enterprise. In this way a number of small settlements were founded in the Bahia de Todos os Santos, at Cape St. Vincent, and on the island of St. Caterina in the bay of Rio de Janeiro. These were at first regarded as Portuguese colonies, but, besides the few actual Portuguese and Portuguese Jews in the colony, there were a number of questionable characters, the subjects of every realm, who carried on

trade of a very doubtful merit, and whose products were sent, not only to Lisbon, but also, if they succeeded in evading the customs, to French, English, and even Hanseatic harbours.

While the foreign merchants dealt principally in brazil-wood, sugar, and similar colonial products, the Portuguese chiefly carried on a brisk trade in Indian slaves, whom they did not take so much to Lisbon as to the colonial harbours, irrespective of whether these natives belonged to Portuguese or to Spanish territory. As was the case everywhere else, the consequence of the slave-hunts was that the natives retired farther and farther from the coast. The slave-hunters, however, followed their prey into the interior by the most accessible paths—that is, by the waterways; and thus they soon also came in conflict with the Guarani, and through them, indirectly, with the Spanish colonists.

Portugal's New System of Administration

In order to put an end to these lawless conditions, and to draw greater advantages from this colonial possession, the Portuguese Government decided on a change in its colonial system. In the year 1531 a great part of Brazil was divided into so-called "capitanries"—vast tracts of land for which the rights of feudal lords, as in the Old World, were granted to the owners in return for an insignificant royalty payable to the Crown. This colonial system was also tried by the English in a part of Northern America.

The thirty-five capitanries which arose under this system had this advantage—that they brought about actual attempts at settlements in many places, and in this way the first sugar plantations, with their refineries, and the first farms were established. On the whole, however, the system did not work satisfactorily. Many of the capitanries were relinquished by the owners; others dragged on a weary existence. Above all, the illegalities in the trade with foreign countries and the sorties of the slave-hunters still continued, even when a central authority had been established for the separate districts, and a vice-regent had been sent over to occupy the residence at Bahia.

The attempt at colonisation by the French Protestants, under Villegaignon, proves how little real authority the Portuguese had over their Brazilian possession. The French expedition was the result of the trade which had for a considerable time been carried on illegally, yet unhindered, between Dieppe and the coast of Brazil. Those lovers of adventure who were anxious to emigrate imagined they could easily found a new home there, and annex a valuable portion of colonial territory for their mother country without difficulty. As a matter of fact, they were in possession of the bay of Rio de Janeiro for almost five years. If internal disputes and altered political conditions at home had not come fortuitously to the aid of the Portuguese, a long time might have elapsed before the future capital of Brazil had once more become Portuguese property.

Underhand Methods of the French

The French, retiring more and more towards the north, repeatedly attempted to gain a footing on Brazilian soil, and for this purpose made most clever use of the policy which they had so successfully carried through on a larger scale in their settlements on the St. Lawrence. They allied themselves with the natives, not only to gain peace with them, but also that they might incite them against their colonial rivals. This policy was easy in Brazil, because, in the eyes of the Portuguese, the native continued to be a commodity to be employed to the best advantage.

The union of Portugal with Spain in the year 1580 was not to be without influence on colonial legislation, although the government of Portugal and its colonies remained entirely separate, in spite of the conquest by Philip II. Many laws were formulated which in principle tended towards the personal liberty of the Indians. They were, nevertheless, almost entirely without influence on the actual circumstances, for the colonists always managed so that their property in Indian slaves should remain judicially unassailed. The conditions for the native were improved only farther towards the interior, where even to this day the views held are very divergent. The Jesuits, of whom the first came to Brazil in 1549, found an extended field of labour there. That they were at first less harassed by the slave-hunters in the northern provinces may be due to the fact that the latter were principally kept in the south owing to long-standing custom, as well as from the insecurity of the political boundaries and other circumstances. There

Brazil a Mission Field of Jesuits

the prospect was in every instance formed by a chapel standing on the border of the common. The simple huts of the Indians were situated along these streets, and all the buildings were erected by the community and remained its property. The inhabitants had only the use of the dwellings, and of the small gardens situated near them they partly had personal possession. The garden was the only thing which the family supervised themselves, and, it is said, generally very badly. The extensive maize and cotton fields adjoining the common, and the considerable herds of oxen and sheep, which constituted the chief wealth of the reduction, were cultivated and managed according to the directions of the missionaries for the benefit of the community.

Socialism in Jesuit Settlements

The entire produce found its way into the granaries, whence it was then distributed by the padres to each individual household. In the same way the regulation of the work depended upon them, each inhabitant being pledged to do some, according to his trade and capacity. With such labourers it was but a trifling matter for the missionaries to provide for the necessary requirements of shelter, clothing and sustenance; they also introduced many cultured arts, such as carving, watchmaking and even printing. It is no doubt due to the steady method of their instruction, as well as to an actual mental deficiency, that the Indian, in all his training, never succeeded in getting beyond imitation, and never made any inventions or progress, in spite of the discipline of civilisation which had influenced him for more than a hundred years.

The Jesuits defended themselves against the attacks of those who reproached them for having intentionally crushed the human liberty of their charges with the assertion that it had been impossible to force the Indian from his condition of perpetual childishness, and that a greater degree of personal liberty would only have injured the individual and the general good. There may be much truth in this; at any rate, it is certain that the natives were actually contented under the guidance of the missionaries, and that they not only rendered them almost unconditional obedience, but also took serious pains to retain their spiritual rulers when the government thought it advisable to recall them.

The Natives Happy with the Missionaries

The authority of the missionaries was, it is true, directly as well as indirectly almost unlimited. There were in each reduction only two Europeans, both regular priests, of whom one, the actual leader, supervised the spiritual, while the other managed the material concerns of the settlement. They were assisted by a kind of municipality founded upon the model of the Spanish colonial towns, which, though it depended upon the election of the community, was always absolutely subservient to the missionaries.

The fact that there was hardly a temporal judicial authority proves how entirely the Jesuits had their charges under control. The inhabitants were governed almost exclusively by the power of the confessional, and the Jesuits have themselves shown that actual sins came to their knowledge but very rarely through the confessional. The Jesuits also naturally represented their communities abroad, for they had made them, as far as possible, independent of the outer world, both politically and economically. An outsider rarely found his way to the missions; and the twofold reason why the stranger became exclusively the guest of the padres was first in order to prevent his closer acquaintance with the natives, and secondly to preserve the latter from unfavourable outside influences. One of the missionaries left the settlement at long intervals, accompanied by one of the most reliable of the natives, for the purpose of exchanging, in the Spanish settlements, the surplus of their productions, consisting principally of cotton and hides, for anything which the reductions did not themselves produce; but even then contact with the European was avoided as much as possible.

Prosperity a Source of Danger

The reductions increased rapidly in Paraguay and soon possessed a large population, and this circumstance in itself threatened to become fatal. All the settlements were unprotected, and the missionaries themselves considered it a decided advantage to calm the warlike tendencies of the Guaranis, who had once been celebrated for their daring bravery; besides this, a law which was generally valid forbade the arming of the Indians. Thus the Portuguese slave-robbers, who in the seventeenth century already had at their disposal a well-organised and well-armed force, experienced no difficulty when the idea occurred to them, in the year 1637,

of taking their Indian slaves from the missions instead of having to track them laboriously in the jungle. This development was indeed an eventful one for the Jesuits. Forthwith, in consideration of the prevailing circumstances, they secured for their native charges the suspension of the law against the carrying of firearms, and thereafter the friars brought up the natives to be good and thorough soldiers.

They not only easily repelled the attacks of other savage natives, but also beat the Paulists—so the Portuguese slave-hunters were called, after their native place, the Province San Paulo—so completely that they were forced to transfer the field of their activity farther into the northern continent. They also proved themselves extremely trustworthy and well-drilled fighting material whenever, through risings in the interior or hostilities on the borders, the Spanish settlements were threatened by other Europeans.

The Jesuits thus carried on the work of the conversion of the natives for more than a century without interruption, with the exception of the dissensions with the spiritual and temporal authorities of the neighbouring districts. In the meantime the tendency of the spirit of the age in the Old World had become more and more opposed to their order, and this attitude of things finally affected their settlements in the remote jungle also. The first impulse, it is true, arose from purely political motives. With the continuous opening up and development of the South American continent, Spain and Portugal at length in the same way felt the necessity for a more distinct demarcation of their colonial possessions. The personal union of the two kingdoms which had been established by Philip II. was again annulled by the Portuguese protest of 1640, and in 1668, after long-standing animosities, Spain was forced to acknowledge the supremacy of the house of Braganza in Portugal and her colonies. Soon afterwards the Spanish Crown passed to the Bourbon dynasty. When Ferdinand VI. began from within to reorganise the state, which had been ruined by long mismanagement and by the prolonged war of succession, a newer, freer, and clearer impulse was also given to colonial progress.

Separation of Spain and Portugal

The desire for the regulation of the Brazilian boundary was one of the issues. The Portuguese had repeatedly laid claim to the left shore of the mouth of the La Plata. They had founded a town, Colonia, opposite to Buenos Ayres, and had often attempted to extend their settlements in this region; and this became an especial thorn in the flesh to the government at Madrid, because these settlements were exclusively for the purpose of illegally breaking through the bounds by which Spain sought to secure her trade with the colonists. As Portugal, however, possessed only a slight interest in these advanced coast towns, she readily agreed that Spain should exchange considerable plains of land in the interior, part of which formed the left bank of the Uruguay—on which were seven of the missions carried on by the Jesuits—for the left bank of the mouth of the La Plata.

Breaking up the Mission Settlements

The agreement provided that the natives should quit the territory under the guidance of their spiritual leaders, and should travel farther into the Spanish territory. When, however, the boundary commissioners at length began to carry out the agreement on this spot, they were not only met by the Jesuits with urgent remonstrances, but the natives by force of arms offered a resistance which was at first successful. The Jesuits soon again submitted to the order for obedience which had proceeded from Spain, and with the same spirit brought their influence to bear upon the natives. These could not, however, readily make up their minds to give up the loved home for whose defence they had taken up arms, and though it did not actually result in a serious battle, yet it required the approach of a considerable force, which had been collected by Spain and Portugal together, to convince them of the fruitlessness of their attempt.

The incident was in itself so simple and harmless that it scarcely offered a ground for complaint against the Jesuits; but in the hands of the all-powerful Portuguese minister, the Marquess de Pombal, who then already sought an occasion to attack the influential Jesuit order, it assumed the guise of a heavy accusation. It was not difficult, by means of torture, to force from two captive Indians belonging to the mission the confession that the Jesuits had urged and goaded them on to armed resistance against the order of the allied monarchs. Then a baptised Guarani, whose name was Nicholas, gathered

Pombal the Fierce Enemy of the Jesuits

together the remaining Indians, who permanently disobeyed the order to leave, and formed them into a band of homeless outlaws. With these he continued the war of robbery and plunder against the European settlements on both sides of the frontier. This gave rise to the fable of that independent kingdom which yielded obedience to no temporal power, which the Jesuits, with the help of the natives, were supposed to have striven to establish in the interior of South America. This accusation was of great importance in connection with the expulsion of the Jesuits from Portugal, so much desired and finally accomplished by Pombal.

The Jesuits Fallen on Evil Days

It is also possible that it may have had some influence upon the deliberations of Charles III. and his Ministers when it became a question of taking a stand against the Society of Jesus in the conflict which was waged throughout the whole world. Unquestionably, neither Pombal nor any other far-seeing and intelligent statesman seriously believed in such an accusation; it was, at the most, brought up as an expedient in the agitation in order to conceal the purely worldly and political motives which determined the expulsion of the Jesuits from Portugal and Spain.

Moreover, the Jesuits have not left the slightest proof that the accusations brought against their missionary activity, where only their own personal interests were in question, were well merited. Both in Brazil and Paraguay they submitted with dumb resignation to the order which recalled them suddenly and without any preparation from the field of action where they had successfully laboured for a hundred years. Even the unworthy and revengeful manner in which the order was carried out by the officials appointed for this purpose did not in a single instance force them from their purely passive role of endurance. In obedience to the order they vanished from all places where either the welfare of their charges was threatened or where they foresaw that want and death would be inevitable for themselves. History has justified them in one respect. No matter how one may judge of their system with regard to the treatment of the natives, they at any rate perfectly understood how to take care of their individual well-being, and to teach them to become absolutely submissive and useful subjects.

How History has Justified the Missionaries

Those who succeeded to their inheritance in a few years again alienated the Indians from all the progress in civilisation which they had made under the Jesuits, and by a wrong treatment turned them once more into wandering savage tribes. And thus they have remained wherever the bare jealousy of the more highly civilised European presumes to see in the Indian, who, mentally, has not yet grown out of the fetters of centuries of ancient prejudices, a creature of an inferior order.

The expulsion of the Jesuits is the last important phase in the native policy of latinised South America. From that time the care of the Indians in the sphere of missions was transferred to temporal authorities. While in the other provinces they had been gradually learning actually to carry into effect the well-intentioned aims of the native legislation, these first-mentioned provinces had once more to go through the entire range of experience with regard to the treatment of the natives, and their natural development, which had taught the others tolerance. With regard to the position of the Indians, scarcely any confirmed grounds of complaint existed in general during the last twenty years of Spanish colonial rule. Where there remained dependence and a certain lack of enterprise, this was rather the result of a natural propensity inculcated by the generations that had previously followed old customs than the effect of a perverted application of the law.

The Indians Backward in Development

The greater proportion of the Indians do not, even in the present day, completely understand the European's hypothesis of a progressive civilisation, or his attitude and mental outlook, even though for two generations past this development in progress has been maintained by free citizens of free republics with every imaginable guarantee of personal liberty. These are, however, conditions which have unavoidably manifested themselves, and will continue to do so as a necessity of nature, wherever two nations, holding entirely different theories concerning civilisation, and having such marked differences in the degree of culture, come into conflict. It is possible that certain specially gifted individuals might be able to raise themselves at length to a complete equality of culture, but the large proportion of less highly civilised people will always remain, both mentally and physically, dependent upon the more advanced race.

SPAIN'S GOLDEN ERA IN AMERICA

AND THE DAYS OF THE BUCCANEERS

WHILE it must be acknowledged that the policy of the Spanish Government regarding the native question was the most enlightened and well-intentioned of any which had been put into practice anywhere, this cannot be affirmed with reference to their trade policy. The fact that the entire trade communication with the colonies was monopolised by the one harbour of Seville was as much the result of the arrangements made with Columbus as an imitation of the Portuguese model.

The explorer had, according to agreement, stipulated that he should receive, besides the right of participation in all subsequent colonial voyages, a share in the clear profit from the combined colonial undertakings. In order to fulfil this stipulation, it became an unavoidable necessity that all colonial enterprises should be strictly controlled with reference to their cost and profit. This would naturally have been impossible if the ships destined for the colonies had been allowed to sail from every harbour of the Spanish peninsula, which was surrounded by the sea on three sides. As is well known, it was not until far into the sixteenth century that a definite understanding was arrived at, after long law-suits and repeated agreements between the government and the heirs of Columbus.

Seville's Exclusive Trade Monopoly

The fact, however, that the exclusive monopoly of the trade by Seville, and the strict regulations of the customs, were adhered to, was undoubtedly the consequence of the political views which on this subject prevailed with the government. The land which came to the Crown of Castile as an integral and permanent part through the discovery of Columbus was not regarded so much as a territorial accession of land as an increase of the Crown domains belonging to the kings of Castile. This acceptation was shared in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by all the Powers who carried on any colonial policy whatever, the remains of which can be traced almost everywhere. In Spain they have been maintained so strongly that modern Spain cannot quite free herself from them, in spite of three generations of progressive revolutions.

According to such an acceptation of the law it naturally depended upon the pleasure of the government, or of those to whom the government had transferred their rights, as to who should be admitted to the colonies, either with the object of settling there or for the purposes of trade. The restrictions were then also, from the beginning, very numerous, and they were, with the exception of several fundamental amplifications instituted during the first decades, maintained with, if anything, almost too great severity. As the colonies belonged to the Crown of Castile, the Castilians possessed, in the first instance, the natural right to trade therein, but this prerogative had also been conceded to the Aragonese since 1495.

Restricted Entry to the Colonies

The privilege received yet further expansion after the accession of Charles V. Considerations of an agricultural nature were principally responsible for the resolution to permit all subjects of the many kingdoms ruled by the Spanish king to have access to the colonies. Spain was endowed with extensive colonial possessions at a moment when such a national property could, and did, become extremely dangerous. Hardly had the political unity of the actual Spanish soil been established by the removal of the last Moorish kingdom, and scarcely had Ferdinand and Isabella taken the first steps to lead the country—whose agricultural development had been much impaired by the continued war against the Moors—to a greater expansion of its natural resources, when a new and dangerous enemy to its national industry arose. Thus the discovery of America removed thousands upon thousands of strong labourers from

The Spanish Rush to America

the national work of the by no means large population, and created serious competition between the life of hazardous colonial profits and the slow but certain and advancing field of labour in both agriculture and handicraft at home. Although the agricultural development was successfully carried on upon the foundations laid by the Catholic rulers, yet the mother country could not, under such difficult conditions, carry on the exclusive maintenance of the colonial territory, which rapidly increased from century to century. From the time of the proclamation of the law in question, the exclusion of strangers had already been disregarded in favour of those who knew how to take care of the interests of the state and of the colonies while seeking their own gain.

An Open Door in the New World

That Charles V., in opening up the New World to all his subjects, acted from the standpoint that the solution of the agricultural problems which had been imposed upon the colonies by the government lay in gaining new forces is more especially evidenced by the fact that he called upon all the most powerful agricultural factors of his most distant Spanish dominions to co-operate in the colonial enterprises. From Germany he summoned the Hanses and the Augsburgers, and from Italy, more especially, the great merchants.

The laws of the country concerning the trade with the colonies were, of course, also binding upon these. They, too, were obliged first to enter Seville with their ships and wares, pay the entrance duty, and also submit to the compulsory registration which was supervised by the Casa de Contratacion, according to which no person or trade commodity was permitted to enter the colony without satisfying the legal demands. Like the Spaniards, they were also bound to return to Seville and again go through the same formalities. All costly articles from the colonies, more especially ores, also came under this prohibition, which forbade such articles being taken out of Spain. As Spain, with its colonies as well as through them, consumed considerably more trade commodities than it was able to supply to foreign countries, this regulation could not be enforced permanently, as in time became evident to the government, engrossed as it was in mercantile questions. However, it neither knew how to remedy the evil nor recognised the fact that, owing to the entirely altered conditions created by the production of ores in the New World, gold and silver had dropped in their exchange value to the trade level for wares, the price of which no human laws can fix. Trade with the colonies during the earlier years was burdened by no customs duties, but as commercial intercourse increased, export and import duties were introduced, such as had been imposed between the several Spanish territories. As precious ores were not wares, they were not affected; but the state, by levying a royalty on the profits from their sale, secured a share for itself.

Spain's Trade Relations with Her Colonies

It was of the utmost importance, more especially at first, that the government should revive the trade with the colonies. For this purpose it readily granted, through the Casa de Contratacion, the necessary passes to every ship which proposed sailing across the ocean, and sold such charts as could be supplied. It also established its own court of pilots as a school for helmsmen and as a centre for examination. The rigour of the law was at first often suspended, and incidentally the number of ports of departure was considerably increased, the Canary Islands securing exemption from the enforced call at Seville. Forced registration, also, was not strictly maintained. It was a well-known fact that the returning vessels often secretly deposited a considerable portion of their costly freight on the shores of the Portuguese Azores, in order to escape the customs, and Philip II., during the first years of his reign, instructed his councillors not to interpose the full severity of the law against this practice, in so far, at all events, as his own subjects were concerned.

Traders who Escaped the Customs

Naturally these restrictive regulations were particularly burdensome to the colonies. By preventing free competition, they, in combination with the superabundance of gold and silver, caused the prices between the colonies and the mother country, at the end of the sixteenth century, to be in the ratio of three to one, and even as five to one. The agitation for the removal of the trade restrictions was at that time enormously powerful there. But it was the absolute impossibility of preventing in any way the misuse of measures intended to procure alleviation in a distant land, and

over an endless extent of thinly populated coast, that caused the government to adhere with even greater severity to the system of enforced registration.

Before any harbour for imports in the New World, besides San Domingo, could become of importance for trade purposes, political circumstances in the mother country led to a fresh organisation of her commercial intercourse with the colonies. These proved of extraordinary service to the system of control pursued by the government, without tending to make the disadvantages connected with it perceptible to the colonists. The results which the Spaniards and Portuguese achieved with the aid of their trans-Atlantic maritime power were not without reaction on the remaining European Powers. French and English sailors, often guided during their first voyages by Italian pilots, soon also ventured to cross the ocean; their discoveries in North America are dealt with elsewhere.

The Days of Buccaneering Expeditions

So long as Spain remained at peace with the rest of the world, and its colonies yielded only moderate compensation in return for the disbursement made, this intermeddling of foreign Powers in the colonial sphere remained comparatively unimportant. When, however, under Charles V., the plans for the government of the world by Spain became more and more sharply defined, violent antagonism arose, at first against France under Philip II., and also against England. This gave rise to open enmity, which led to repeated wars in Europe, daring privateering voyages on the ocean, and finally, also, to those buccaneering expeditions and attacks on the other side of the ocean from which the colonial ports had long to suffer, until at length the foreign Powers succeeded in securing portions of the ancient Spanish colonial possessions.

When this enmity first became apparent through the capture of single and unarmed ships sailing between Spain and the colonies, Charles V. issued the decree, in the year 1526, that in times of war the ships should no longer set sail and return singly, but should, under the leadership of competent captains, be combined into fleets capable of resistance. This was the origin of the celebrated "plate-fleets" and galleons, which for two centuries carried on the trade exclusively between Spanish America and the remainder of the civilised world. This measure was at first introduced only with reference to the security of trans-oceanic commerce; that it rendered the most important services to the Crown's fiscal control was certainly soon proved and acknowledged by all the interested parties. The diffusion of the Spanish race in the New World had not reached its termination when the fleets were introduced. Several phases in the development of this institution had to be passed through before it received its permanent establishment, after which it remained approximately as follows.

The Celebrated Plate-fleets and Galleons

The ships which intended sailing to the West Indies assembled annually in the months of March and September at Seville, or, when their draught did not allow of it, at San Lucar de Barrameda, or, later on, at Cadiz. They had to be at least ten in number, otherwise the fleet was not permitted to set sail. As a rule, there were between thirty and forty, and in some cases a great many more ships. In the year 1589, no less than ninety-four vessels going from Panama to the South were required to transport all that the fleet had brought to Portobello. Ships of less than a hundred tons were, as a rule, excluded from participation in the voyage to the Indies, and all, even the heavily freighted merchantmen, were obliged to carry at least four heavy and sixteen light guns, and every man on board carried weapons.

Two of the largest vessels were selected as "capitana" and "almiranta"; the first, carrying all the highest in command of the whole fleet, sailed in advance, while the admiral's ship formed the rear-guard with the special duty of keeping the fleet together. The capitana and almiranta were more strongly built than the other ships, and, in order to increase their powers of action in battle, they were not allowed to be freighted to the same extent as the merchantmen. Besides these, the fleet was at first accompanied by at least one, and later on by several larger ships—the galleons—whose chief duty it was to watch over the safety of the fleet. They had a tonnage of at least two hundred to three hundred, were powerfully equipped, and were allowed only light freight.

Guardians of Spain's Treasures

They were at the same time intended to bring back in safety to Spain the gold and silver which were due to the Crown as taxes and duty. In times of war the Indian fleets,

upon which the entire wealth of Spain depended, were not even thus considered sufficiently well guarded. A protecting fleet, consisting of galleys and galleons, was therefore also equipped out of the revenue from the additional tax which had been levied upon the Indian trade for this purpose, and these had to accompany the trading fleets on the high seas and escort the returning ones in the same way. Finally, several lighter and smaller ships — despatch-vessels, called "avisos"—were attached to each fleet, their duty being to go in advance, so as to discover threatening dangers and to prepare the officials on either side for the arrival of the fleet.

Spain's Great Merchant Fleets

The combined fleet sailed from Seville to San Domingo, where the official control to which they had been submitted at the port of sailing was renewed. The ships which were to sail via Porto Rico and Havana to Vera Cruz formed the so-called "Fleet of New Spain"; they then separated from those which first sailed through the Gulf of Mexico to Cartagena and thence to Portobello. The latter, called the "Continental Fleet," was by far the more important of the two, as it carried all the merchandise from the whole southern continent of America. All direct commercial intercourse with the mother country, except through these fleets, was not only forbidden to all the provinces, but was also so fettered by customs restrictions and trade rules that the colonies were at the most only permitted to exchange certain products of their own soil, but never European trade commodities.

The Continental Fleet, in the first instance, supplied Peru and Chili, starting from Portobello, but soon after also Tucuman and Paraguay, the countries of the modern Argentina. The anomaly that the merchandise for the south-east of America had to traverse the watershed between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans twice before arriving at its place of destination arose from there being no noteworthy colony at the mouth of the La Plata. Buenos Ayres had, it is true, been founded in the year 1535, but it was almost immediately dissolved, its final colonisation taking place in 1562. It was, however, for the time being of no importance, owing to its great distance from the centres of Spanish colonial government, and its exposed position on a coast which was difficult to defend, and also because of its immediate proximity to the Portuguese, who claimed the opposite shore of the bay as their territory. The Spanish Government did not consider it advisable to recognise the town as a harbour in the trans-oceanic trade intercourse. This region was first organised in 1617 as a special colonial district, and remained for a considerable time the seat of an extensive but illegal trade with foreign nations before the government decided, in conjunction with the alteration in the trade with Chili and Peru by way of Cape Horn, to include Buenos Ayres also among the places to be affected by the trade of the fleets.

The Humble Beginnings of Buenos Ayres

Up to that time the principal traffic was confined to the route via Portobello. As a settlement this town was of no importance, and it remained uninhabited during the greater part of the year, owing to its unhealthy climate. At all events, the greatest business transactions and the wildest speculations of the whole of South America were made there during the forty days' market, or fair, that followed the arrival of the fleet. A luxurious life of pleasure, incidental to easily won gains, reigned for a short time in the town, which consisted of hastily erected tents and huts. When, however, at the conclusion of the fair, preparations were made for the return, the population of Portobello vanished, not to come back again within another half or whole year, or even longer period, when the same scene was re-enacted. The regularity of the fleets left much to be desired; there never was a lack of adventurous vessels, but conditions of the weather and political complications often prevented the regular carrying out of the despatch of the fleets in sailing. More than once the fair of Portobello had to be postponed or stopped altogether, because the expected ships had been wrecked or had fallen into the hands of hostile privateers.

The Perils of the Trading Vessels

Thus it happened that though the optional sailings of the fleets had at first been joyfully welcomed as a sign of progress, the inconvenience caused by the ships arriving far too seldom to meet the colonists' requirements became a heavy burden, which was felt all the more when an extraordinary rise in the price of all trade commodities resulted. Nevertheless, owing to the ever-increasing insecurity on the ocean, the government strictly

BUCCANEERS ATTACKING A SPANISH TREASURE SHIP

To the European settlers in the West Indies the seventeenth century was a period of outlawry. Bands of buccaneers, originally smugglers and pirates, mostly recruited from convicts transported to the islands from England and France, were the terror of the Caribbean Sea. Composed of almost all nationalities, with the exception of Spain, they pursued everything Spanish with a deadly hatred. In 1630 their headquarters in San Domingo were destroyed, but in a few years the adventurers returned in force and for the next seventy years fattened on European trade and property.

enforced the regulations which had been drawn up. It might have given way by allowing the departure of the fleets from Europe to take place at any time, and it did, as a matter of fact, make several concessions in this respect, but it had such a prominent interest in the safe return of the entire fleet that it never thought of the possibility of forgoing it. These fleets were actually the only means of communication between the two worlds, for the entire official and private correspondence was carried by them; but a still more important point was that only with their assistance could all the colonial revenues, which were indispensable for the state budget, reach the government exchequer.

Pirates on the Watch for Spoil

All the colonial offices sent their reports to the respective ports for the custody of the fleets, where the letters and valuables were entrusted to the soundest and safest vessels. Three months after their arrival at San Domingo, the ships of the New Spain and Continental Fleets were instructed to reassemble once more at Havana. The galleons and the equipped convoys filled up the interval with occasional pirate expeditions, until they had once more to undertake the safe-conduct of the united fleets on their return, sailing under similar precautionary measures through the Bahama Sea into the open ocean. This part of the voyage was by far the most dangerous. Spain's political enemies, as well as the pirates, always turned their attention to catching the returning fleet, which, on account of its transport of precious metals, was called the "plate," *ie.*, silver fleet. Occasionally the enemy succeeded completely in this design, but generally only in part.

The colonies, from the beginning, yielded the mother country all kinds of products. Besides the logwood which was much exported from all parts of America, various drugs, and, later on, large quantities of sugar and hides, formed the freight of the returning vessels. The most valuable portion of the cargo always consisted of gold, silver, pearls and precious stones. Columbus had already found gold in moderate quantities with the natives. As soon as they had become convinced that it was of indigenous origin, the settlers began gold mining and washing. The gold mines, in which, owing to the primitive manner of working, but comparatively little was achieved in spite of a great expenditure of labour, were the real places of torture for the Indians. At all times and in all places the flotsam and jetsam of human society have assembled among gold-diggers. In the presence of such elements all laws for the protection of the natives were powerless, because each official risked his own life in endeavouring to enforce respect for the law from such an assembly.

America's Unprofitable Gold Mines

But during the whole time of the conquista the actual wealth was not derived from gold and silver mines, but through barter with the natives. Appreciating this fact, the government always willingly encouraged mining industry by granting an abatement of taxes and sending over experienced miners, mostly Germans; but, as always, it demanded and collected the fifth part of all gold gained by barter or on marauding expeditions.

The mining industry did not become remunerative until after the conquest of Mexico. The silver-mines of Sultepeque, and more especially of Guanajuato, yielded such rich ores that they were permanently worked. The Spaniards also found treasures of fabulous value in possession of the natives of Peru; but there, as in all other provinces, the store of precious metals attainable by barter was exhausted comparatively early, and the prospects of the gold and silver mines were, for the moment, decidedly less favourable than in the north, until the silver-mines of Potosi were discovered, quite by chance, in the year 1545. This mining district proved of untold wealth for a long period, and it is chiefly due to it, in combination with the Mexican silver-mines, that the production of precious metals in the New World has been maintained permanently on a comparatively high level.

Discovery of Potosi's Silver Mines

The first primitive method of procedure made the working of only the richest ores remunerative. The discovery of a process of amalgamation, however, made it possible to gain more extensive profits from the rocks of Mexico and Peru. A German miner, who, owing to a fire which burned out the quicksilver mines of Almaden, had become penniless, was, according to the most recent research, the inventor of amalgam. He went into partnership with a Spaniard, Bartolomé de Medina, for the realisation of his discovery.

However, as the Inquisition permitted only the latter, and not his German master, to go over to Mexico, the Spaniard so entirely assumed the credit of the discovery that not even the name of the German has become known.

The process of extracting silver by means of quicksilver brought about a complete revolution in the mining industry of Mexico. The mine proprietors promised to freight the ships of the New Spain fleet as high as the masts if they could only obtain sufficient quicksilver, and the price of it increased enormously. The monopoly of the profits from the pits of Almaden, which were the largest in the world, and, next to those of Idria, the only ones then worked, had already been acquired previously, and the Spanish government now also claimed the monopoly of the trade. It leased the pits to the Fuggers, who, by an intelligent process of working, under German direction, produced approximately one hundred per cent. of profit during half a century. They were obliged to relinquish all the gains to the government, who sold the quicksilver in America to the mine-owners for three and four times as much as the purchase-money. Thenceforward the galleys, which on the return voyage brought the treasures of gold and silver from America, on the outward voyage carried from 150 to 250 tons of quicksilver. From 1563 to 1641—that is to say, as long as the Fuggers were the leaseholders of the pits of Almaden—silver worth £50,000,000 is said to have been gained from 12,658 tons of quicksilver which they had extracted. The royalty on this alone amounted to over £10,000,000.

Huge Profits from the Silver Mines

In the whole export trade that Spain carried on with its colonies there was only one other article which equalled quicksilver in importance, and that was the negro slave. Reference has already been made to the fact that access to the colonies had, in accordance with the oldest legislation, been closed to these slaves, but that the government was not strict in granting exceptions. The negroes did not begin to play an important part in the organisation of the colonies and in colonial trade until Las Casas, with his narrow philanthropic ideas, recommended the importation of negro slaves as a means of liberating the Indians from their state of servitude. If, as was evidently the clear intention of the Spanish Government, the colonies were to be organised for other purposes than to serve as fulcrums for barter and trade, as had been established by the Portuguese in the Indies, then undoubtedly provision for labourers had to be made. It was quite evident that there were not enough Europeans for this purpose. On the one hand, the climate enfeebled their working powers, and, on the other hand, the disproportion between the number of the European colonists and the expansion of the colonial possessions was such that to surmount the difficulties of colonisation by European forces alone was quite out of the question.

Strict Laws with Regard to Emigration

Added to this, the conception which the Spanish Government had of their duty to the colonies forbade Spain's deportation of criminals or doubtful subjects. Columbus wished to attempt the discovery of America with discharged convicts. Portugal, in the irregular method of her colonial policy, had made some experiments with convict settlements in Brazil, but the Spanish laws permitted only the nation's free men to emigrate, and the government, in single instances only, transported misdemeanants at the request of special colonial groups. Even with their help it would have been impossible to carry on mining, cattle-raising and plantations in the colonies simply for this reason, that many kinds—and more especially the higher kinds—of labour always remained to be done by the Europeans. If, therefore, the Indian—who, owing to his indolence and his spirit of independence, could scarcely be induced to do the work voluntarily, according to European standards—was to be exempt from all compulsion, then another supply of labour had to be imported into the colonies.

Las Casas' proposal, that negroes should be used for this purpose in the same manner in which they were employed on the islands on the coasts of Africa, was favourably received by the government. For fiscal reasons the Crown nominally maintained the prohibition of negro importation, but, in consideration of the payment of certain fees, single individuals or companies were allowed to supply to the harbours of the colonies a fixed number of negroes annually. The colonial authorities had been called upon to give a report in respect to their annual

The Colonies' Demand for Cheap Labour

requirements. In the beginning 4,000 were named, but in the course of the long period during which the "Asiento"—the contract for the monoply of the importation of slaves—lasted, the number was at various times increased or diminished. The colonists, however, always complained that the supply of negro slaves for the New World fell far short of the actual demand, and the trade in this valuable commodity was at all times the favourite business of the illegal smuggling trade which was carried on by foreign shipowners. There is no doubt that this matter permanently engrossed the attention of the government.

Privileges Enjoyed by the Slave-ships

The slave-ships enjoyed certain privileges, inasmuch as they were allowed, by the deposit of a security, to sail from the coast of Guinea, where they purchased their black merchandise from Portuguese dealers, straight to America, where a few ports were open to them for the landing of the negroes. The oldest Asientists already enjoyed certain privileges for the requirements of their trade, and in the return from Spain of their profits in the shape of colonial goods; but they remained bound by the obligation to return to Seville, as well as to be registered in the same manner as all other merchants. As control of them was far more difficult than of the voyages of the fleets and galleys, the Crown's toleration of the Asientists was very soon taken advantage of for the general evasion of the oppressive colonial trade laws and for extensive and growing smuggling.

Though the slave monopoly was at first in the hands of the Genoese and the Germans, it was comparatively little abused, and it was only slightly prejudicial to the legitimate trade in general; yet in time these conditions changed when other nations, with less friendly intentions, took the monopoly into their hands. The idea of leasing the sole rights in the traffic of slave importation to the Portuguese was not bad in itself, as the Portuguese were in undisputed possession of the *materia prima* of the negroes themselves. The Portuguese merchants received the Asiento at the time when Portugal was bound to Spain by a personal union, and they retained it after the revolt of the Braganzas until the acknowledgment of Portuguese independence by the treaty of peace in 1667. Then the merchants of Seville temporarily obtained the Asiento for themselves. The Guinea Company, in which Louis XIV. himself had a share, possessed the monopoly of the slave-trade after Spanish America, until political circumstances necessitated the retirement of France.

Widespread Traffic in Slaves

This was not advantageous to Spain, however, one of the conditions of the Treaty of Utrecht expressly stipulating the cession of the Asiento to the English, who undoubtedly profited most thoroughly by it. The English at the same time received a guarantee for the right to send annually to the colonies, which were closed to the trade of all the other colonies under privileged conditions, two vessels of modest dimensions freighted with European trade commodities, in addition to the slave-ships. It has, however, been reported that these vessels, while they discharged their cargo openly and in sight of the harbour officials during the day, were again freighted by night from larger ships which did not disembark, but rode at anchor outside for no apparent reason. In this way three and four times the bulk of their actual merchandise was landed. These were serious evils, which finally induced Ferdinand VI. to repurchase the Asiento contract from the English, even before its legal termination. The reason that the government was so long in deciding upon this step was not alone due to the fact that it was immediately interested in the profits of the English association, nor because the English alone had succeeded in transporting the prescribed number of slaves to the colonies; but it was chiefly owing to the large sums which accrued to the state exchequer by means of these transactions and played an important part in the revenue of the Indies.

Profits of the Slave Trade

The original tax of eight shillings per head, by means of which the first holders of the trade monopoly bought the licence, was in time raised to from three to four pounds. The importation of 3,000 to 4,000 slaves annually thus became also perceptible in the colonial budget of the eighteenth century, when the royalties from the gains of precious metals had diminished considerably. The question has often been discussed as to what amount of gold, silver, and other valuables the Spanish state and country had derived from its trans-Atlantic colonial possessions, but it has never been satisfactorily

settled, owing to the utterly incomplete reports of the trade of Spain and its colonies which have hitherto been obtainable. While it has been asserted that the development of Spanish America was retarded for a hundred years by the colonial policy of Spain, an attempt has been made to attach the responsibility for Spain's economic downfall to the very abundance of precious metals, by the assertion that the gold from the New World corrupted and eventually ruined Spain. That, however, like the previous statements, is an exaggeration.

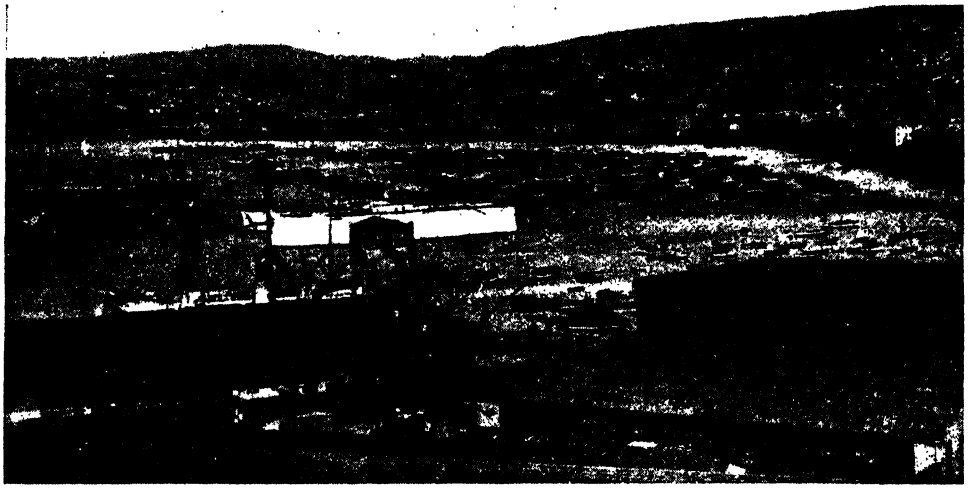
If Spain had been a sound economic state, there would have been as little likelihood of her corruption by the superfluity of gold and silver as there was of England's being injured by the treasures of India. That Spain did not allow her colonies a freer and more individual life, but regarded them as essentially an asylum for the mother country, and refused until far into the eighteenth century to make use of them in any other way, is a point of view which all the colonial Powers of that age had in common. Probably Spain's attitude would not have changed to this day if the powerful revolutionary agitations which in the New World led to the complete severance of the United States from England and of very nearly the whole of Latin America from Spain, had not forced her to a very different polity.

THE LOSS OF THE REVENGE: SIR RICHARD GRENVILLE'S LAST FIGHT

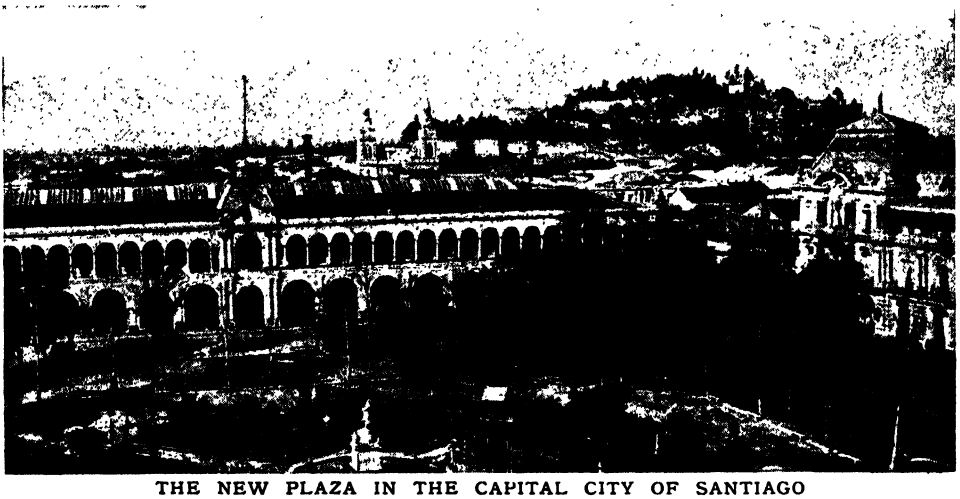
Forming one of the squadron of queen's ships despatched to the Azores in 1591 to look out for the homeward-bound treasure fleet of Spain, the Revenge, under the command of Sir Richard Grenville, was cut off from the admiral and the rest of the squadron by a powerful Spanish fleet. With "her hundred fighters on deck and her ninety sick below," the little Revenge made a brave fight against the fifty-three ships of Spain, but was ultimately captured and her gallant commander mortally wounded. So impressed was the Spanish admiral by the heroic stand of the English that he sent his barge to take Sir Richard Grenville to his own ship, the San Pablo, where he died a few days later.

From the painting by Sir Oswald Brierley, by permission of the Art Union of London, 112, Strand

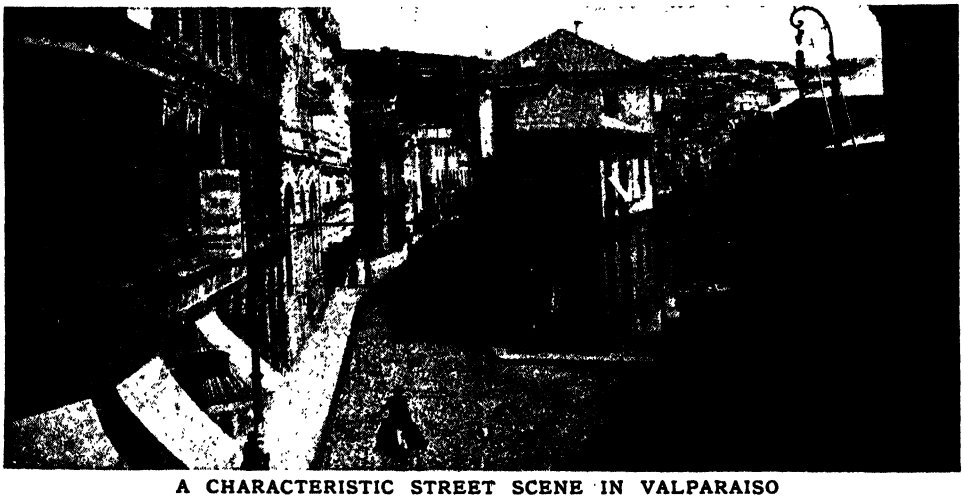
The Spanish colonies fulfilled their object until the eighteenth century. They provided the mother country with such abundant means of gold, which was indispensable to her political position in the concert of Europe, that it aroused the envy of all other countries, and tempted them, on the one hand, to embark in colonial enterprises themselves, while, on the other hand, it made them take from the Spaniards as much of their colonial treasures as possible.



VALPARAISO THE CHIEF PORT OF THE CHILIAN REPUBLIC



THE NEW PLAZA IN THE CAPITAL CITY OF SANTIAGO



A CHARACTERISTIC STREET SCENE IN VALPARAISO

SCENES IN THE CAPITAL AND PRINCIPAL PORT OF CHILI

SPAIN'S FIGHT FOR HER EMPIRE

AGAINST THE RIVAL EUROPEAN POWERS

FROM the position which the Spanish colonies held in relation to the mother country it naturally follows that they possessed no independent history. Their history comprised the change of officials, the incidental alterations in their administrative organisation, and the regulations for the furtherance of the economic interests instituted far more for the benefit of Spain than for that of the colonies. It was owing to Spain's dependence on them that they became involved in all the political complications of the mother country. The history of all that the colonies had to suffer, as part of the Spanish kingdom, at the hands of Spain's opponents is the nearest approach to a general history of the colonial empire

Spain and her Enemies

When Spain came into warlike conflict with neighbouring European states, the latter did not fail to damage the trade and the naval power of their opponent, on her far-reaching sea-coasts, by means of privateers. In the year 1512 ships were captured by the French, in the course of such attacks, while struggling towards the harbour of Seville on their return from the colonies. A state of war, at times open and at other times latent, prevailed continuously against France during the reigns of Charles V. and Philip II., and it spread the more on the sea because, by the opening up of Mexico and Peru, the colonial trading vessels had become more desirable prey than they had been at the beginning of the century.

The Spanish regents were, however, not blind to this fact. The enemies' attacks upon the South American fleets helped in no small degree the development of that maritime supremacy which Spain maintained during the greater part of the sixteenth century. This ascendancy might perhaps have been more firmly established if Charles V. had not possessed such convenient sources of help in his great European dominions. The same thing happened here as with the colonial trade, for Spain was unable, during the first years of traffic, to satisfy her colonies' demands, so that she granted participation in maritime trade

The Spanish Fleet Supreme on the Sea

to all the allied nations—the Italians, Dutch and Germans. Owing to the abundance of treasure which the country drew from her colonies, this arrangement became permanent, and the fatal consequences which in such a state of affairs must arise from a defection of her allies were not taken into account.

For the time being, at any rate, the Spaniards succeeded by these means in making themselves the ruling maritime Power. No nation could have dared, before 1580, to meet the Spanish fleet openly on the ocean. Even during the small naval war which the privateers, more especially the French privateers, carried on with the Spaniards the latter were undoubtedly at first superior. It was only due to the exceptionally unfavourable position in which the country, with her colonies, found herself when face to face with the enemy that the latter, in spite of many losses, reaped rich benefit and many advantages from the privateering wars.

The arrangements to safeguard the voyages of the trading fleets, and for their convoy along the coast provinces by the naval ships, soon drove the corsairs away from the Andalusian coast and from Cape St. Vincent, where they might often

Spain's Fights with the Corsairs

have become dangerous to the ships returning to Seville. They were obliged to transfer their scene of action farther off, to regions where the home squadrons could not so readily come to the aid of the trading fleets. But they were not able to remain on the Canary Islands, or on the Azores or the Cape Verde Islands, which they had chosen as their centre.

The Spanish measures of defence finally even forced the enemy to seek for spoil in the very quarters where the Spaniard obtained his—that is to say, in the colonies. The pirates did not long remain in ignorance of the sailing routes appointed for the Spanish fleets, because they, too, depended on the ocean currents. In the same way they soon learned that many of the smaller Antilles, and even great tracts on the shores of the larger islands, had been entirely abandoned by the colonists and were therefore "no man's land." Thus the privateers had no great difficulty in finding harbours of refuge, where they could equip themselves for their unexpected attacks, repair the damages incurred, and place the spoils gained in security.

Privateers' Harbours of Refuge

Only a step remained between the capture of the Spanish ships in the trans-Atlantic waters and the attack and plunder of the colonial settlements. The first stages of open hostility followed during the third Franco-Spanish War in the 'forties of the sixteenth century. The daring of the privateers—who, with the secret assistance of the French Government, had been extremely well equipped—was so great that they not only plundered and laid under contribution the small and isolated colonial coast places, but also attacked Santa Maria and Cartagena in 1542. In 1555 they seized the capital of Cuba, Havana, and occupied it for twenty-six days. In the face of such conditions all that the government could do was to order the coast towns to be fortified as far as possible, and whenever this could not be done the settlements near the sea-coast were to be abandoned and transferred farther into the interior.

New enemies then arose for the colonies. Up to that time it had been chiefly the French who had done their utmost to injure the colonial trade and the settlements of their traditional enemies. When Queen Elizabeth of England ascended the throne which Philip II. had shared with her sister, the rupture between England and Spain increased year by year, and developed into open hostility, which became all the greater when Elizabeth firmly showed her Protestant tendencies. The English Navy was then far inferior to the Spanish, and was not in a position to contend with it on the ocean; and, moreover, the English seamen did not then appear to be conducting active naval warfare against the Spaniards. They endeavoured, however, to break through the strict embargo laid on the Spanish colonies' direct trade with the Old World, and in so doing they did not scruple to attack the Spanish ships openly. Soon afterwards they turned their attention to those settlements where their opponents were weak, and where the colonial authorities had opposed their illegitimate trade.

England's Rupture with Spain

The tactics they generally employed were first to plunder a shipload of negro slaves of the Portuguese on the coast of Guinea, for which they were certain of securing a market in the colonies, often with the connivance of the Spanish authorities. At the same time, they knew thoroughly how to seize any opportunity of striking a blow, and if it proved favourable they were at no loss to know how to provoke the Spaniards so that they themselves could always plead that they had taken up arms only in self-defence. Richard Hawkins had, in 1530, already laid the foundation for the wealth which in later years enabled his celebrated son, John Hawkins, to carry on privateering as a slave merchant, with his own flotilla. This mode of trading was, during the 'sixties, carried on by numerous English ships. If they reached unknown coasts, they exchanged wares with the natives. They forcibly extorted permission to trade in the Spanish settlements if it was not willingly granted. But such measures had seldom to be resorted to, except for the sake of appearance.

Plundering Voyages of Drake and Hawkins

When, however, the Spaniards once gained the upper hand, they naturally did not deal very leniently with them, as Hawkins and Drake experienced at Vera Cruz in 1568. The English did not scruple, when opportunity favoured them, to make an actual attack, such as Drake attempted without complete success on Nombre de Dios and Panama in 1572. A few years later, Drake was the first enemy to advance through the Straits of Magellan into the Pacific Ocean, and to plunder the entirely defenceless coast districts of Chili and Peru, thus gaining an enormous amount of spoil. In order that these spoils might not be exposed to the risk of being seized by the Spaniards, who were on the look-out for him on the return voyage, he brought them safely to London by way of the southern point of Africa. There Queen

Elizabeth, on account of his exploits, knighted him, in spite of the Spanish protests. Though the peace between England and Spain, which until then had not been officially declared, had imposed a certain amount of caution upon the English "pirate," this was done away with when, in 1585, both countries were at open war.

In this same year Drake went to sea with twenty-three ships and 2,500 men, and, apart from numerous privateering feats, plundered the towns of San Domingo and Cartagena, destroyed San Agustin in Florida, and brought back 240 guns from the conquered ships and from the subjugated coast districts, besides rich treasures. From that time until the death of Queen Elizabeth scarcely a year passed in which more or less richly equipped fleets did not set sail, either to plunder the coasts of Spain or to ravage the colonies. It was because the English sailors had been thoroughly tried on their daring privateer voyages that they distinguished themselves in the battle against the "invincible" Armada. After the halo which until then had surrounded the Spanish Navy had been dispelled by this battle, the English came forward as serious rivals for the supremacy of the sea. This struggle, which began with the victory over the Armada at Gravelines, terminated at Trafalgar with their complete triumph. The foundation of England's supremacy at sea was laid by the English seamen, who, like Hawkins and Drake, began as smugglers and pirates.

Founders of England's Naval Supremacy

They first convinced the government of the importance of the supremacy of the sea for the prosperity of England, who from her geographical position is dependent upon the sea. Then Walter Raleigh, while the acknowledged favourite of Queen Elizabeth, made the English aspirations for maritime supremacy acceptable at court. Raleigh himself made the first attempts at colonisation on American soil, though they had no immediate or permanent results. The expeditions to Guiana which he undertook in 1595, 1597 and 1616 were the first really serious attempts by foreigners on the southern continent, not only to become possessed of the coast, but also to advance into the interior.

As in the north, they gave the impulse to foreign Powers to establish themselves within the Spanish-Portuguese colonial sphere. Fresh competitors with Spain had appeared in the meanwhile, and these proved the more dangerous because their position as subjects of the Spanish Crown gave them opportunity of becoming acquainted with the conditions of colonial trade. When the first ships belonging to the Netherlands, which at that time had not yet revolted, brought their trade commodities to America, the colonists recognised the advantage gained, and made every kind of representation to the Spanish Government, requesting it to concede to the Dutch, in the same way as to the inhabitants of the Canary Islands, the privilege of sailing straight to the colonies from Dutch ports, so making the call at Seville obligatory for only the return voyage.

The Dutch Trade with America

The Council of the Indies would never agree to this, but it often permitted the Dutch as well as the German and Italian ship-owners and merchants to participate in the colonial trade, even after the general permit of Charles V. had ceased to exist, and the strong seaworthy Dutch hulks were often hired in the service of the king for the official voyages across the ocean. This commercial privilege was seriously endangered when the Protestant provinces rebelled against the Spanish yoke; but the attitude which Philip II. assumed in connection with this insurrection was of advantage to the Dutch. He still desired that only his own, though rebellious, subjects should trade with the South American provinces, and so he continued to grant a share in the Spanish and colonial trade to those shipowners and merchants of the northern provinces who had not been directly implicated in the rebellion.

Thus the Dutch were able, as before, to carry on their business openly and under the Spanish flag, both at Seville and in the colonies, although it was notorious that in this way the money gained flowed into the money chests of the rebels. Not until 1603 was this anomaly abolished—at any rate, in part—when the Dutch trade was burdened with a special tax of 30 per cent. ad valorem, until it, too, was again withdrawn during the twelve years' armistice (1609–1621). In spite of this, the Dutch, besides carrying on a legal trade, soon attempted to enrich themselves from the colonies by illegal means. Sometimes they captured Spanish ships, while at other times, by evading the forced registration, they traded directly with America—partly

How the Dutch Enriched Themselves

with the Spanish-Portuguese settlements, but more frequently with the Indians in the then still uncolonised regions.

The reason why they, like the English, turned chiefly towards the coast districts, between the Orinoco and the Amazon, was probably because they still believed the famous legend of El Dorado, who was looked for between these rivers; though, with the practical disposition which is characteristic of their race, they did not forget to profit by an inferior but more certain gain while seeking for treasures. The actual activity of the Dutch as colonists in America began only with the renewal of the war with Spain. Then, in the year 1621, a West India Company was formed upon the model of the East India Company. However, in the first instance, it made it its business to plunder and damage the Spanish-Portuguese colonies, establishing at the same time a number of small settlements on the Oyapok, the Berbice and the Essequibo, which afterwards developed into the colony of Dutch Guiana.

The Elusive Treasures of El Dorado

The West India Company came more into prominence through the attacks upon Brazil, which was then still subject to the king of Spain. It succeeded, in a surprisingly short time—during the first thirty years of the seventeenth century—in gaining a firm footing in Olinda and Recife, and gradually the Portuguese were almost completely driven from the northern provinces of Brazil. By means of a clever policy of religious and international tolerance, the company succeeded in making the greater part of the old settlers accept the new order of things unconditionally, while it retained their services for the new community, which soon flourished and experienced no difficulty in resisting the Spanish-Portuguese attacks.

The colony was in its prime during the regency of Count Johann Moritz, of Nassau (1637–1644), who not only made his residence, Moritzstadt, the centre for commerce, but also a home for serious scientific studies, such as had never previously been carried on elsewhere on American soil. The altered political conditions first had a disturbing influence when Portugal, separating from Spain in 1640, made a treaty with the Netherlands. The West India Company at first maintained its claim to its Brazilian conquests, and received the support of the States-general.

Brazil in its Prime

The eagerness for the retention of the disputed possession subsequently subsided, so that the Spanish colonial party, which had been considerably strengthened since 1640, succeeded in confining the Dutch more and more to the coast, finally even conquering the coast also, with the assistance of the Portuguese. The Dutch, in the treaty of peace in 1661, also officially renounced all their Brazilian pretensions for an indemnity. From that time attention was once more directed to the so-called savage coast of Guiana. The more ancient settlements of Berbice and Essequibo were ceded to England in 1814, but, on the other hand, the Netherlands possess up to the present day, in Surinam, a remnant of the land which had been colonised under the auspices of the West India Company.

The example which the Netherlands had set by the foundation of state-aided trading companies excited the attention of the rest of Europe, more especially on account of the great results of their East India Company. The French also founded a privileged trading company with the title of "The American Islands Company," almost simultaneously with the establishment of the West India Company. To this France owes her present West India colonies—Martinique, Guadeloupe, and her smaller dependencies—although her first possession was St. Christopher, which now belongs to England. Its fortunes were very variable before they finally came under the direct control of the state. The first company collapsed as early as 1650, and saved itself from complete bankruptcy only by disposing of its territorial rights to individual proprietors, who for a long time exercised an almost unlimited sovereignty, as had been the case in the Portuguese and North American capitanries.

France's West India Colonies

Colbert then supported the system of privileged companies with great zeal, repurchased the West India Islands, and handed them over, with other territories, to the French West India Company, which also became ruined during the first decades of the eighteenth century, in consequence of political complications. Denmark and Sweden also, for a short time, acquired their colonial possessions in the Caribbean Sea by means of privileged trading companies, and in part endeavoured to retain them. Although, with the English, the impulse for colonial activity had been the result of personal and individual initiative,

"FROM SOUTHERN SEAS AND THE SPANISH YOKE"

The seventeenth century was a period rich in adventure. English seamen betook themselves to Southern seas on voyages of piracy, sometimes returning after amassing huge fortunes, when they escaped death at the hands of the Spaniards. In the above we see a returned sailor telling a group of merchant-adventurers the story of his capture and escape.

From the painting by Edgar Bundy, by the artist's permission

it was by the union of their forces into privileged trading companies that they also first achieved greater results.

The inevitable consequence of the mighty expansion of the Spanish colonial kingdom was that the Lesser Antilles, which were but sparsely endowed with natural treasures, soon became entirely neglected, though they comprised the land which Columbus first discovered in the New World. In the beginning of the sixteenth century they had been occasionally visited by Spanish slave-hunters. When the latter, however, no longer reaped any benefit through these expeditions, most of the smaller islands remained entirely uninhabited, and at the most served as hiding-places for the freebooters of all nations who lay in wait for the Spanish ships. It was no wonder that at a time when, through the example of the Dutch, the desire for colonial conquests had been aroused, these uninhabited islands should have been regarded as suitable for the purpose. Some Englishmen had, in 1605, already taken possession of the completely deserted island of Barbados, without colonising it at the time.

Expansion of Spanish Colonies

When St. Christopher had developed into a settlement in 1623, a speculator was also found for Barbados, and he induced the king to grant him the right of a "capitan" over the island and its trade. During the following years the English, French and Dutch took possession of almost all the Lesser Antilles. England's colonial possessions attained a further expansion in the time of Cromwell. The Lord Protector, in the year 1655, attacked San Domingo with an important array of military forces, and though he was defeated there, he was more successful in Jamaica, which became the permanent possession of the English. Until then Spain had regarded all other foreign settlements as a usurpation of her sphere of power, and it was not till 1670, when peace had been concluded with England, that she recognised the validity of England's colonial acquisitions. The same occurred in her relations with France during the subsequent conclusions of peace.

England's Colonial Acquisitions

In spite of all, this was a period of outlawry for the Antilles. The English and French had adhered to the unusual custom of procuring labourers for the settlers by transporting convicts, on condition that they should do compulsory labour for the colonists for a specified number of years. Even though there were many among the number who had been convicted for political or religious offences, there was no lack of men of an infamous kind who made the worst possible use of their regained liberty. The renowned buccaneers and filibusters were recruited from their ranks, and, at the time when the European trading companies were almost completely ruined, and when the English also were entirely occupied by wars at home, they became pirates and were the terror of the Caribbean Sea.

Thus they once more revived the days of Hawkins and Drake by their daring attacks upon the Spanish colonial coasts as far as the Pacific Ocean. These homeless and lawless bands of robbers were composed of the subjects of all countries, Spain alone finding no place in their company; and while they were not in conflict with other nations, they pursued everything that was Spanish with the most deadly hatred. For this reason the enemies of Spain often made use of and protected them, but, for the same reason also, the change in European politics consequent upon the accession of the Bourbons to the throne soon put an end to their doings. The filibusters then attached themselves to either the English or the French, according to the preponderance in force of either nation. Thus, the best elements among them were assimilated by the colonial settlements, while the incorrigible ones gradually fell victims to their trade or at last received well-merited punishment.

A New Dynasty in Spain

Spain's change of dynasty, from the Hapsburgs to the Bourbons, which kindled in Europe a universal conflagration of more than ten years' duration, did not bring to the colonies any more serious shocks. The latter were content to take upon themselves unconditionally the consequences of the events in the mother country, as they had done previously at the union with Portugal, as well as at its revolt, which was a proof that they had not even then awakened to a life of their own. During the first decades the policy of the new dynasty was entirely occupied with European concerns.

Not until various occurrences had led to the conviction that Spain was in need of reorganisation from within, if she was to occupy a place in the council of the Powers

compatible with her great past, did the colonies also assume a higher value in the eyes of the government. Although, owing to the pressure of circumstances, she became nationalised in a surprisingly short time, yet much of the French spirit was infused into the country which till then had been kept in an extraordinary state of isolation. Without the least doubt the revolution which the system of colonial administration underwent under Ferdinand VI. and Charles III. is essentially the direct product of French ideas. The altered conditions of trade and intercourse had in the meanwhile caused the mother country to suffer in as great a degree as the colonies from the restrictions which fettered the colonial trade. The first breach in the old system was still immaterial. Seville was not a suitable point of departure for an extensive trans-Atlantic trade such as had been developed in the eighteenth century. In this matter it is of no consequence whether or not the navigable water of the Lower Guadalquivir had really deteriorated from neglect. But the times when the caravels were considered the most suitable vessels for colonial trade were irrevocably past, and the enforced registration at Seville meant only delay and disadvantages for the larger ocean ships which had long since come into favour.

The transference in 1715 of the staple Indian trade to Cadiz, whose bay and harbour were able to shelter the larger vessels and fleets, was at any rate an adaptation to the actual requirements, though it actually meant no real advance one way or the other. The monopoly of the trade with the Indies was soon seriously and generally taken in hand. The government felt keenly that it was an anachronism that the trade between the mother country and the colonies was still essentially confined to the fleets which traded, at the most, twice in the year. A sense of the value of time also began to manifest itself in the political sphere, quite apart from the fact that the increase of the colonial commerce had proved the impossibility

A TYPICAL SCENE IN MODERN CHILI: THE FAIR AT A COUNTRY TOWN

of meeting its requirements by the rare and uncertain arrival of the fleets and by having to encourage an illegal trade intercourse on an extensive scale, to meet the difficulty. For this reason it was regarded as a beneficial sign of progress on both sides, when monthly traffic from Corunna, by means of single fast-sailing vessels, was instituted between Spain and America under Ferdinand VI. Although these ships, in the first instance, were intended to meet the requirements of the government, they were also available for private trade as far as their cargo space permitted. This measure had scarcely any appreciable influence on the fleets, which had lost considerably in importance, but it had the beneficial effect of making it possible to satisfy the needs of the colonies upon a more peaceful basis, and one which would frustrate the smuggling trade of foreigners.

Spain's Expanding Commerce

The excellent results which were thereby gained finally inspired the enlightened government of Charles III. courageously to break completely with all former systems. In 1774, the trade of the colonial provinces among themselves became enfranchised under certain limitations which aimed at the protection of Spanish produce, and thus a larger sphere of activity was opened up for the beginnings of a colonial industry. Four years later, 1778, the trans-Atlantic trade was also entirely reorganised. The trading of the fleets was suspended, and the Cadiz-Seville monopoly was annulled. In place of it, it was decided that the nine important harbours of the mother country should have the right to be starting-ports of the ships for the colonies, while on the other side of the ocean no less than twenty-two harbours were opened for direct traffic with Spain.

A new table of rates, wisely adapted to the circumstances, was at the same time drawn up, so that, even though the smuggling of the English and the Portuguese could not be entirely suppressed, the essential part of the trading intercourse was once more placed on a legal footing. The markets which had long since ceased to meet the requirements of Portobello therewith also came to an end, and the traffic which had once followed the road from Panama, via Peru and Chili to Tucuman and Buenos Ayres, was now completely revolutionised. Buenos Ayres, owing to its natural situation, became, with the new order of things, the specially favoured harbour for the trade of the southern colonies with Spain, as the ships intended for Chili and Peru, after running up to Buenos Ayres, now followed the route round Cape Horn, in order to reach the harbours of the Pacific Ocean. The province of Buenos Ayres until then had been the step-child of the government; under the new laws it was placed on an equal footing with the richest colonial province of Spain, because of the wealth of its plantations and sheep-farms.

The Rise of Buenos Ayres

The facilities offered to trade brought about an important revolution in commerce. The farmer and planter found it easier to procure a remunerative market for the product which could be drawn in unlimited abundance from the soil, owing to its luxuriant fruitfulness. The facilitated trade therefore reacted in a forcible manner upon agriculture and manufacture. The government under Charles III. was. moreover, eager to make up in every way for the persistent neglect of the past. Scientific expeditions were sent out to make exact surveys, not only of the coasts, but also of the entire surface of the countries, and they were at the same time commissioned to examine carefully the mineralogical, botanical and zoological peculiarities of the New World. This was the origin of the great collections of colonial products in Madrid, the precursors of the botanical gardens and natural history museums, which to-day find a place in all our large cities and towns.

Humboldt's Scientific Journeys

These researches have enriched science with many indispensable features, and we have to thank them for quinine, whose extraction has carried an industry far into those regions from which the European settler had not until then understood how to gain any advantage. How these events have influenced mankind, and what never-to-be-forgotten achievements of science they have matured, may be characterised under one name. By order of the Spanish Government, Alexander von Humboldt undertook his journeys of many years' duration through Central and South America. The scientific results of these travels inaugurated a new era in the history of geography and natural science, which he directed into those new channels where they have to this day remained, thus making the Spanish colonial policy one of the most enlightened of its time. KONRAD HAEBLER

INDEPENDENCE of SOUTH & CENTRAL AMERICA

SPAIN'S COLONIES IN REVOLT

BOLIVAR, "THE LIBERATOR OF THE COUNTRY"

ONE of the weightiest reasons why Spain could not adequately support the action of France in favour of the British colonies struggling for independence was her consideration for her own colonies. The government of Charles III. could not maintain the plan of completely preventing intercourse between the colonies and the outside world, and for this reason it was doubly afraid of the influence which might be exerted in these colonies by the spectacle of Spain's aiding the subjects of another state to oppose by force the introduction of institutions which one had always maintained in her own colonies, and was extremely reluctant to abolish. Thus, though in alliance with France, Spain began war against England only in Europe and in the West Indies, maintaining a most reserved attitude towards the United States.

Spain's Lost Colonies

Spain had for long been convinced of the impossibility of excluding foreign influence from the Antilles, and had to a certain extent abandoned them to it.

In comparison with Spain's colonial empire on the mainland, they were of small importance, and their value decreased from year to year. The greater number of these islands had already freed themselves from the Spanish dominion, and those remaining became of importance only when Spain had lost all her possessions on the mainland. To these earlier losses was added, in 1795, that of San Domingo. When the repeated changes introduced by French revolutionary governments had led to a general war in the west half of the island which belonged to France, Spain did not disdain to pave the way to the recovery of a part of the island by an alliance with the insurgent blacks. On making peace with the re-established republican government in 1795, Spain was punished for this by having to cede the eastern half of the island to France. The Spanish Government, which did not place a very great value on the Antilles, did not find the sacrifice very difficult, and gave up the island. But the bones of the discoverer of the New World, which had till then lain in the cathedral of the capital, San Domingo, were not left in possession of the foreigner. They were ceremoniously exhumed, placed on board the frigate Descubridor, and taken to Havana. In the cathedral of that city they found a resting-place under the Spanish flag until 1898.

Antilles Surrendered by Spain

But the peace with France, bought by the sacrifice of San Domingo, was destined to have more momentous consequences for the Spanish colonial possessions. Spain renewed the policy of friendship with France which the Bourbon Family Compact had rendered traditional, and even went so far as to enter into an alliance with Napoleon when all Europe combined to resist his growing power. The immediate consequence of this was the destruction of the Spanish fleet at the Battle of Trafalgar, October 21st, 1805. An English attack on the Spanish colonies in America immediately followed. Through information supplied by General Miranda, of New Granada, who had served in the French revolutionary army but had afterwards been exiled, the

The Spanish Fleet Destroyed at Trafalgar

English were led to believe that the Spanish colonies desired nothing more earnestly than an opportunity to throw off the yoke of the mother country and to establish themselves as independent states. It cannot be denied that, under the influence of the North American War of Independence and the French Revolution, a few hot-headed individuals were carried away by an enthusiasm for political liberty for which they were as yet quite unprepared. And these, of course, held the same opinion as Miranda; but the mass of the Spanish-American population had no sympathy whatever for such ideas, as the English learned to their cost when they acted on Miranda's suggestion and endeavoured to kindle the flame of insurrection in Spanish America.

Unsuccessful Preachers of Revolt

Of all the Spanish coast-towns none was more suitable for such an undertaking than Buenos Ayres. The mouth of the La Plata had always been the seat of an extensive illicit trade. The authorities had been able to limit this only by relaxing the old strict trade regulations in favour of this harbour. Thus, Buenos Ayres, as the headquarters of the party of commercial revolution, made rapid progress, and there were, perhaps, within its walls more enlightened minds than in the other settlements. No harbour had profited more by the permission to trade unrestrictedly with all nations, which Spain temporarily granted to its colonies in 1797, in view of the permanent insecurity of the seas.

But, in spite of this promising situation, the British found no confirmation of Miranda's reports. After the conquest of the Cape of Good Hope, in 1805, a part of the British fleet, with 1,600 men, was sent, under General Beresford, to make an attack on Buenos Ayres. The Spanish governor had been fearing a British attack since the spring; but he thought its object would be, not Buenos Ayres, but Montevideo. He had accordingly collected the scanty means of defence available at the latter place. Thus it came about that not only the governor, but the whole population, lost their heads when Beresford landed two miles south of Buenos Ayres, moved next day into the suburbs, and the third day into the capital itself. But there was not the least sign of enthusiasm for the British rule which Beresford forthwith proclaimed; on the contrary, a decidedly hostile spirit pervaded the community from the beginning.

The Changing Fortunes of Buenos Ayres

While the town apparently submitted to its new rulers without much show of resistance, crowds of determined patriots were assembling in secret in the suburbs and on the neighbouring haciendas; and when Captain Jacques de Liniers succeeded, under cover of a thick morning mist, in leading a small body of troops across the river, these formed the nucleus of an attacking force which in its swift onset drove the British from the streets of the town into the market-place and forced them first to take refuge in the fortress and then to capitulate. Thus, Buenos Ayres was recovered by a blow as rapid as that by which it had been lost.

It is true that only a small portion of the British force had been destroyed; and the news of Beresford's initial successes had led to the despatch of considerable reinforcements, which arrived in rapid succession. In order to secure a safe base for their operations the British now directed their attack against Montevideo. Though heroically defended, the town could not hold out against the enemy's superiority in numbers and weapons. After the whole east coast had fallen into their power, the British considered themselves strong enough to recover Buenos Ayres from the patriots.

Montevideo in the Hands of the British

The latter, who had made Liniers, the saviour of the town, captain-general, were quite unable to face the British in the open; but when General Whitelock, forming his force into three divisions, attempted a concentrated attack through the streets on the market and the fortress, he was, after two days' fighting, so thoroughly defeated that in the capitulation which followed he had to agree to evacuate Montevideo and the east coast. The captured British officers made fruitless attempts to awaken the spirit of independence among the colonists; even so enthusiastic a patriot as Belgrano had but one answer for such suggestions: "Either our old king or none."

The history of the South American revolution is usually considered from a false standpoint. The simultaneous occurrence of revolutionary movements in almost all the Spanish colonies in the years 1809 and 1810 is generally supposed to indicate that the whole of South

America was ripe for freedom; that a longing for independence had everywhere taken possession of the minds of the people, and now, all at once, found expression throughout the continent. But at the beginning of the nineteenth century, despite the influence of the colonial war in North America and of the French Revolution, the idea of an independent South America really existed only in the heads of a few men who had grown up in the centres where foreign influence was most felt, and who, during their travels abroad, had become enthusiastic for modern ideas without comprehending the presuppositions involved in them.

At any rate, up to the year 1808 all their attempts to loosen the bond between Spain and her colonies met with the same fate as the attack of the British on Buenos Ayres. Such was Miranda's experience on two occasions, when, supported by the British, he landed on the coast of Venezuela, his native province. The first time he failed to gain a footing; the second time he succeeded in taking forcible possession of the town of Coro; but, in the face of the indifference of the mass of the people and the hostility of the better classes, there was no prospect of success, and he was soon forced to give up the attempt at a rising. The revolution that occurred in 1809 was not due to a change in the opinions of the Spanish Americans, but to the state of affairs in Spain. When Napoleon, by the crafty comedy at Bayonne, had persuaded both Ferdinand VII. and Charles IV. to renounce their claims to the Spanish throne in order to create a kingdom for his brother Joseph, there arose in all the colonies, as well as in Spain itself, a hatred of their hereditary foe that neither the Bourbon succession nor the Family Compact could eradicate.

Schemes of the Great Napoleon

But the colonies maintained a quiet and expectant attitude. Even Liniers—who, though a Frenchman by birth, had been made Spanish viceroy of the province in return for having twice saved Buenos Ayres—dared not listen to the enticing proposals which Napoleon made him in order to secure the recognition of Joseph, because he well perceived the impracticability of any such plan at that moment. But had Napoleon succeeded in getting Joseph unanimously accepted as king in Spain, and in securing his recognition by the other European Powers, it is probable that the change of dynasty would have proceeded as smoothly in America at the beginning of the nineteenth century as it had at the beginning of the eighteenth. It was only the political events conjured up by the "Dos de Mayo" (May 2nd, 1808) that aroused the spirit which led in Spain to the Utopian constitution of 1812, and in the colonies to the separation from the mother country—a step politically quite premature. When Junot, in November, 1807, occupied Lisbon in order to force Napoleon's policy on Portugal, the Portuguese Court and Government crossed the ocean, protected by the all-powerful British fleet, chose Rio de Janeiro as capital, and gave Brazil a constitution on similar lines to that of the mother country, in order to bind it more closely to its head.

Spain Angry at Napoleon's Treachery

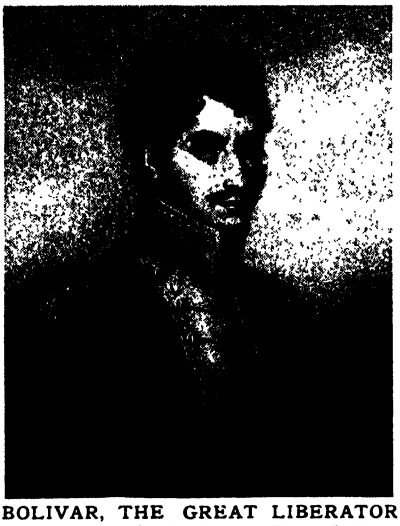
These events were much talked of in the neighbouring Spanish colonies, but exerted no immediate influence on their politics. Still, the colonies joined enthusiastically in the protest made by Spain against Napoleon's treachery and the attempt to force King Joseph on her. A spark of the national enthusiasm which accompanied the accession of Ferdinand VII. at Madrid, March 19th, 1808, extended to the colonies. The latter resolved, despite the French occupation of the mother country, to continue the government as then constituted on behalf of Ferdinand VII.

But the reports of the national rising, of the victory of Baylen, and of the capture of Madrid, were soon followed by the crushing news of the flight of the regency to Seville, of the formation of the general junta, and the subjugation of all Spain with the exception of Isla de Leon. A question here arose which was all-important for the future history of the colonies. The regency and the junta had proved themselves utterly incapable of defending the country against the national enemy, and their authority was unconditionally rejected by the few provinces that still were able to keep off the French yoke. Under these conditions, were the regency and the junta to be looked upon as representatives of Ferdinand VII., to whom the colonies owed loyalty and obedience? The obligation itself was disputed neither by the Creoles nor by the Peninsulars—Spaniards who

Succession of Spanish Misfortunes

had immigrated. However, the latter, to a still greater extent than the former, took as a precedent the example set them in the mother country. There every successful partisan who succeeded in snatching a small district from the French, or in defending it against their attacks notwithstanding the breaking up of all established authority, formed a junta of his townsmen and adherents, declared the old officials incapable, and replaced them by his friends. Similarly, in the colonies a feeling of discontent with the representatives of the old form of government spread among both Spaniards and Creoles. Led on by a desire for power, politicians who knew they had a large following rose against the viceroys and governors, and compelled them to renounce the authority which had expired on account of the captivity of their prince. They then formed regencies and juntas of their own, everywhere considering themselves the representatives of Ferdinand VII., and in all respects the legal successors of the Spanish officials they had displaced. Such was the course of events in Quito, in Caracas, in Buenos Ayres and in Mexico. Now, as was inevitable, the governors and their following soon came to the conclusion that it was by no means the will of the whole people by which they had allowed themselves to be intimidated.

Unrest in the Spanish Colonies

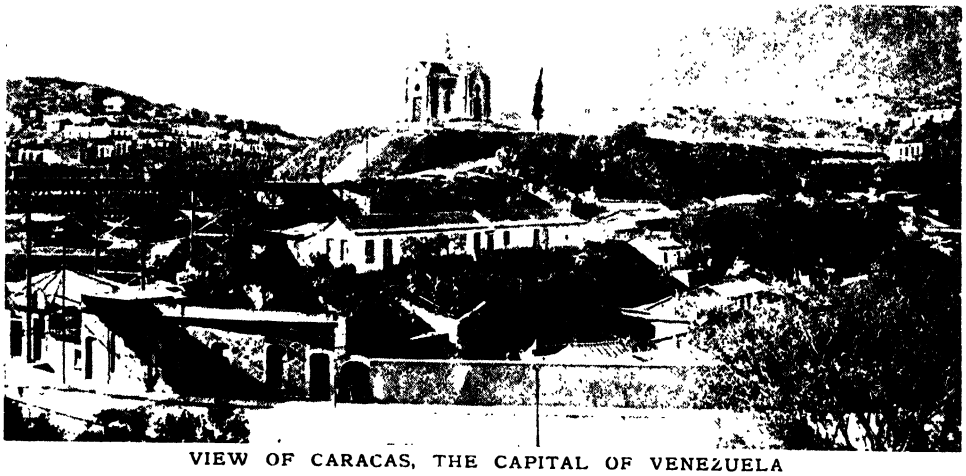


BOLIVAR, THE GREAT LIBERATOR
Born in 1783 and dying in 1830, Simon Bolivar, by a series of remarkable and often brilliant campaigns, was largely instrumental in securing for the South American republics their much desired independence from Spain.

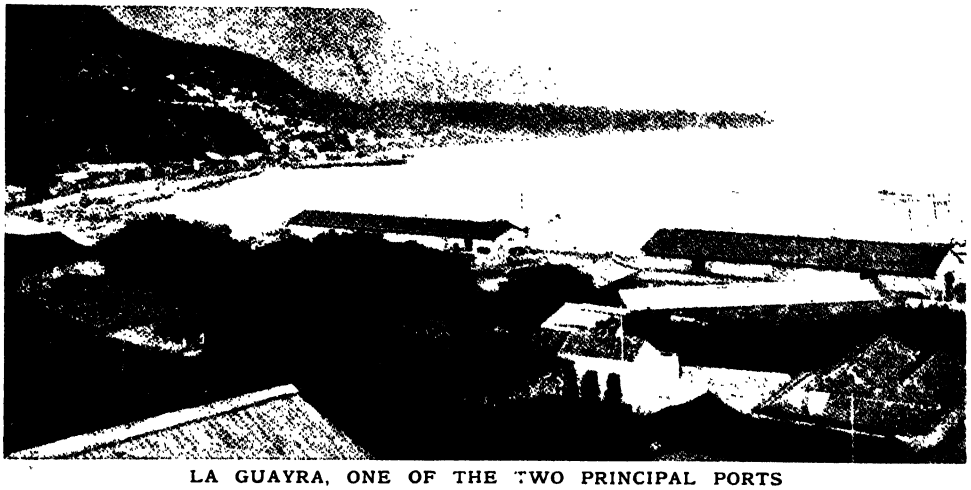
They accordingly began a struggle against the newly established rulers, and succeeded either in gaining a complete victory, as in Quito, or in regaining at least a part of their official authority, as in the case of the governor of Buenos Ayres, who established himself in Montevideo. The abolition of the traditional legal authority brought with it the danger that all law would be disputed. The revolutionary movement had by no means always placed the best men of the people at the head of the various governments, and after an authority had once been set up by a tumultuous assembly, it was natural that every party which had any power whatever over the populace also had hopes of seeing its own ambitions fulfilled, not immediately, but at any rate during the course of further developments.

The revolution had led more and more to the predominance of such elements as had been working for the independence of the colonies, at first unconsciously, but ever with more definite aim. The risings of 1809 bore the stamp of loyalty; the colonists revolted on behalf of Ferdinand VII. without understanding clearly who really represented his authority, and many a governor fell, as did Liniers, solely because he was suspected of being ready to recognise any established government, even were it that of Joseph Bonaparte. As time went on, American national influences made themselves unmistakably felt. The differences between the Creoles, or colonists born in America, and the "chapetones," or Spanish immigrants, had become more and more accentuated ever since the governments of Charles III. and Charles IV.—on account of some unimportant revolutionary attempts among the colonial-born population—had begun to maintain more strictly than before the principle of keeping in the hands of men born in Spain all offices to which power and influence were attached. This exclusion from all important public positions was felt more keenly by the Creoles than were many other oppressive measures enforced by the mother country. Accordingly, when the regular course of government had once been interrupted, the Creoles saw no reason why they should not aspire to more profitable and important positions. Thus, for example, in Buenos Ayres, the first overthrow of established authority was soon followed by a second, which aimed at giving the government a more national—that is, a more Creole—character. But still more happened in this stage of the revolution. The boundaries between the different Spanish colonies

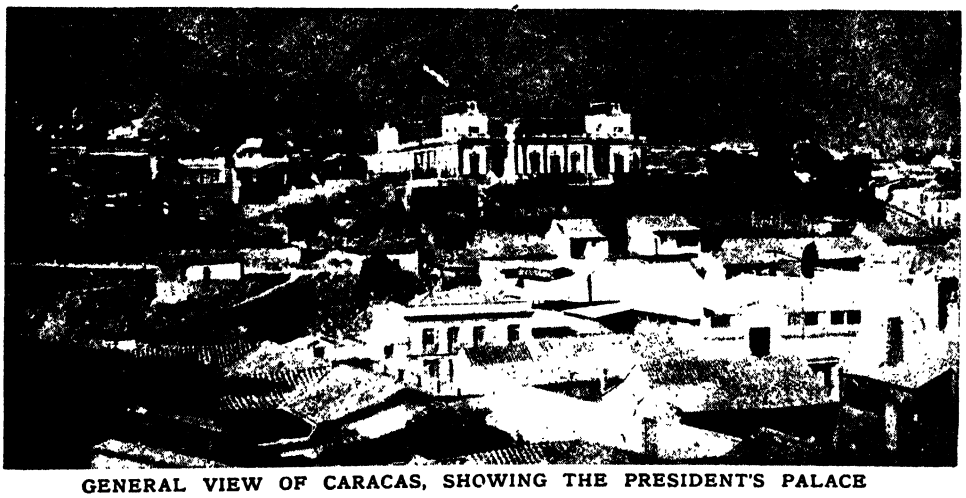
The Initial Stage of the Revolution



VIEW OF CARACAS, THE CAPITAL OF VENEZUELA



LA GUAYRA, ONE OF THE TWO PRINCIPAL PORTS



GENERAL VIEW OF CARACAS, SHOWING THE PRESIDENT'S PALACE

SCENES IN THE SOUTH AMERICAN REPUBLIC OF VENEZUELA

were not always justified by ethnographic and economic considerations. This was especially so in the great provinces of Bogota and Buenos Ayres. There were great radical differences between the various districts. Though the governments that had sprung up so suddenly claimed the right of managing their own affairs, they were by no means disposed to allow the scope of their authority to be limited by the principles on which they based their rights to power. Where conflicting elements had been held together by the power of the law only, it was but natural that upon the dissolution of the legally established governments they should demand consideration for their own interests. Thus civil war broke out in Buenos Ayres and in New Granada a few years later.

Civil War in Buenos Ayres

The chaos produced in the Spanish Cortes owing to the supremacy of doctrinaires could but create greater confusion in colonial relations. By the Spanish Constitution of 1812 the legal position of the colonies was completely altered. Though there was scarcely ever any close connection with the colonial delegates, crowded together in Cadiz and selected by party influence, and the districts they represented, nevertheless the doctrines concerning the rights of man proclaimed by the popular orators in Cadiz made dangerous progress among the colonial population, which was both politically and economically far less advanced than the people of Spain.

The revolutionary movement assumed the most serious character in Mexico. Here, too, the political changes in Spain had led to the overthrow of the government. But the movement among the Creoles was at its very beginning completely lost in a rising of the lower classes of the population, led by a fanatical priest. The latter threatened not only the Spanish authorities, but all who refused to submit unconditionally to the rule of the populace, composed principally of native Indians. This in itself rendered a permanent success impossible. With a rapidly assembled army of nearly 100,000 men, the priest, Dionysio Hidalgo, leader of the fanatical masses, was able to attack and plunder the towns of Guanajuato, Valladolid, and Guadalajara; but, notwithstanding his great superiority in numbers, he was unsuccessful in his assault on the capital, which Spaniards and Creoles united in defending. For his undisciplined army retreat was synonymous with dissolution. Though he received several severe checks while falling back, he was still able to rally a large force under his banner and again to take the offensive; but, as he was quite unable, with his horde of robbers and cut-throats, to establish any permanent government in place of the one he was opposing, his prestige rapidly decreased. During a second retreat he was betrayed to the Spaniards by his own officers, and shot.

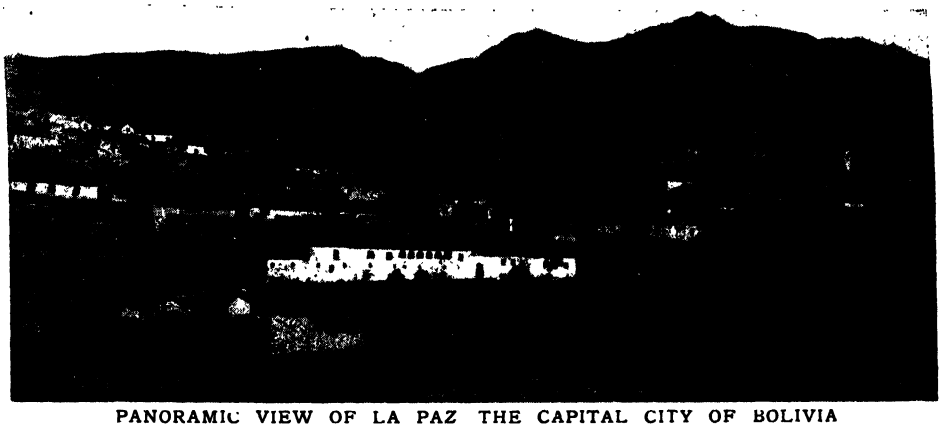
The Mexican Revolt

The movement was not yet completely suppressed; but none of the leaders who placed themselves at the head of the Indian population in the different provinces after Hidalgo's death succeeded in making the revolt as dangerous as it had been at its beginning. The movement had only served to unite all conservative forces for the common purpose of defence, and had placed the struggle for liberty in so unfavourable a light that for years afterwards the province of New Spain was a stronghold of the royalists. It was only lost to them later on, when, in blind self-confidence, they allowed a conspiracy to be formed which merely borrowed the name of the liberty gained by the other provinces after a hard struggle, and in reality only replaced the country's lawful self-government by an illegal administration.

Victory of the Royalists

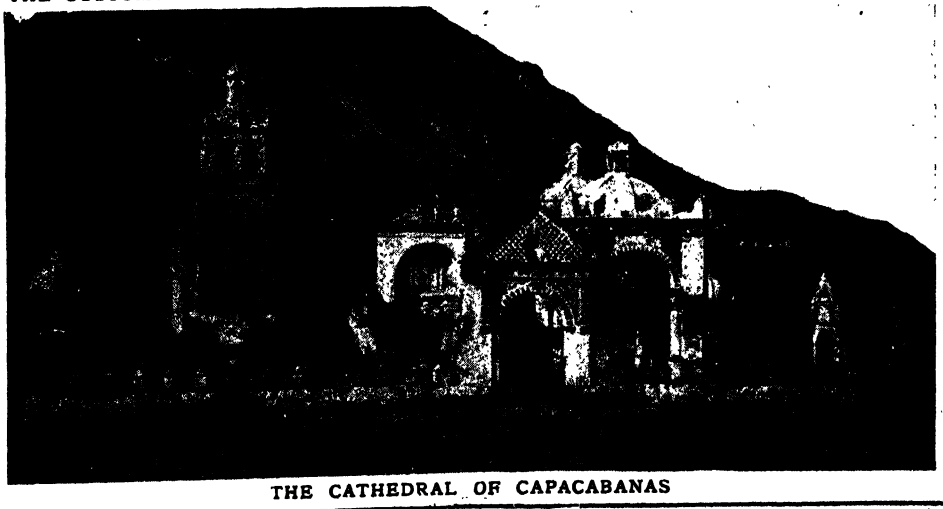
During the Napoleonic wars the revolutionary movement persisted in only two places in the South American continent. After temporary successes on the part of the republicans, Quito and Chili fell back completely into the power of the royalists; in New Granada and the neighbouring colony, Venezuela, the efforts to win freedom attained a certain importance, while in the La Plata states they led to permanent independence. But the forces producing the various movements differed widely from each other.

The members of the junta of Creoles which forced the captain-general to resign at Caracas, April 19th, 1810, considered themselves the loyal subjects of Ferdinand VII. They accordingly sent envoys, including Bolivar, the future hero of the South American War of Independence, to England, the nation which was at that time giving the most valuable support to the adherents of the king in the



PANORAMIC VIEW OF LA PAZ THE CAPITAL CITY OF BOLIVIA

THE CUSTOMS HOUSE 16,000 FT. ABOVE SEA-LEVEL, BETWEEN CHILI AND BOLIVIA



THE CATHEDRAL OF CAPACABANAS

SCENES IN THE SOUTH AMERICAN REPUBLIC OF BOLIVIA

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peninsula. The object of this embassy was to agree with England upon a common course of action against the enemy of their country. The delegates returned with only conditional promises from the British Government; but at La Guayra they were met by General Miranda. Under the influence of this veteran in the struggle for colonial freedom there was established at Caracas a republican government which preserved the rights of Ferdinand VII. in theory only. This government, it is true, was supreme for a time in the capital and in the central provinces; but even there it did not find the least support in the people, while the east, the west, and still more the great plains of the south—the llanos—were decidedly hostile to it. Thus it was that the royalists were soon able to proceed to the offensive. Their attack was so overpowering that Miranda was obliged to limit himself entirely to the defence. Misfortune produced dissension among the champions of liberty. Miranda was appointed dictator, but had no success; he was finally betrayed and handed over to the royalists by the very men who called themselves champions of freedom. Bolivar, also being entangled in the affair, years afterwards died in prison at Cadiz.

Republican Government at Caracas

The instigators of this heroic deed fled abroad, but did not abandon their plans. As the junta of New Granada still remained independent, many Venezuelans—among them Bolivar—entered its service. Bolivar proposed anticipating the attack on New Granada, which the Spaniards threatened to take from Venezuela, by carrying war into the latter province. In accordance with his wish, the junta authorised him to wrest the border provinces Merida and Trujillo from the hands of the royalists. After succeeding in this in a surprisingly short time, he carried the war into the heart of the country, without authorisation, thinking that the possession of the capital, Caracas, would decide the issue of the contest. With this step the war in the north assumed its special character. Simon Bolivar is the type of those pronunciamento generals who until quite recently have played so great a part in the history of Spain, and a still greater in that of the Spanish-American republics. It may be granted that Bolivar was not quite so devoid of conscience as many of his imitators; but no one can fail to see that the idea for which he fought had no existence apart from his own personality. By his fiery, florid eloquence he may often have succeeded in deceiving himself as well as those he tried to convince. In any case, he considered liberty and freedom, whose blessings he eulogised in the most extravagant terms, merely as foundations on which to build up his own fame; and he held himself more than justified in ruthlessly persecuting and crushing all men who would not accept freedom as inaugurated by Bolivar.

Bolivar's Struggles for Liberty

With the exception of a small part of the town population, almost all Venezuela was royalist, or at least heartily sick of civil war. Thus, as he advanced, Bolivar met sometimes with secret opposition, sometimes with stolid apathy; and only where his arms were victorious was he able to excite a fictitious enthusiasm for the ideal blessings he professed to be fighting for. He entered Caracas with theatrical pomp as liberator; but the kind of freedom he brought to the Venezuelans betrayed its true character in his completely overlooking the civil authorities and assuming the powers of a dictator with the pompous title of "Libertador de la Patria" (Liberator of the Fatherland). But he failed to deceive even his immediate followers, chiefly persons whose interests were bound up in his own.

"Liberator of the Fatherland"

He was not the only one, even in Venezuela itself, who was working on this plan. In the extreme east, on the boundary of Guiana, another liberator, Mariño, had arisen; but instead of combining against their common enemies, the Spaniards, each of these saviours of the people desired nothing more ardently than the defeat of his rival, that he might then appear as sole emancipator and obtain undisputed supremacy.

Yielding to the pressure of the half-breeds, Bolivar had made the fatal mistake of declaring a war of extermination against the Spaniards; and all men were reckoned as Spaniards who did not willingly agree to all the demands of the so-called patriots. This savage warfare naturally led to reprisals on the part of the European population; but while they had on their side an excuse for retaliation, Bolivar, by his action, disgraced the principles he professed to be fighting for and did himself

great injury, inasmuch as he had far less power at his disposal than that possessed by his enemies. Thus the war assumed an especially bloody character. Murder and robbery, the weapons employed by both parties, set free the lowest passions and brought to the fore the worst elements of the population. Bolivar meanwhile did not distinguish himself as a general; he had no plan of campaign, and he had drawn up no constitution. The Spanish flag still waved over Puerto Cabello, the strongest point on the coast; battles were fought at Barquisimeto and on the Araure with varying results. Finally, Bolivar himself had to fall back upon Caracas.

Here the hostility of the Llaneros completed his ruin. It was in vain that he sought to give his dictatorship a legal basis by calling together a congress at Caracas; it was in vain that he now concluded an alliance with the dictator of the eastern provinces, fully recognising his authority. Even their combined forces could not temporarily withstand the ever-increasing troops of horsemen which the fierce Boves brought from the southern plains in support of the Spaniards.

Bolivar Branded as a Traitor

Matters had gone so far that far-sighted persons assisted the latter, in anticipation of their speedy victory. First Mariño, then Bolivar himself, was repeatedly and so severely beaten that his retreat degenerated into flight. When he reached the coast of Cumana, the Liberator had so little means of resistance that he fled with the ships that contained his war material.

When his compatriots had again assembled, and he endeavoured to rejoin them, he was branded as a traitor and with difficulty escaped the fate which he himself, under similar circumstances, had prepared for General Miranda. The result of the campaign of 1813 was that the whole of Venezuela fell once more into the hands of the royalists. The latter were now free to bring about a similar state of affairs in the republic of New Granada, which was divided against itself, and from which Bolivar had withdrawn the greater part of its military resources for the purposes of his Venezuelan enterprise.

In the south, too, the revolutionary movement had by this time exhausted itself. The rising in the La Plata states was at its beginning conducted in a spirit which contrasted very favourably with that characteristic of the Venezuelan movement. The bulk of the people were, it is true, as indifferent to the revolution as in Venezuela; but there was a decidedly more progressive spirit among the middle and upper classes in Buenos Ayres than in Caracas. On the news of the dissolution of the government in Spain, the viceroy at Buenos Ayres was deposed. On May

Viceroy of Buenos Ayres Deposed

25th, 1810, a junta declared the province independent of the junta of Seville. But it continued to rule, as did the governments that developed from it in the course of years, in the name of Ferdinand VII. There was even a party ready to invite to Buenos Ayres as regent Ferdinand's sister, the Infanta Carlota, who had married a Portuguese prince. The plan, however, which led to long and complicated intrigues in Rio de Janeiro and Montevideo, came to nothing.

The newly formed government considered that its first task was to obtain the recognition of its authority throughout the La Plata province; but in this it met with serious resistance. The royalists had chosen Montevideo as their headquarters; and the arrival of support from the mother country not only rendered the city impregnable against the limited means of attack at the disposal of the junta, but gave the royalists command of the bay and the mouth of the river flowing into it.

But little by little the supremacy of the Spaniards was limited to the town itself; their naval schemes were brought to naught by the aid of the Brazilians and British, who were friendly to the junta; and finally, when the Spanish ships had been defeated by the newly created rebel fleet, the fortress of Montevideo capitulated. But meanwhile there had arisen in the province of Buenos Ayres the general confusion that in all the colonies followed the abolition of legally constituted authority; and the east bank of the river La Plata also was only nominally under the rule

Chaos in the Spanish Colonies

of the various governments that rapidly succeeded one another in Buenos Ayres. In reality the division was springing up which finally led to the establishment of the "Republica Oriental del Uruguay." A similar course of events had also occurred in another part of the old province.

In December, 1810, the junta of Buenos Ayres sent General Belgrano to secure the recognition of the new government in the district of Paraguay; but

the attempt ended in complete failure. Belgrano was enticed far into the deserted land before any enemy faced him; then at Paraguay he received a check that necessitated a dangerous retreat. It was only then that the liberal idea occurred to him of letting the province itself decide whom it would obey. Accordingly he concluded with the defenders of Paraguay a capitulation at Tacuary which allowed him to retire without further injury being done. The consequence was that progressive ideas were disseminated so rapidly in the province that it took its fate into its own hands, and in 1814 chose as executive Dr. José Gaspar Tomas Rodriguez da Francia. His was a rule of force, more ruthless and bloody than had ever been seen on American soil; but it was an enlightened despotism. By destroying the power and wealth of the priests, and promoting agriculture and industry in every possible way, he rendered the state independent of the outside world. Thus the independence of Paraguay was rendered secure even after his death in 1840.

Paraguay Under a Ruthless Despotism

The government of Buenos Ayres had now to contend with movements not unlike that to which it owed its existence. It was repeatedly occupied in combating efforts at decentralisation in various parts of its territory even after the Argentine Republic had actually secured its independence. But Buenos Ayres also played an important part in the struggle against the common enemies of all the provinces, the Spanish royalists. The authority of the junta met with the most serious opposition in the district of Upper Peru, the modern Bolivia, which was then governed from Buenos Ayres. The first rising against Spanish dominion had taken place there in 1809, but had been easily put down by an expedition from Peru proper; and from that time the royalist influence was supreme. Accordingly, the junta sent out its first army against this dangerous opponent. By a brilliant victory at Suipacha, General Balcarce forced the royalists back across the Desaguadero, the outlet of Lake Titicaca, which then formed a portion of the Peruvian frontier.

Spaniards' Victory at Huaqui

But this advantage was not maintained. After receiving reinforcements, the Spaniards gained a decisive victory at Huaqui, drove the patriots out of the Bolivian highlands, and followed them into the Argentine Republic. But here Belgrano, who had been appointed general of the northern army, stopped the retreat, defeated the Spanish leader at Tucuman, and some weeks later, at Salta, compelled him and his whole force to lay down their arms.

All these battles were fought with comparatively small armies; and this explains the transitory nature of the successes attained. Neither party could really dominate the sparsely settled land; and the inhabitants had no leaning towards either side, but always favoured the victors. Royalists and republicans, even after a number of defeats, were soon able to collect an army of some thousands, and thus to renew the struggle; hence the manifold fluctuations of fortune in all the campaigns undertaken by the South American patriots against the Spanish royalists.

Belgrano, too, was not permanently favoured by fortune. On his advance into Bolivia he found the enemy reorganised at Huilcapuyo; and both here and at Ayuma he was so severely defeated that he had again to retreat to Jujuy. He was then for a long time unable to act on the offensive, and although the royalists did not advance into the Argentine Republic itself, all Bolivia was again in their hands at the end of 1813. By reason of a contemporary royalist victory in Venezuela, the cause of Ferdinand VII. never appeared more hopeful than when Napoleon opened the doors of his golden prison to the captive of Valencay and allowed him to return to the throne of his fathers.

Bolivia in the Hands of the Royalists

During the war Spain had passed through many curious experiences; and the revolutionary trifling of the Cortes at Cadiz, which had introduced a Parliamentary system of government, was not without influence on the movements in the American provinces. But in Spain the people were as little ripe for freedom as in the colonies; and as the conflict of interests in the mother country was of far less advantage to the new government of Spain than it was to the colonial strivings for independence, the artificial constitution collapsed even before Ferdinand VII. had set foot on Castilian soil, and he lost no time in endeavouring to bring about a similar result in the colonies.

A great expedition, composed of twenty-five warships and sixty transports with 10,000 men, put to sea under General Morillo in March, 1815, to suppress the

last efforts of the colonial rising. The original intention was to disembark the troops on the La Plata. But since the fall of Montevideo there was no safe landing-place. Moreover, Buenos Ayres recognised Ferdinand, at least nominally, as its rightful ruler, while in the most recent phase of the war in Venezuela and New Granada an independent republic had been declared. Accordingly, Morillo received instructions to proceed to the subjugation of the northern provinces.

If this was assured, the way to the La Plata region always lay open to him through Bolivia. His first steps gave every promise of success. The island of Margarita, ever the refuge and hiding-place of the patriots of Venezuela in misfortune, was quickly subdued. In the whole of Venezuela there was hardly a troop of patriots that deserved the name of an army; Morillo's march through the province was a military promenade. In order to conquer New Granada, Morillo chose Cartagena as his first point of attack,

Morillo's Long Siege of Cartagena

but here he received a foretaste of the difficulties that awaited him. He had already discovered, on endeavouring to embark the Venezuelan army in the fleet, replacing it by Spanish troops for the protection of the province, that the hitherto loyal Llaneros deserted in crowds. Still he had an overwhelmingly superior force when he invested Cartagena by land and water. But the town offered a heroic resistance.

Morillo, who wished to avoid bloodshed as much as possible, tried to reduce it by hunger; but it held aloft the banner of independence for 108 days, although the Spanish general, losing patience, spared neither bombardment nor assault. Even when further resistance was impossible, the town did not capitulate; its defenders broke through the blockade during a storm, and the greater number of them escaped to San Domingo, to renew the struggle from there after a short rest. New Granada, indeed, did not defend itself with the courage of Cartagena. From Quito a second Spanish army was working its way up to meet Morillo, and when it approached Santa Fé there was in this province, too, no patriot army to oppose it. But even Morillo, though victorious, felt that the ground he stood on was insecure. He therefore abandoned his original system of lenience, and meted out severe treatment to the rebels. But notwithstanding hundreds of sacrifices, he could not firmly establish Spanish rule.

Royalists Defeated on the Apure

Wherever the Spanish arms did not penetrate, rebellion broke out anew. The island of Margarita was the first to throw off the unaccustomed yoke; and on the llanos of Casanare an army of horsemen from the plains under the half-breed, Paez, responded for the first time to the cry of freedom and gained its first victory over the royalists on the Apure.

But the fierce warriors of the prairies spared the lives of their prisoners, and thus induced most of these to join them. After a renewed disturbance in Cumana, Morillo began to fear for the safety of Venezuela, and removed his headquarters, then at the foot of the Cordilleras on the east side, to Varinas. But as yet there was no apparent connection between the different risings. Finally, there landed in Margarita the old leaders and the defenders of Cartagena who had prepared in Haiti for a fresh struggle with the aid of the British and of the president of the negro republic. But Bolivar still showed himself to be no strategist.

While troops of horsemen scoured the llanos and kept the plains in a ferment, while his compatriots conquered in the east a district on both banks of the Orinoco, where they enjoyed absolute security, Bolivar remained in the charmed circle of the capital, Caracas, and in the autumn of 1816 attempted to advance on it from Ocumare with an insufficient force. But, most disgraceful of all, on the false report of a

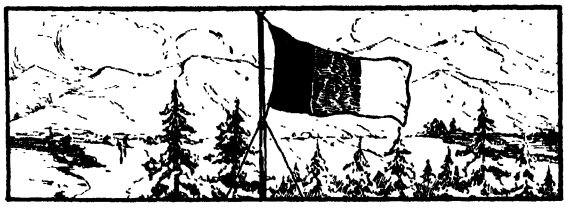
Bolivar's Flight and Return

defeat, he took flight on board ship, abandoning his followers to destruction. His reputation had sunk so low that, banished a second time, he was compelled to seek refuge in Haiti. However, he was recalled a few weeks later, for of the leaders of the numerous bands none was held in so high esteem as he; and, above all, no one else was possessed of a definite and fixed political and military plan of campaign.

SCENES IN THE SOUTH AMERICAN REPUBLIC OF PERU

The illustration at the top of this page represents the cathedral at Cuzco, while the bottom picture shows the modern capital of Lima, with the stately cathedral in the background. Bolivar's statue at Lima is also reproduced.

Photos: W. H. Rau, and others



THE LIBERATION OF THE SOUTH

BOLIVAR'S TRIUMPHS AND THE NEW REPUBLICS

IN the year 1817 the revolution began to gain a firm footing in the north. The idea of creating a safe base for the champions of independence on the right bank of the Orinoco had not originated with Bolivar; but he immediately recognised the importance of the plan. While the investment by land of Angostura and Guayana Vieja, which commanded the river, was attended by only a moderate amount of success, he succeeded, with the help of English sailors, in overthrowing the Spanish supremacy by sea, and in forcing the royalists to evacuate both places.

The Orinoco, and farther west the Apure, now separated the independent territory from the Spanish. Morillo had meanwhile been wasting his time in a fruitless attempt to reconquer the island of Margarita. He brought the coast as far as the peninsula of Paria under his power, but this had no great importance. At this time Bolivar had with difficulty succeeded in getting his authority recognised by the leaders of the different revolutionary parties; he now felt the need of establishing his position on a more legal basis. Accordingly, in the autumn of 1817, he created a council of state and a supreme court of justice, and held out hopes of further political organisation. At the same time he declared his dictatorship a necessity, and, as before, exercised practically unlimited power.

Bolivar's Unlimited Power

The war still led to no definite result. Bolivar now advanced from the middle Apure against Caracas. He himself defeated Morillo at Calabozo, and Paez at the same time conquered San Fernando, the last bulwark of the royalists on the Apure; but these successes were counterbalanced by a series of unsuccessful undertakings which encouraged the opposition still secretly kept alive against the dictator. However, he was once more able to blunt the edge of the opposition. He won over the discontented generals by the way in which he succeeded in providing them with troops, war material and money to renew the struggle; the politicians he disarmed by summoning a congress to form a constitution at Angostura. This congress was, in reality, a mere spectacular farce; but it gave his dictatorship an appearance of legality by unanimously electing him president of the Venezuelan Republic. Of at least as great importance to Bolivar as this confirmation of his position was the arrival of a considerable number of trained English and German soldiers who had enlisted to fight for the cause of independence.

English Troops in the Fight for Independence

They formed a nucleus about which the brave, but less valuable, troops of the South American provinces collected, and from which they could receive their military training. The English legion played a prominent part in all later campaigns, and enjoyed Bolivar's confidence to such a degree as repeatedly to call forth expressions of jealousy from the South American patriots. For the campaign of 1818, Bolivar settled on a plan calculated to decide the course of events. Once before he had carried the war from New Granada into the plains of Venezuela to fight for the freedom of the former in the territories of the latter; now he resolved to strive for the emancipation of his fatherland from beyond the Andes.

This idea was suggested to him by the victories of José de San Martin, but, be that as it may, his success proved the correctness of his calculations. Even before the floods that during the rainy season render the llanos impassable had entirely subsided, Bolivar moved southward from the Apure, which protected his flank from the royalists, and crossed the Andes by the route taken by the traders of the Chibchas and the first conquerors of Bogota. He did, indeed, suffer considerable losses before he reached a settled district at Sogamoso; but

Bolivar Surprises His Enemies

his plan of surprising the enemy in the very centre of their sphere of power was completely successful. Everything now depended on his being able to gain a decisive victory before his opponents could summon their full strength. By rapid marches and countermarches he succeeded in so completely outwitting the hostile advance guard that he was able to seize the town of Tunja, and thus to cut off a large portion of his foes from the capital.

The Royalist Army Annihilated

But the Spaniards, trusting to their superiority in numbers, tried to force their way back to Santa Fé. A decisive battle was fought at the bridge of Boyaca; it ended in the annihilation of the royalist army. The viceroy evacuated the capital and retired to Cartagena with the remainder of his troops, while the patriots took possession of Santa Fé de Bogota, and re-established the independence of New Granada. Bolivar created here, as in Venezuela, a new civil government at the side of his military dictatorship, and paved the way for the union of the two sister provinces into one republic under the name of Colombia.

The news of this victory reached Angostura, the temporary capital of Venezuela, just when Bolivar for the third time had been deposed as a deserter and banished as a traitor solely because there were others who were covetous of his power. But in the lustre of his recent victory he could treat such proceedings with contempt. The congress, doubly compliant from the consciousness of its offence, adopted without debate the proposal of the liberator that Venezuela, New Granada and Quito should be combined into one republic named Colombia, whose president would naturally be Bolivar, while in each of the three provinces there was to be a vice-president at the head of the civil administration. The constitution of the new state was to be framed in detail by a congress to meet at Cucuta for this purpose as soon as a truce could be declared. This soon occurred. The news that reached South America in the summer of 1820 gave the situation a completely different aspect. The army which had been collected in the neighbourhood of Cadiz to give General Morillo the means of completely subduing the rebels had revolted; and as it felt compelled to find some pretext in justification of its action, it adopted as its watchword the restoration of the Constitution of 1812. With this all who had fought for the restoration of the Spanish dominion since 1814 lost once more their legal basis.

The New Republic of Colombia

The immediate consequence was a cessation of hostilities, leading the way to a peaceful understanding between the mother country and the colonies. But the latter had already gone too far: too large a number of the colonists had with all their interests been compromised by the revolution for an agreement to be possible under a constitution whose liberality, so far as the colonies were concerned, was known to be influenced by the desire of the whole Spanish nation for their continued dependence. The negotiations served rather to bring out the conviction that a return to the old state of affairs was impossible. Both parties took advantage of the truce to prepare for the inevitable renewal of hostilities, and the war broke out anew in the spring of 1821.

The supremacy of the patriots was so far assured in the highlands that Bolivar had now better prospects of success in attacking the economic centres of Venezuela, Caracas and Valencia, so often fought for with varying fortune. As matters then stood, these districts were the last stronghold of the royalists; even the west of Venezuela, hitherto loyal, had been lost to them; and apart from the coast towns, all of which, from Cartagena to Cumana, were in their hands, the Spaniards were masters only of the territory occupied by their forces.

Another Triumph for Bolivar

At Carabobo, where Bolivar had once before gained a victory, the Spaniards awaited him in a position deemed impregnable; but the natives were now on the side of the patriots, and led a part of their army by secret paths to the right flank of the enemy, whose position was easily carried from this side. The victory was complete. The Spanish were forced to evacuate the central part of the province and to take refuge under the walls of Puerto Cabello, while Bolivar once again made a triumphal entry into Caracas, whose freedom from this time suffered no further attack.

The opening of the congress at Cucuta was almost contemporaneous with the victory of Carabobo. Now met for the first time in the history of the northern provinces a legislative assembly really possessed of power; and it showed itself

worthy of its calling by not submitting unconditionally to the dictator, as its predecessor had done. But it did not on this account undervalue the indisputable services Bolivar had rendered to the cause of freedom in the Republic of Colombia, and was far from accepting the resignation of all his offices and titles which he handed in to it, as he had done to its predecessors. Neither did it place itself unconditionally in his hands, but, with the best intentions, drew up a constitution which gave free scope to the ambition of the Liberator without placing him above the constitution.

His position as president of Colombia was confirmed by the congress. But it was laid down by law that he could not exercise civil authority in this capacity while at the head of the army in the field. To provide for this eventuality, a vice-president for the whole republic was appointed; and it was only in such provinces as he should afterward free from the Spanish yoke that Bolivar was to exercise dictatorial power. In other respects the new constitution differed widely from Bolivar's ideal. It rejected the scheme of an upper house, composed of life-members, which Bolivar had projected for Venezuela at Angostura; nor did it make the presidency hereditary or tenable for life, but followed the example of the United States in limiting the tenure of office of the head of the state to four years. Hitherto no constitution had had a fair test, since every successful partisan had considered himself competent to overthrow it; so, to secure a practical trial for its own work, the congress passed a law forbidding any change in the constitution for the next ten years.

Colombia's President and Constitution

Bolivar submitted to the decisions of the congress of Cucuta. The fortune of war also seemed to favour the new republic. After a siege of fourteen months one of Bolivar's generals had captured Cartagena, and the loss of this stronghold rendered the royalists in the district about the isthmus powerless. Chagres and Portobello drove out their Spanish garrisons; and the isthmus provinces not only made themselves independent of Spain, but even asked to be admitted to the Colombian Republic. The last remnants of the army, with which Morillo once seemed to have brought all New Granada and Venezuela to absolute obedience, now held only Puerto Cabello and Cumana. All danger had disappeared in the north.

In 1814 the cause of freedom in the southern theatre of war had stood on very slender supports. West of the Cordilleras the Spanish viceroy of Peru held sway over all the Pacific provinces from Cape Horn to the Gulf of Guayaquil and the tableland of Quito. The province of Buenos Ayres alone still held aloft the flag of freedom; and even it had suffered considerable losses of territory. While Bolivia had been brought back under the rule of the Spanish authorities, Paraguay in the north, and Uruguay in the east, had separated themselves from Buenos Ayres.

The Coming of José de San Martin

The aimless policy of its leading men was quite calculated to keep alive the strife in the province itself; and the Spaniards had reason to hope that the colonies, exhausted by suicidal wars among themselves, would fall an easy prey to them. The prospects of such an issue would have been even more favourable had not there come to the aid of the patriots at this time of internal dissension a man who, by the influence of his personality, became the rescuer of the threatened independence to a greater degree than even Bolivar.

José de San Martin did not return to his South American home in Buenos Ayres until the close of the Peninsula War, during which he had fought bravely on the side of the Spaniards. In Spain he had largely imbibed the liberal ideas then prevalent in the Peninsula, which found their embodiment in the Cortes at Cadiz. He, too, was inspired by a lively ambition, which expressed itself, not as in Bolivar's case by a morbid longing for the outward signs of power, but by an idealistic desire to distinguish himself in the service of his country, and to secure for it a brighter future. San Martin, like most of the far-sighted politicians of the South, was not a republican in the sense that Bolivar was. He and others like him were convinced that Spanish South America was not sufficiently advanced either in politics or civilisation for a republican form of government like that of the United States.

San Martin's Zeal for His Country

What he had learned of republican institutions in the colonies of the North, and in part in the provinces of his own country, had roused in him an aversion from any

outward show of liberty instituted for the selfish ends of particular individuals, that at times stirred up civil war and at best only replaced Spanish tyranny by another as bad.

Even in Buenos Ayres San Martin found powerful influences which, in his opinion, worked against the true interests of the state. After he had had for a short time an opportunity of rendering his country valuable though modest services, partly on the banks of the La Plata, and partly in the provinces of the Bolivian highlands, the idea arose in his mind of placing himself in the service of freedom and of fighting not merely for the liberty of his country, but for that of all Spanish America. The plan he formed for the attainment of this object proves his capacity as a general. He recognised immediately that the fate of all the southern provinces depended on the expulsion of the Spaniards from their stronghold, the Peruvian highlands on both sides of the Cordilleras; for, secure in their command of the Pacific, the Spaniards could at any time use the ocean as a base for attacks on the patriots by land in three directions. The shortest way from Buenos Ayres to Lima lay through Upper Peru (Bolivia). But this route was the most difficult on account of the extraordinary breadth of the line of advance, and because the Spaniards could always obtain supplies by sea. For this reason, San Martin chose another point of attack. In Chili, during the early years of the colonial rising, the cause of freedom had found numerous and enthusiastic adherents. The Spaniards had been compelled to employ a considerable force in order to bring back the province to its allegiance; and they would not have succeeded at all had not the despotic spirit of the pronunciamentos split the friends of independence into two parties. San Martin accordingly demanded from the government of Buenos Ayres means for collecting and arming the nucleus of a force to be employed first in liberating Chili and afterwards to be used against the Spaniards throughout the southern part of the continent.

ADMIRAL LORD COCHRANE

Admiral of the Brazilian fleet in 1823-5, he figured conspicuously in the struggle for independence of the South American states, achieving a series of successes against the Spaniards in their war against Chili, Peru and Brazil.

Internal dissensions had not yet so blinded the rulers of Buenos Ayres that they were unable to recognise the splendid prospects opened up by San Martin's plan for the cause of freedom; so, in accordance with his own desire, he was entrusted with the government of the district of Mendoza, on the boundary of Northern Chili, so that, without unnecessarily attracting attention, he might collect the means of carrying out his plan, and proceed to its execution at what seemed to him the proper time. San Martin possessed what was wanting in almost all the other champions of independence—a strictly methodical military training complete in all respects; a definite scheme harmonious from both a political and a military point of view, and conscientiously worked out in every detail; and an enthusiasm for the cause he served, which was exhibited by his personal readiness to make every sacrifice for it. He spent fully two years in collecting and training the troops for his campaign and in preparing the district in which he intended to begin operations; and when he gave the signal to march every detail had been foreseen and provided for so definitely that he was able to proceed step by step with mathematical precision, and saw his efforts crowned by complete success.

In the autumn of 1816 San Martin received authority from the government of Buenos Ayres to lead his army across the Cordilleras into Chili, and from there to attempt to reconquer Bolivia. During the last months of the year extraordinary activity prevailed in the district of Mendoza, and the government did all that it could to furnish the expedition with the best possible equipment. On January 14th, 1817, San Martin divided his force of 4,000 picked troops of all arms, with a train of 10,000 mules, into two sections,

and set out from Mendoza to cross the Cordilleras by the passes of Aconcagua and Putaendo. The two divisions were to meet at Santa Rosa de los Andes, 210 miles from Mendoza; the greatest height to which they had to ascend was about 12,000 feet. On February 8th the divisions arrived at the rendezvous within such a short time of one another that the royalist outposts at the mouths of the passes did not know from which direction the real attack was to be expected. A short fight forced them to retreat. The first bold step of the plan of campaign had been successful. But the army was still in the heart of the mountains, and it could neither adopt a proper formation nor gain support from a rising in the land until great distances had been traversed. San Martin knew that a rapid advance meant a victory half won, and that the shortest way to Santiago, the capital, was imposed on him by necessity. He allowed his exhausted troops to rest but a short time, and then advanced against the enemy, whose main force barred his way at Chacabuco. By a skilfully executed flank attack San Martin routed the hostile army in a few hours. Panic spread everywhere. The governor evacuated the capital, taking with him the remainder of the army, the treasury, the government officials, and many of the inhabitants of royalist leanings; and on February 14th the troops of the liberator entered Santiago in triumph. In the weeks following the victory San Martin's character was put to a severe test. He had come to give the people freedom, and indeed all Northern Chili rose for the cause of independence as soon as the Spaniards had retreated. What had been done was now to be justified by a legislative body, and a congress was therefore called together at Santiago. But the new republicans could not conceive that a foreign general would fight for their cause for any other reason than to place himself at their head, and San Martin was almost unanimously elected president with dictatorial power. But he considered that he had taken only the first step on the road to fame, and refused the position unconditionally. He recommended the congress to appoint in his stead General O'Higgins, a Chilian who had fought under him at Chacabuco; he would accept for himself only the position of commander-in-chief of the army. But the civil affairs of the republic had prevented the leader from following up the enemy with the rapidity necessary for complete victory. The royalist party had recovered from its first panic; the viceroy of Peru had sent reinforcements; and as the Spaniards had complete command of the sea they were able to land the latter without molestation in the fortress of Talcahuano, which commanded the Bay of Concepcion. The cause of freedom was directly menaced when an attack on Talcahuano with an insufficient force failed, and on their retreat

JOSE DE SAN MARTIN

Fighting in the war of independence, he displayed great capacity as a general, and, defeating the Spaniards in many engagements, became the liberator of Chili and Peru.

Belgrano

Sucre

HEROES OF THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

Manuel Belgrano was a commander of singular ability, his talents towering high above many of those who took part in the historic struggle for independence, while, after going through the entire civil war, José de Sucre won the last great battle in 1824 at Ayacucho, and in his honour the town of Chuquisaca was called Sucre.

the patriots were completely defeated at Talca, not far from the Maule. Fear and dismay spread even to the capital. The imminent danger finally roused San Martin from his inactivity. His force, continually kept in strict training, was undoubtedly superior to that of the enemy in military capacity, if not in numbers.

San Martin's Great Victory at Maipu

This fact, combined with his ability as a leader, led, after a long and fierce struggle at Maipu, to a victory so complete that even the more southerly provinces took heart and threw off the Spanish yoke. It was not San Martin's fault that he allowed a long time to pass after the victory of Maipu before again taking the offensive.

Immediately after the battle he hastened back across the Andes to secure the approval of the government of Buenos Ayres for his plan of campaign against Peru. It was now time for the patriots to create a fleet in order to dispute the supremacy of the Spaniards on the Pacific, and thus to secure the possibility of attacking Peru by sea. The rulers of Buenos Ayres, like the new government of Chili, were quite ready to approve of San Martin's plans in theory; but neither government was in a position to give effective aid to their prosecution.

In Buenos Ayres the federalistic loosening of old ties set in just at this time. The government had so much to do in providing for its own safety, which it saw, or imagined it saw, threatened from within and without, that for the time at least it could lend no aid to projects which were quite outside its sphere of action. All San Martin could obtain was a number of English ships that were being fitted out by the Chilian patriots to be used almost as much against the newly established government as against the Spaniards.

But this laid the foundation of a sea power which, led with unprecedented boldness by a Scotsman, Cochrane, did not a little to

Spain's Sea Power Challenged

break the power of Spain at sea. For the army San Martin could do nothing in Buenos Ayres. He felt this the more keenly inasmuch as Chili at the same time placed considerable obstacles in his way. It goes without saying that the troops which San Martin had led across the Cordilleras and from victory to victory in Chili were attached to their leader with unshaken loyalty; the Chilian regiments, too, that he had formed and trained before the battle of Maipu, followed him with blind obedience. President O'Higgins was also among the general's closest friends. But when once the danger from the royalists had been obviated, the majority of the Chilian patriots saw in the presence of the liberating army only an oppressive burden on the badly filled treasury of the young republic and a constant menace to republican freedom. These circumstances served only to spur San Martin to greater exertions for the realisation of his plan of campaign against Lima.

But, as it was at that moment impossible to obtain the means for this, he had no alternative but to arrange for the return of the liberating army across the Andes. This measure, which apparently was only the result of the difficulty in provisioning and paying the army, had also great political significance. It was calculated to deceive the Spaniards in Peru as to the direction from which attack was to be expected; at the same time it deprived the Chilians of all grounds for complaint against their Argentine deliverers, and also let them know how, in the absence of

Fleet of the Spanish Patriots

any effective protection, their existence as a state was threatened by the presence on their borders of the still numerous royalists. Finally the return of the troops to the Argentine Republic was calculated to convince the government of Buenos Ayres that the maintenance of the army, even when condemned to inactivity, would prove almost as great a burden to the state as the moderate demands made by San Martin in order that he might be enabled to fight for the cause of independence in the enemy's territory.

These calculations were justified, at least in part, in all directions. The newly formed fleet of the patriots under Admiral Cochrane made a venturesome attack on the Spanish ships at Callao, and, though not in a position to do much damage to the enemy, it proved that the latter were so disturbed and weakened that a campaign undertaken from the coast in accordance with San Martin's plan would have every prospect of success. O'Higgins and other friends of the liberator obtained a freer hand, despite the Chilian patriots, and proceeded to further his plans; they succeeded in procuring for him an invitation to lead his troops once more across the Andes into Chili, in order to prepare for an attack on Peru with the help of the

fleet. Nor did San Martin's military policy remain without effect on the people of the Argentine Republic; he succeeded in winning approval for his schemes, and he was even assisted to some extent with money and war material. Nevertheless, it was from Buenos Ayres, and at the last moment, that the greatest danger threatened him; and the premonition that this must inevitably destroy every prospect of his plan being realised finally drove San Martin to take the risk of breaking the bridges behind him and plunging boldly into the unknown, though his equipment was defective and he had no security for the future.

San Martin Opposed to Civil War

The party of patriots, which claimed that the authority of the government of Buenos Ayres extended over the whole of the region formerly included in the Spanish colonies province, had found itself compelled to resort to force almost from the beginning. In Paraguay, however, it had not attained its object; on the east bank of the La Plata, in Uruguay, it saw itself driven to hazardous concessions; and even in the north-west the victorious army had had to fight republican opponents as well as Spanish royalists. The opposition in this last quarter finally increased to such an extent that the government believed its rights could be maintained only by force. Thus it was that San Martin, after making preparations for his advance into Peru, received orders to return and protect the government from danger within the republic itself.

San Martin was among the very few patriots who saw clearly that a quarrel as to a greater or less degree of liberty meant the death-warrant of the new republics, if it should degenerate into civil war before the Spaniards had been finally and completely driven from South American soil. He and others of like mind were undoubtedly republicans at heart; and if, notwithstanding, they repeatedly attempted, at different phases of the struggle for independence, to give the newly formed states a monarchical form of government, it was only because they had come to the conclusion that even among the leaders the great majority were as yet quite unfit for a true republican constitution. They saw that when once independence was secured, the land would benefit more by a strong central power on a liberal basis—an enlightened despotism—than by unbridled freedom. San Martin accordingly declared plainly to the government that even his own army, which under stricter discipline would yet be a still more powerful factor in the struggle against the enemy, would, if involved in the civil war, inevitably fall a prey to demoralisation, and in the long run would be no more a protection to the government than the troops and the population on which the republic had hitherto relied. He also entered into direct communication with rebel leaders that he might induce them to use their forces in the service of their country, and to postpone the struggle over political opinions until their common enemy had been overcome.

The Noble Appeal of the Great Leader

As this noble warning fell on deaf ears, and the government, shaken to its very foundations, kept repeating more insistently than ever the order to return to Buenos Ayres to its support, San Martin finally decided to renounce his allegiance to it. In an address to the army he called on his soldiers to turn their backs on the civil war, and to seek glory and honour in the struggle against an enemy from whom they had already conquered a flourishing province. The appeal was enthusiastically received. A few days later the army assembled on the other side of the Cordilleras; the Chilian government took it under its protection; and in Valparaiso the Chilian-Argentine expedition, which was given the name "Exercito Libertador del Peru," embarked in Cochrane's fleet.

Liberating Army in Peru

San Martin hoped that the population of Peru would revolt for the cause of independence, as the Chilians had done, as soon as the patriot army afforded it a point of support against the Spaniards. He had accordingly taken advantage of the last raid made by Cochrane's fleet to distribute thousands of copies of a proclamation along the coast. But on landing at Pisco he discovered that the Peruvians maintained an attitude which, if not actually hostile, was as indifferent as that of the Venezuelans had been towards Miranda's proclamation. Besides this, immediately after his arrival news was received from Spain that the rule of the Cortes had been restored, and that this body had strongly recommended the Spanish governors to enter into negotiations with the champions of liberty. These negotiations,

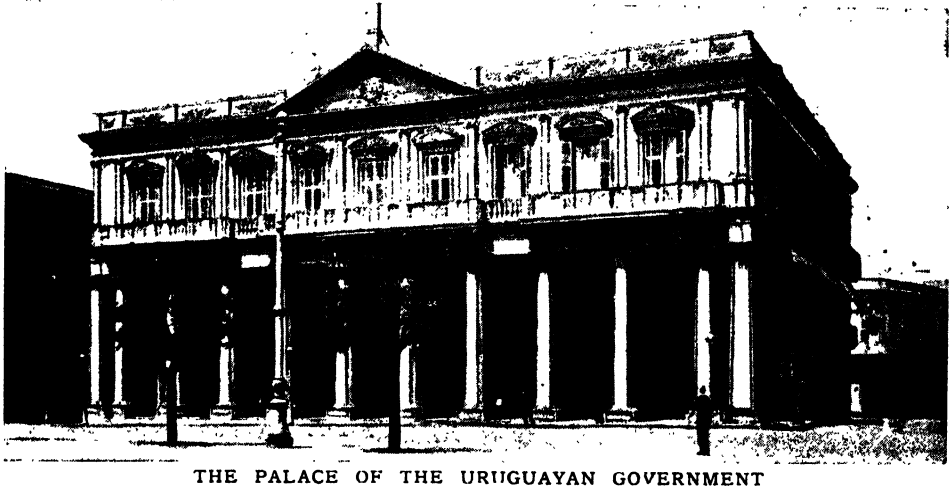
which, on account of San Martin's well-known opinions, were begun with far better prospects of success than those between Morillo and Bolivar in the north, made very slow progress; but this did not displease either party. San Martin hoped that time would thus be gained for a movement to arise among the people in favour of the liberating army.

The signs of any such movement had at first been surprisingly small, and it was against San Martin's principles to force upon the country the necessary change in its system of government. The royalists, on the other hand, considered that every day's delay was a distinct advantage to them, and would weaken the little expedition, which was disproportionately small for the important task it had undertaken. The landing at Pisco had the double object of finding out the disposition of the people and of sending an expedition into the Peruvian highlands. When these objects had been attained the troops were again embarked and landed at Huachi nearer the capital. The movement now began to make progress. The patriots came into touch with the enemy, even in the coast districts; and a Spanish regiment, in which the liberal tendencies then dominant in Spain had strongly developed, came over to them. Good news was also received from the highlands; the districts of Huaylas, Truxillo, Piura and others, formed patriotic detachments to support San Martin's operations. Thus the Spaniards saw themselves shut in at Lima before they had once come into contact with San Martin's army. Since the threatened attacks from the coast and from the mountains rendered his position untenable, the viceroy finally resolved to abandon the capital. This was no very severe loss, as without the possession of the port of Callao, which the royalists still held, Lima possessed a moral rather than a strategic value.

San Martin did not display the activity in Peru that had been expected from him; but there were numerous and weighty reasons for this. He could not overcome his conviction that the mass of the people had no sympathy for the cause for which he was fighting. As long as he had to rely solely on his small command he could not risk a vigorous attack on the enemy, who outnumbered him many times. For him defeat meant annihilation, and even a victory on the field of battle implied no real progress. Besides this, his little force was weakened by the unhealthy climate of the coast; and finally the negotiations, conducted with great diplomatic ability on the Spanish side, gave hopes that the object in view could be attained without bloodshed. None the less, San Martin's waiting policy came in for much blame. Thus the evacuation of Lima occurred at the right time for impressing on his opponents the

THE MAIN STREET IN ASUNCION, THE CAPITAL OF PARAGUAY

GENERAL VIEW OF THE CITY, SHOWING THE HARBOUR IN BACKGROUND



THE PALACE OF THE URUGUAYAN GOVERNMENT

CHURCH OF THE MATRIZ. ONE OF THE CITY'S FINEST BUILDINGS

MONTEVIDEO, THE COSMOPOLITAN CAPITAL OF URUGUAY

necessity for patience, though it was not, as soon became evident, accompanied by the important political and strategic consequences expected from it by the patriots.

The latter had hoped that the fall of the capital would be followed by a rising throughout the country, but in this they were once more deceived. They themselves could not actively follow up the Spaniards, whom the Peruvians allowed to retreat to Cuzco unmolested. Here the connection with Bolivia permitted the royalist army to be reconstructed in a very short time; and it was even put in a condition for taking the offensive. San Martin had not dared to entrust the future of the country to a congress at Lima; for it was by no means certain that such an assembly, if it did not degenerate into a mere farce, would not reject the aid of the liberators. Thus he had to content himself with declaring the independence of Peru without the sanction of the people, and with exercising an almost dictatorial power under the title of "protector." But the new government received little support from the people, and found itself in a position of constant danger, threatened both by Callao, the bulwark of the royalists, and by the army advancing to the attack from Cuzco, which far outnumbered its own.

San Martin Protector of Peru

The situation became worse when the royalists gained a victory at Ica and for a short time menaced the safety of Lima. Politically this event was a deliverance. What success had failed to do, necessity accomplished: the population of Lima rose for the cause of freedom and willingly attached themselves to San Martin's forces. The fruits of this movement were immediate victories. Callao had long been invested both by land and water, and the advance of the royalists was for the special object of reprovisioning it. San Martin allowed the Spanish Army to approach the immediate neighbourhood of the fortress; but there he surrounded it from all sides; and only a retreat, much resembling flight, saved it from the fate of being involved in the capitulation of Callao, which was now inevitable.

The Spanish Army Forced to Retreat

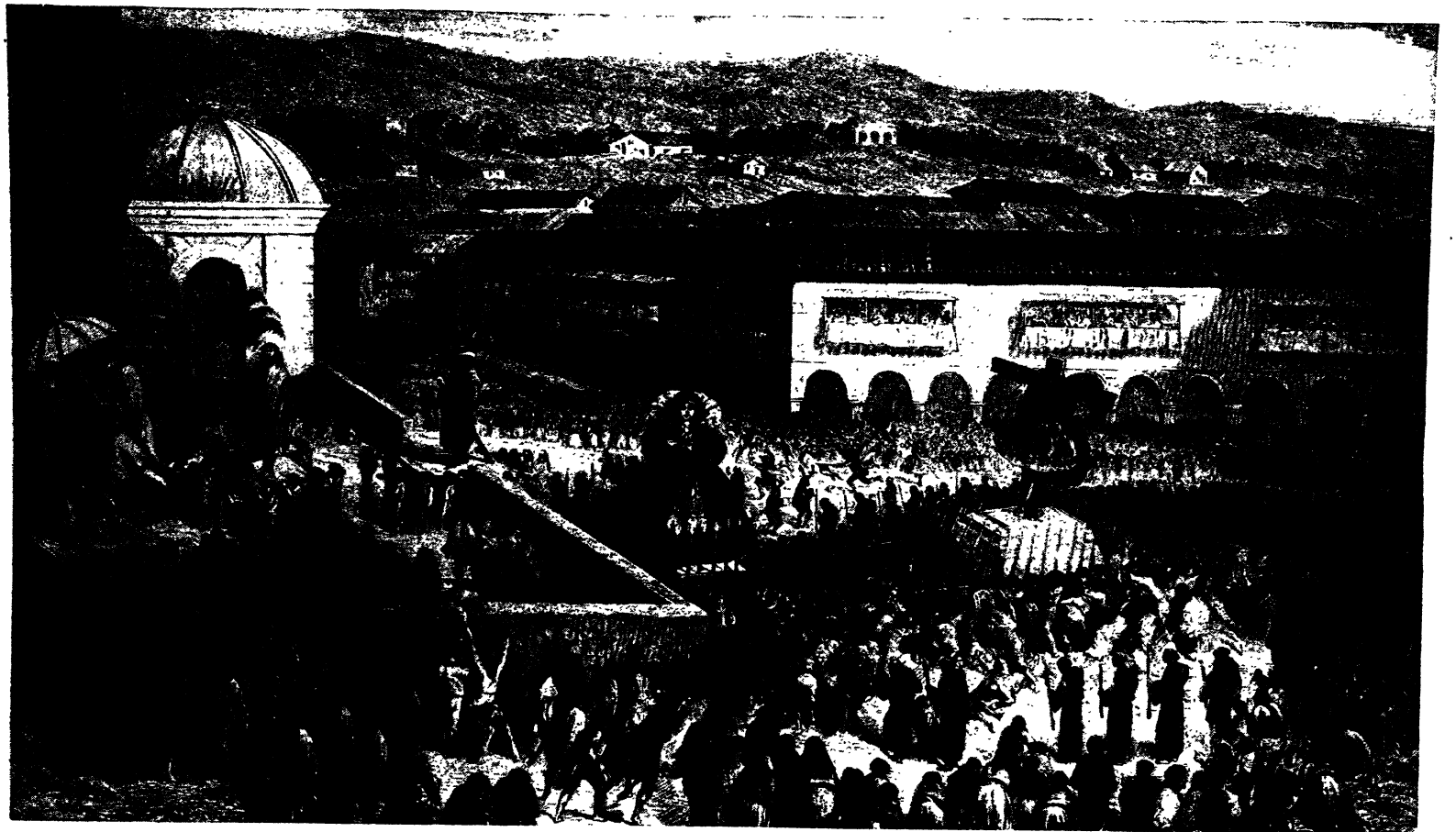
Nevertheless, San Martin saw the impossibility, with the limited force at his disposal, of securing the province against renewed attacks of the Spaniards from the highlands. As the struggle for independence had always seemed to him a common cause of all the colonies, he lost no time in seeking to come to an understanding with Bolivar as to a mutual plan of campaign, since united action was more likely to lead to swift and sure success than the separate operations, which had almost come to a standstill in both theatres of war. The two heroes of the War of Independence had for some time been in communication with each other, but had not got beyond the exchange of expressions of reciprocal good will.

The immediate occasion of this closer understanding was the circumstance that the harbour of Guayaquil, on the boundary between Peru and Quito, had risen for the cause of freedom, and had been placed by its junta under the joint protection of the two liberators. The object of the patriots of Guayaquil in taking this step was to avoid all dispute as to what province their town belonged to; for though it was politically a part of the province of Quito it was geographically situated in the viceroyalty of Peru, with which its administration had been closely connected. Cochrane's Pacific fleet had rendered the inhabitants of Guayaquil no little help in attaining their independence; and Bolivar, too, had sent a small force to their aid. No one could then foresee that, in spite of the joint protectorate, consequences by no means favourable to the cause of freedom were to follow.

Strongholds of the Spanish Royalists

The victory of Boyaca had not led to the result Bolivar had expected from it. The Spanish flag still waved over Quito, and the fanatically royalist population of the provinces Popayan and Pasto placed insuperable obstacles in the way of the patriots' advance. It was this that caused Bolivar to agree to send a division of his army under Antonio José de Sucre to Guayaquil, in the hope that an attack on Quito from the east would divert the attention of the royalists and facilitate his advance from the north. But Sucre's first campaign was a failure.

After winning two battles, which caused him to under-estimate the strength of the enemy, he suffered a severe defeat at Huachi, the consequences of which he avoided only by skilfully arranging an armistice. Bolivar's attack also failed in its object. He had hoped to slip by the royalist positions at Pasto without attracting attention, and to seize Quito from the



A STRANGE PERUVIAN FESTIVAL: THE ANNUAL PROCESSION OF THE CHRIST OF THE EARTHQUAKE AT CUZCO

A famous annual procession of Cuzco is that of the Christ of the Earthquake, which is held every Easter Monday. The dawn of the day is heralded with joyous peals of bells from cathedral and churches, and before long a crowd of 10,000 Indians has taken possession of the square. In the gaudily draped balconies are the rich and wealthy, who, as the crucified Christ is borne by on a litter, throw baskets of flowers at the image. The first figure in the procession is that of San Blas, over whom an angel with folded wings holds a rose silk parasol. The second image is San Benito, the third is San Cristoval, leaning on a palm-tree, and the fourth San José. Next comes the Virgin Mary, strangely arrayed in Elizabethan costume.

north-east; but the enemy barred his way at Bombona and forced him to battle. He emerged victorious from the contest, but his plan became known to the enemy and was thus rendered impracticable. He was once more compelled to postpone the conquest of Quito, and retreated to the north-west. The liberators of the north were freed from this embarrassing situation by San Martin's help. The latter had repeatedly suggested that he and Bolivar should take common action against either Quito or Cuzco, since in this way only would it be possible for their armies, each too weak for its own task, to overthrow the Spaniards in one of their strongholds.

Quito in the Hands of the Patriots

But Bolivar, as usual, could not make up his mind to share the laurels he expected to win with an ally of equal rank, and constantly put off decisive action. Sucre, however, had little or nothing to risk in this respect, so he willingly accepted San Martin's unselfish offer to assist him in undertaking an offensive movement against Quito by handing over to him a part of his troops. With 1,500 Peruvian soldiers, and about the same number of his own, Sucre, in February, 1822, made an incursion into the districts of Loja and Cucenca, which had hitherto been held by the royalists.

When the latter gave him an opportunity of stopping their retreat at Riobamba he gained a decisive advantage, chiefly with the aid of his cavalry. Then, by a bold outflanking movement, he forced them to a decisive battle on the slopes of the volcano Pichincha. Here, again, the fortune of war favoured the combined patriots of the north and south, and Quito fell into their hands as the prize of victory. With this the back of the Spanish resistance in Ecuador was broken; and Bolivar could now hasten up to deck himself out with the laurels gained under the leadership of his subordinate. In the hope that the victory in Quito would be followed by a second united campaign against Cuzco and Bolivia, San Martin arranged for a meeting with Bolivar at Guayaquil. But this was not the way in which Bolivar's unbounded ambition could be satisfied.

Bolivar's Unbounded Ambition

There was some excuse for his incorporating Quito in the Colombian republic—though it had been conquered only by reason of the energetic support of the Peruvian-Chilian army—for Quito had always formed a part of New Granada. But the case of Guayaquil was not so simple; under the Spaniards there had been doubts as to which province it belonged to, and now it had set up an independent government. San Martin included this among the questions to be discussed at his meeting with Bolivar. But in Bolivar's mind the matter was already legally settled in favour of Colombia, and he actually put his idea in force. He did not wait for the appearance of his rival, but, to the surprise of all, suddenly appeared in Guayaquil and settled the matter with one word of command. While still on the way, San Martin received the news that Bolivar would be glad to receive him, as his guest, on Colombian soil.

Such circumstances as these did not augur well for the meeting between the two liberators in Guayaquil, and the fears entertained proved only too well grounded. The mystery surrounding their negotiations has never been fully cleared up; but so much is certain, that the two generals were unable to come to an understanding. To the astonishment of all concerned, San Martin suddenly departed from Guayaquil; nothing more was heard of a common plan of campaign; and San Martin now resolved on a step which he had not indeed contemplated for the first time at Guayaquil, but which was certainly hastened by the result of his interview with Bolivar.

The Two Liberators in Conference

After the victories of Callao and Quito, San Martin had arranged for the election of a congress to draw up a constitution for Peru. He had also the intention of resigning all his extraordinary powers in favour of this body. The latter step, however, was taken in accordance with certain concealed objects. San Martin did not believe in the possibility of establishing vigorous republics in the Spanish-American provinces. He saw the whole of the north in the hands of a dictator who, if enthusiastic for the cause of liberty, was nevertheless consumed by vanity and a thirst for fame. In the south he saw the attempt at a republican form of government in Chili and in Buenos Ayres on the verge of ruin, and the old provinces more or less involved in the general dissolution. On the other hand, the resistance of Peru had shown him how firmly monarchical sentiments were rooted in the hearts of

the people; and the introduction of a constitutional monarchy into the neighbouring empire of Brazil, which was accomplished without any serious political disturbance, furnished an additional argument in favour of this form of government. San Martin was in complete agreement with those of his countrymen in the Argentine Republic who had aimed at setting up a Spanish-American empire with a younger prince of the royal house at its head, at first through the agency of the Infanta Carlota, but afterwards through independent effort. He now worked, both in America and in Europe, by means of an ambassador sent across the ocean for this special purpose, at a scheme for establishing a great South American constitutional monarchy, in opposition to the South American Republic planned by Bolivar; and he even hoped to see the Republic of Colombia incorporated in it. The meeting with Bolivar dashed all his hopes to the ground. Though the European outlook seemed to point to the rapid fulfilment of his plan, he found the general opinion in Peru, as well as in the allied states, decidedly unfavourable to his monarchic proposals. His character as little fitted him to play the part of Providence, after the manner of Bolivar, in the state he was at the time directing, as to take part in the inevitable civil war.

Thus he came to the conclusion that the only course open to him was to retire from public life. He seized on this way of escape the more readily because he was firmly convinced that, after his retirement, Bolivar's ambition would leave no stone unturned to complete the work of liberation and to add Peru and Bolivia to his Colombian republic. Thus San Martin resigned all his offices and titles into the hands of the congress that met on September 20th, 1822. Some of the delegates considered this a mere theatrical trick, such as Bolivar was wont to indulge in; others expected that he would at least continue to act as commander-in-chief; but he departed suddenly and secretly from Peru, and, disgusted with his experiences in Chili and the Argentine Republic, retired to Europe. Here he spent the remainder of his life in seclusion. San Martin's prophecies were largely justified by the course of events. If Bolivar did not

CELEBRATING THE BIRTHDAY OF AN ARGENTINE PRESIDENT

This illustration shows a review of troops in the Government Square at Buenos Ayres on the occasion of the seventy-first birthday of Señor Manuel Quintana, who assumed office on October 12th, 1904, and was, perhaps, the most popular president which the Argentine Republic has ever had. An admirer of Great Britain, Señor Quintana strove with considerable success to encourage commercial relations between the United Kingdom and the South American republic

immediately take his place in Peru, it was because of the strong current of public opinion which regarded his devouring ambition with strongly marked distrust. But circumstances proved to be more powerful than the weak government which had undertaken the guidance of Peru. Their contemptuous rejection of Bolivar's proffered aid deprived the Peruvians of a great part of their trained troops, and the military expeditions they attempted on their own account led to two severe defeats at Torata and Moquegua. Finally, they had no other resource than to beg humbly for the aid they had once refused to accept, and to appoint the president of the united Republic of Colombia dictator of Peru. But this step led to the outbreak of civil war in the latter country. Even a part of the army revolted against being handed over to Bolivar; Callao again raised the Spanish banner above its impregnable walls; and Lima was once more compelled to open its gates to the royalists. The immediate consequence of calling in Bolivar was that Peru was lost to the patriots.

Peru Lost to the Patriots

Reorganising his army among the mountains of the north, Bolivar renewed his campaign in August, 1824. His first operations were favoured by fortune. He moved toward the south, through the valleys between the two chains of the Cordilleras, screened by swarms of guerrilla warriors, who appeared from all sides on the approach of the patriots. South of Pasco, on the Lago de Reyes, he came in touch with the enemy, who had advanced to meet him. The Battle of Junin was, in fact, a great cavalry engagement, in which the royalists were at first completely successful. But in their eagerness to pursue the retreating enemy they rushed by a body of Bolivar's cavalry without dispersing it. This body attacked them in the rear, riding down their scattered ranks; and the Spanish success was thus converted into a disastrous defeat. The royalist leader, who thought that victory was in his grasp, was forced to fall back into the neighbourhood of Cuzco, a distance of 466 miles.

Bolivar's Great Victory Over the Royalists

Bolivar was unable to move so rapidly, and when he again met with the enemy, on the Apurimac, the rainy season set in and put an end to operations. At this time Bolivar's dictatorial powers were considerably curtailed by the Congress of Colombia. He therefore resigned his position as commander-in-chief in favour of Sucre and returned to the northern provinces. From there he still directed military operations as long as communications could be maintained. At the end of November the Spaniards seized a position between Sucre and his base, so that he had no alternative but to fight. The royalists considered themselves sure of victory: Sucre was compelled to retreat by forced marches in order to avoid being cut off completely, and suffered considerable losses in the days preceding the battle. But neither he nor his army lost courage, however threatening the situation; they knew that the safety of more than one expedition depended on their fate. On December 9th, 1824, the Spaniards—unfortunately for themselves—accepted the opportunity of joining battle repeatedly offered to them.

Sucre had chosen his position on the plain of Ayacucho with the greatest skill, and he directed the contest, which was almost entirely a hand-to-hand struggle, with extraordinary military talent. The victory was complete. The last royalist army was entirely dispersed, and fourteen Spanish generals, with the few troops remaining on the field, laid down their arms. The independence of South America, fought for at Chacabucu and Maipu, Carabobo and Boyaca, was rendered certain at Ayacucho.

South America Achieves Independence

The surrender at Ayacucho was accepted by almost all the military posts still in possession of the royalists. Sucre did not disgrace his victory by unnecessary bloodshed, and an honourable capitulation secured for the defenders of Spanish claims an unmolested withdrawal from the country. Owing to his clemency he secured more than he could ever have expected.

Only in Callao did the Spanish commander continue his opposition for almost a year longer, although hostilities had now become practically without object; for not only had the Spanish troops evacuated the land, but even the fleet had given up the hopeless contest in American waters. As a matter of fact, independence had been won at the beginning of the year 1825; the negative part of the war for freedom was over. Nothing further was necessary except to secure positive recognition for the new states and to constitute them into actual political structures.

THE INDEPENDENT SOUTH SINCE THE REVOLUTION

THE NEW REPUBLICS IN PEACE AND WAR

AS might have been expected, the Spanish colonies, even during an early stage of their revolt, had applied for the support of the United States of North America, whose example they considered themselves to be imitating in their struggle for liberty and independence. There, however, they met with a distinct refusal. The United States, whose own political status was as yet by no means firmly assured, declared themselves determined to hold aloof from any interference which might entangle them with other Powers.

Various deputations, which in the course of the year made applications to England, met with a similar reply. There can be no question that both the United States and England were benevolently disposed towards the Spanish colonies, and they gave evidence of this feeling by not taking strict measures for preventing the despatch of private support from their harbours to the insurgent states. England, however, declared that the struggle of the colonies against the mother country was an internal matter in which, owing to her own close relations with Ferdinand VII., she was the less in a position to interfere. Thus the only open support given to the combatants came from the negro republic of Haiti, and was accorded the more readily owing to the fact that the revolted colonists had everywhere proclaimed the freedom of negro slaves in order to fill with them the thinned ranks of their own regiments, and had made slavery illegal. They did not suspect that by this action they were forfeiting the friendship of their nearest neighbours.

Pan-American Congress at Panama

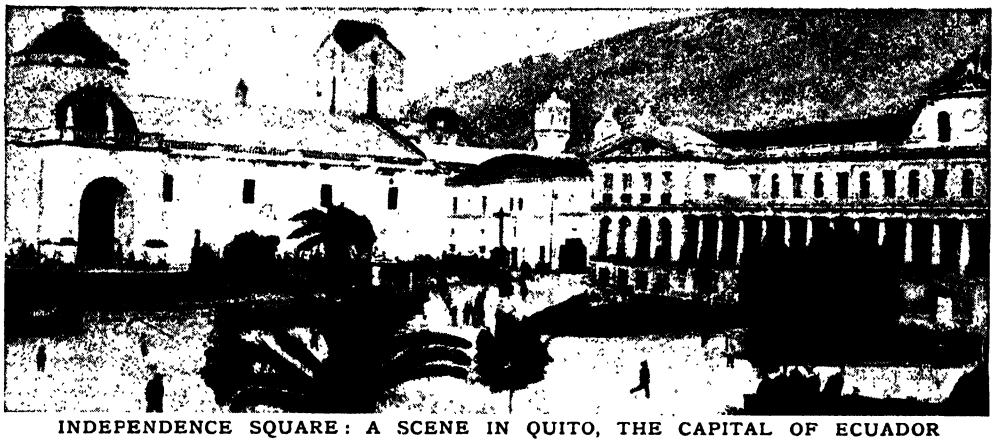
After his great victories in New Granada and Quito, Bolivar summoned a Pan-American congress at Panama, to which, besides the Spanish colonies, the North Americans also were invited. And, indeed, there was at the time a great party in the United States who were enthusiastic in their support of the idea of a Pan-American federation. One of the principal reasons put forth by the United States for not participating in this congress—which afterwards proved a deplorable failure—was that, by being represented, they would be virtually sanctioning the abolition of negro slavery, and that their own representatives at the congress would in all probability be placed on an equal footing with the delegates of the Haitian Republic.

Ferdinand VII. Restored to the Throne of Spain

The revolution in Spain first brought about a change in public opinion, more especially when Ferdinand VII. was for a second time restored by the Holy Alliance to the throne of his fathers as absolute monarch. The revolutionary government was inclined, from principle, to make large allowances to the colonies, and when it saw that its power was becoming increasingly endangered it was willing to grant even the independence of a portion of the colonies in return for their support against France. The Argentine Republic might at that time have obtained recognition by severing itself from the rest of the colonies; but it refused offhand every offer of separate treatment.

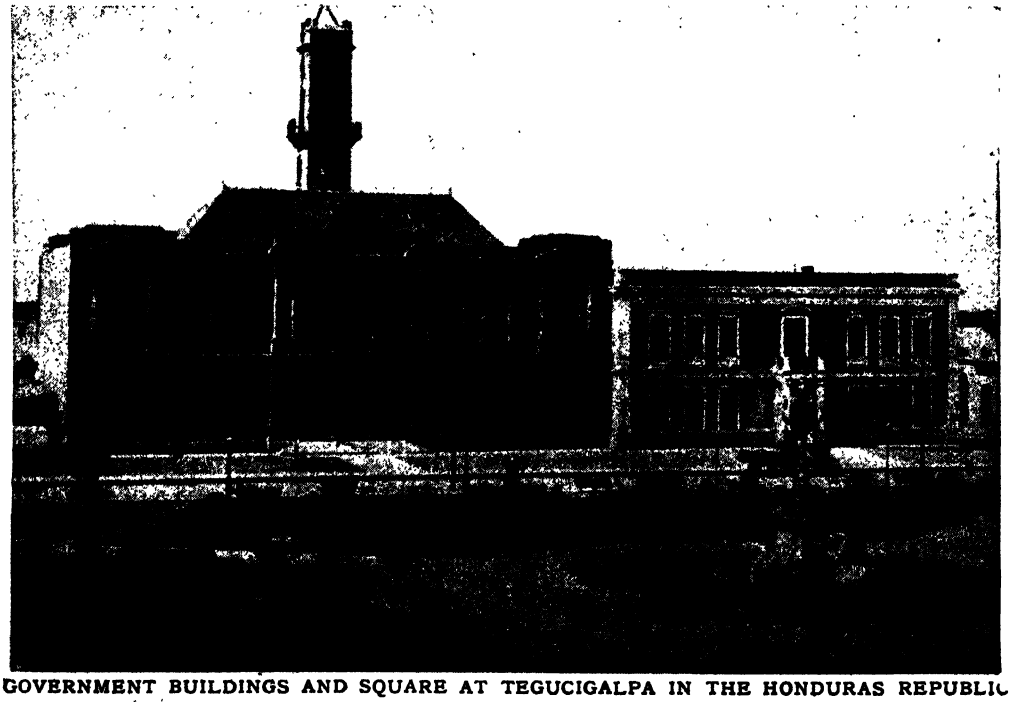
The interference of the Holy Alliance next had the effect of separating Great Britain from the other Powers. That country declared that it would have to regard any attempt at a restoration of the status quo in the colonies as an unfriendly act. Encouraged by this declaration, the president of the United States, James Monroe, enunciated in his message to congress the so-called Monroe Doctrine—frequently reiterated since then in utterly different circumstances—to the effect that the United States would view any attempt on the part of European Powers to conquer territories on American soil as an

The Famous Monroe Doctrine



INDEPENDENCE SQUARE: A SCENE IN QUITO, THE CAPITAL OF ECUADOR

unfriendly act towards itself. This declaration had at first little significance, for as yet Spain had not officially recognised the independence of South America, nor had the South American republics met with such recognition on the part of the United States. It was, however, a long step in that direction; for, Spain being forbidden to make any attempts at the restoration of its power over the seceded colonies, the full recognition of the independence of the latter could be a question only of time and expediency, subject to the one consideration as to what use the newly emancipated states would make of their liberty. At that time, when the victory of Ayacucho had destroyed the last vestige of the Spanish power in America, not a single one of the old colonial provinces was organised on a firm basis. Buenos Ayres at first, without any real disturbances, gave signs of developing into a republic with the promise of vitality, though here, too, a rapid change took place in the form and personnel of the supreme executive. After the independence of the republic had been recognised in 1816, however, a congress was elected by a free popular vote, and at times, too, the Budget of this young state, which was still struggling for



GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS AND SQUARE AT TEGUCIGALPA IN THE HONDURAS REPUBLIC

MAP OF SOUTH AMERICA, SHOWING THE COUNTRY AS IT IS TO-DAY

South America, since those days when the Spanish conquistadors found the country uncultivated and inhabited by a sparse population of Indians, has made gigantic strides along the paths of progress. The map on this page shows the country as it is to-day, with its many populous cities, its immense railroad systems, and every other sign of prosperity.

recognition, showed a balance. All these gains, however, were again entirely lost on the advent to power, in 1820, of the Federal party, which abolished the unity of the constitution, and not only acknowledged the independence of the seceded provinces of Bolivia, Paraguay and Uruguay, but also dissolved all connection between the different provinces of the Argentine state *inter se* and with Buenos Ayres. The latter owed its endurance as the predominant power only to its geographical position, which brought it more in contact with foreign Powers than the inland provinces. Though historical tradition repeatedly led those in power for the time being at Buenos Ayres to assert the predominance of that province, yet for a considerable time its alliance with the neighbouring states rested on the basis of the complete sovereign independence of the contracting parties.

Collapse of Constitutional Authority

At that time the moral status of the government underwent a rapid decline. The revolution had been effected by men destined for leadership by their surpassing capacity. Belgrano, San Martin, Rivadavia, undeniably towered above the majority of their fellow-citizens in abilities and talents. The collapse of all constitutional power was a powerful factor in the production of a class of less honourable politicians. The victory of the federal idea was, in reality, the fruit of the ambition of local party leaders, whose principal aim, amid the general insecurity, was to obtain places for themselves and their supporters. To these aspirations the central party had no higher interests to oppose which might have sufficiently influenced the inexperienced masses.

Hence resulted the collapse of this party and the degeneration of governments. It is in this way only that we can understand the dictatorship of a man like Don Juan Manuel de Rosas, who by cunning and an utter absence of principle rose from the office of steward in a hacienda to the presidency of Buenos Ayres; next succeeded, by more or less doubtful means, in restoring the predominance of the latter state over the other provinces; and under difficult circumstances maintained his place as dictator for more than twenty years. That during this régime every stir of an independent opinion was stifled in blood, that the security of life and property was reduced to a mere fancy, and that in spite of this the man was not overthrown, must be simply ascribed to the fact that even the better-minded among the people were as yet absolutely incapable of forming a real idea of the loudly praised blessings of republican liberty.

Rosas the President of Buenos Ayres

Nor was Rosas' final overthrow due to a reaction for the restoration of law and order; on the other hand, he fell in a struggle with people who were no better than himself. The sore point with the Argentine Republic was its relations with the seceded provinces, especially Montevideo, to which, apart from the Independent party in that province, Brazil was repeatedly making claims. After a previous struggle for the possession of Uruguay, Brazil and Buenos Ayres agreed to consider that state as independent, and jointly to guarantee its independence. There, too, however, existed different parties, each fighting for the helm of the ship of state; and the support of a fallen president gave Rosas the welcome pretext of once more making his influence felt over Uruguay also. The war which resulted led, temporarily, even to the interference of France and England. It principally, however, served to bring into the field against Rosas a succession of ambitious party leaders, to whose attack his rule finally succumbed in 1852, on the battlefield of Monte Caceros.

Rosas Falls from Power

Under the guise of a convinced federalist, Rosas had managed, though by the most violent means, to maintain a government based on a fairly firm policy of union; his expulsion once more rendered the alliance of the Argentine Republic doubtful, and Buenos Ayres, for a considerable time, severed its connection with the latter. These contests, however, which were far less concerned with the federation of states or the formation of a republican union than with the acquisition of power by political parties, had hardly ceased at any time: revolutions in the republic itself, or civil wars between its various provinces, have endured up to the present day.

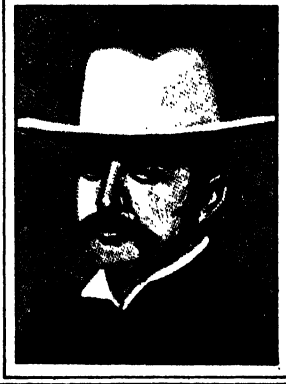
The most important of these struggles was with Paraguay. In this country, which was a republic merely in name, the dictatorship of Dr. Francia was followed by those of Carlos Antonio Lopez and his son Francisco Solano Lopez. While Francia had sought salvation for his state by strictly excluding it from all intercourse

Augusto B. Leguia, Peru

E. G. Navero, Paraguay

Colonel I. Montes, Bolivia

Dr. José F. Alcorta, Argentina

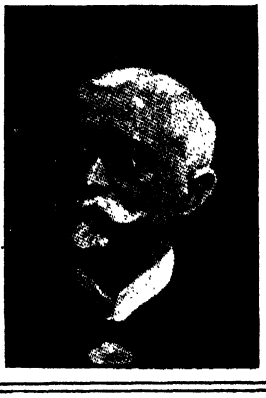


General J. V. Gomez, Venezuela

Dr. Claudio Williman, Uruguay

General Eloy Alfaro, Ecuador

Don Pedro Montt, Chili



Dr. Affonso Penna, Brazil

SOME PRESIDENTS OF THE SOUTH AMERICAN REPUBLICS

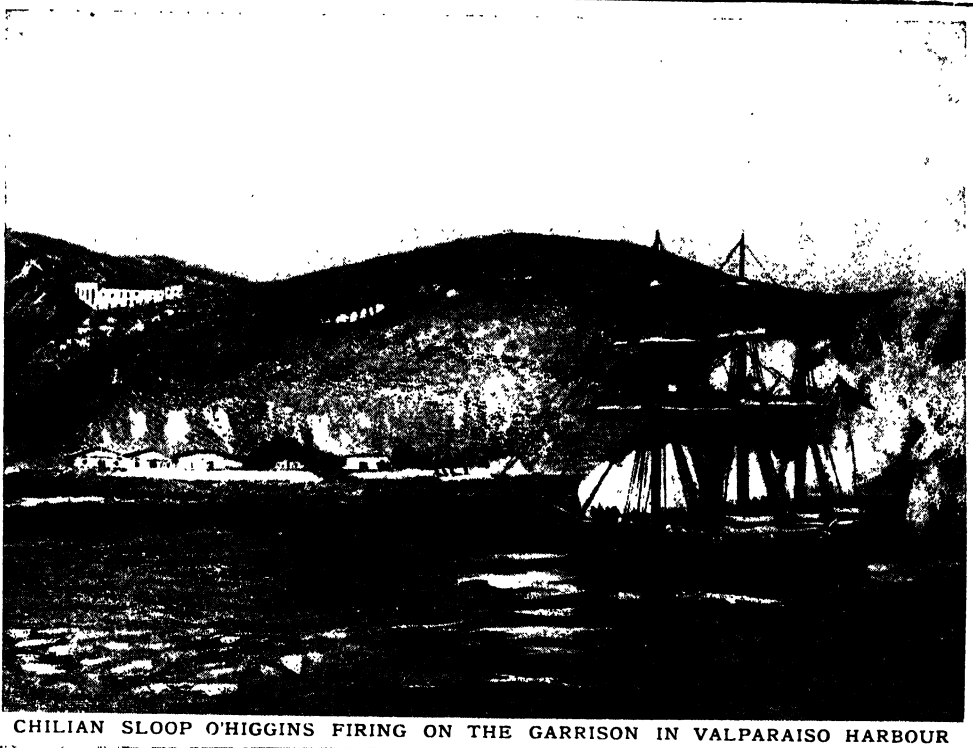
with its neighbours, the two Lopez, by freely admitting foreigners of all sorts, considerably advanced its economic development. The younger Lopez, however, by interfering in the presidential conflicts of Uruguay, forfeited the friendship of the latter state, and in October, 1864, also that of Brazil; and while endeavouring to injure these opponents he also frivolously challenged the hostility of the Argentine Republic. In this manner arose the alliance of these three powers against Paraguay, which in the course of a five years' war lost almost its entire wealth, a considerable portion of its territory, and its political importance. Since that time, too, dictators appointed for life have been replaced in that country by republican presidents. Nevertheless, internal disturbances have been by no means infrequent, even in Paraguay; though revolutions have not in that country become a chronic condition to the same extent as in Uruguay, where the party wars between Colorados and Blanquillos, dating from Rosas' interference down to our own times, have brought matters to such a pitch that hardly a president has ever completed his legal term of office.

Nor did the last of the provinces once belonging to the viceregal province of Buenos Ayres experience a better fate than its sister states. Upper Peru, now known as Bolivia, did not acquire its liberty until Sucre's victory at Ayacucho. A congress summoned to Chuquisaca in August, 1825, declared the independence of the republic of Bolivia without a protest being lodged by either Peru or the Argentine Republic.

The young republic placed itself under the protection of Bolivar, and entrusted its future condition and development to his care. Nor did Bolivar allow the opportunity to escape of putting into substance his ideas of a constitutional government, but presented Bolivia with a constitution in which, as in the case of Angostura, provision was made for a president elected for life, a hereditary senate, and a lower house with limited powers. For himself Bolivar reserved the power of assuming, subject to a decree of congress, dictatorial powers whenever he should enter Bolivian territory; but Sucre, the commander-in-chief at Ayacucho, was chosen as the constitutional president. The latter recognised much better than his master the dangers to which the Codice Boliviano exposed the young republic. He accepted the presidential office for only two years, but resigned before the expiration of that period when he perceived the extreme opposition with which the republican patriotic party viewed the aristocratic tendencies of the Colombian dictator.

A FORMER METHOD OF SHIPPING NITRATE AT PISAGUA IN CHILI

Thus Bolivia, too, entered upon a period of successive military revolutions, which were interrupted only by the ten years' dictatorship of General Santa Cruz. The



CHILIAN SLOOP O'HIGGINS FIRING ON THE GARRISON IN VALPARAISO HARBOUR

EXCHANGE OF SHOTS BETWEEN SHORE BATTERIES AND CHILIAN IRONCLAD

THE CIVIL WAR IN CHILI IN 1851: HOSTILITIES AT VALPARAISO

latter was of Indian descent, had fought in the wars of liberation, and so greatly distinguished himself at the Pichincha as to merit his election to the highest office in the state. This, however, did not satisfy his ambition; for, like Bolivar, he had dreams of a federation of all the American republics under his leadership.

Peru Declares its Independence

The condition of Peru gave him an opportunity of seeing his plans realised. Though the dictatorship of Bolivar had ousted the National party, it had by no means extinguished it; and as soon as the Spanish power had received its final blow it at once revived. The province endured with but little relish the guardianship of the Colombian republic, and when the internal complications of the latter called the dictator to the north, it shook off its yoke, and in 1827 declared itself independent.

This, however, was but the signal for the eruption of civil disturbances. Santa Cruz, delighted at having found his long-cherished wish for interference, contrived to bring about a closer connection of Peru with Bolivia, and, as chief of the alliance, wielded the highest power in both republics. In this capacity he rendered important services to the economic development of the states under his authority; but his foreign policy was not equal to the difficulties of the situation and brought about the fall of his government and the end of the Peru-Bolivian Federation.

Chili was the rock upon which Santa Cruz was shipwrecked. In that state its first president, O'Higgins, had fallen a victim to democratic aims at the moment when San Martin in Peru gave up the struggle for the establishment of a constitutional monarchy in South America. For Chili also, furthermore, the rule of the so-called Liberals brought bad times; between 1823 and 1831 that state had no less than thirteen governments and seven times changed its constitution. It was not

Chili's Rapid Succession of Governments

until the presidency of Joaquin Prieto and the Conservative Constitution of 1833 that the development of Chili attained that stability which until recently has so favourably distinguished it from all the other Spanish-American republics. In the hope of attaching Chili to its confederacy of states, Santa Cruz had supported the attempt of the Chilian ex-president, Freire, who by force of arms aspired to lead the Liberal party to victory against Prieto and the Conservatives. But not only did Freire himself fall before the constitutional government of Prieto, but he also involved Santa Cruz in his defeat, inasmuch as Chili declared war against the Peruvian-Bolivian alliance on account of the interference of the latter in Chilian affairs. The war, which was but feebly conducted on the part of Santa Cruz, culminated in the complete victory of the Chilians at Yungay in 1839, and was followed by the complete independence of all three republics and the resignation of the Bolivian dictator.

Since that time a large number of presidents have followed one another in Bolivia in rapid succession, almost all having been raised to power and hurled from office by military pronunciamentos. Outstripped by all its neighbours, that country has on only one other occasion since played a part in history, and that an essentially passive one—namely, in the war between Chili and Peru in 1879.

The fall of Santa Cruz benefited Peru as little as it did Bolivia. Though more was done in this state for the economic

Presidents Who Failed in Office

development of the country than in the other republics, more especially through the efforts of President Ramon Castilla (1844–1854), the internal policy of most of the presidents was nevertheless neither sufficiently prudent nor sufficiently unselfish to place the welfare of the state on a solid foundation. Its great natural resources were either squandered or were made the object of rash speculations which an old-established state could scarcely have survived. To the young republic they meant absolute ruin. When the natural resources of the central states, which had been the first to be exploited, were exhausted, the southern districts began, towards the end of the seventies, to be regarded as specially valuable.

The discovery of inexhaustible deposits of saltpetre and soda led to these barren deserts being looked to as a substitute for the guano deposits of the Chincha Islands, which had become unlicensed mining-grounds. Hitherto the borders of these somewhat dismal regions had received but little attention. Bolivia was, indeed, in possession of a narrow strip of territory extending to the Pacific Ocean and separating Peru from Chili, but had paid so little attention to it that it had almost resigned both its

territorial claims and sovereign rights to Chili before the value of this possession was recognised. Thus it came about that not only in Atacama, the Bolivian coast province, but also in Tarapaca, the southernmost part of Peru, almost all industrial interests were in the hands of Chilian and other foreign subjects, who were here amassing riches, to the great envy of the real owners of the land. Having for a long time been in secret agreement, the opponents of Chili began hostilities, Bolivia in 1879 subjecting Chilian industries in Atacama to heavy tolls, and, on refusal of their payment, confiscating all Chilian property. Chili, however, was prepared for the struggle; its troops occupied, without serious resistance, the disputed strip of coast, and Bolivia during the whole war hardly made another attempt to recover its lost territory. The quarrel was really fought out between Peru and Chili, the former having stepped in on behalf of Bolivia in virtue of treaty obligations, and thereby given Chili the desired opportunity of declaring war. As long as the Peruvian fleet was successful in disputing with Chili its supremacy on the sea, the operations of the Chilians on land did not extend beyond investing the coast towns of the extreme south. But after the capture, October 8th, 1879, of the Huascar, the largest and swiftest of the Peruvian battleships, in an unequal fight against the Chilian fleet, both the fighting forces of the southern republic were able to act in concert and enter upon that succession of victories which culminated at Lima in January, 1881. Both in Peru and Bolivia the defeat was followed by the downfall of the existing government, and it was years before the relations of the conqueror to the conquered were accorded constitutional sanction. In the end, however, Chili was confirmed in the permanent possession of Atacama and Tarapaca, and in the temporary occupation of the provinces of Tacna and Arica; but the pledges given by Chili on that occasion have not been redeemed up to the present day. This victory was a brilliant justification for the Chilian Constitution, which had been decried as an enemy to liberty. To it undoubtedly must be attributed the fact that the government of Chili has since the constitution of 1833 been firmer and more concentrated than that of any other of the Spanish-American republics. The reproach hurled at this government, of being an enemy to freedom, is, however, utterly unfounded. Even under Manuel Montt (1851-1861), the true founder of Chilian prosperity, the development of the constitution on a liberal basis had been seriously begun, and his successors have not stood idle. Whether, however, the advances thus won by Chili have outweighed the disadvantages of subsequent party struggles, more violent and embittered than those experienced under the Conservative constitution of 1833, may well be left open to doubt. Upon them, at any rate, was based the conflict which, after a peace extending over decades, led in 1891 to a revolution and the violent downfall of the government. The experience that a war may be scarcely less dangerous to the conquering party in its

THE CHILI-ARGENTINA PLEDGE OF PEACE

Standing high in the very heart of the Andes, this colossal statue of Christ was erected in celebration of peace between Argentina and Chili, and on its pedestal bears this inscription: "Sooner shall these mountains crumble to dust than Argentines and Chilians break the peace which at the feet of Christ the Redeemer they have sworn to maintain."

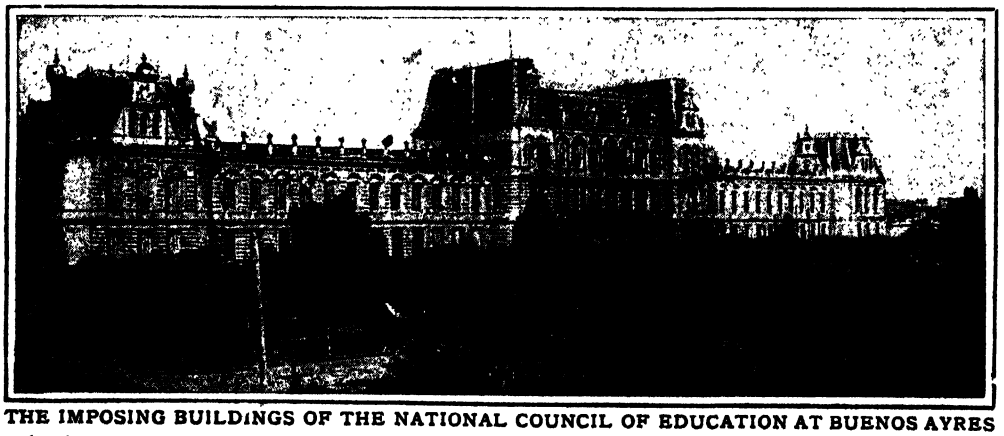
Photo: Rider Noble

CYPRIANO CASTRO, EX-PRESIDENT OF THE VENEZUELAN REPUBLIC, AND HIS CABINET

industrial life than to the defeated one, once more proved itself true in the case of Chili. The extraordinary increase in the national wealth which had been the outcome of the war with Peru led to an extravagant activity in the industrial sphere. President José Manuel Balmacéda (1886–1891) especially had in this respect strained the resources of the country beyond their capacity. The financial crisis developed, however, into a political one when it was shown that these industrial speculations had been exploited from the public treasury for the personal advantage of the president and his creatures.

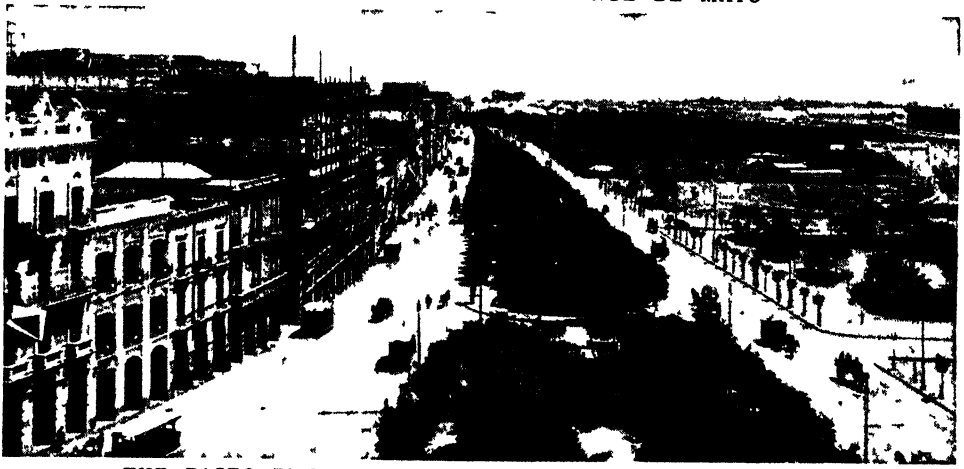
This imparted to the revolution, which was founded as much on political as on personal party considerations, an unexpected moral force, and in 1891, in a short time, procured for it an easy victory and one which was not exploited to excess. The fact remains, notwithstanding, that in Chili, too, the regular succession of constitutional governments was in this wise interrupted by a victorious military rising. The few years which have elapsed since then have sufficed to show that the civil power has not emerged from the struggle without having sustained a permanent shock. At the present time Chili has only a qualified claim to its former reputation of being the most trustworthy of the South American republics.

The republic of Colombia, too, the creation of which had been Bolivar's special pride, did not enjoy a long lease of life. While the liberator, reaping the fruits of Sucre's victory at Ayacucho,



THE IMPOSING BUILDINGS OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF EDUCATION AT BUENOS AYRES

LOOKING WEST ALONG THE AVENUE DE MAYO



THE PASEO D' JULIO, WITH THE DOCKS IN THE DISTANCE

SCENE IN THE FASHIONABLE PALERMO PARK

BUENOS AYRES, THE CAPITAL OF THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC

was holding his triumphal progress through Bolivia, his mind was already occupied with bold plans which again had for their object the expansion of his Colombian republic. At one time he was offering his aid to the Chilians in driving out the last remnants of the Spanish army of occupation from the archipelago of Chiloë; at another he was planning with the Argentines an advance against Brazil, the last remaining division of the South American continent which was still under a monarchical constitution and which had not yet entirely severed its connection with the Old World.

Bolivar Under Suspicion

His dictatorial power, however, and the aristocratic constitution which he had introduced in Peru and Bolivia, caused him to be looked upon with suspicion by republicans not only in foreign countries, but even in New Granada; and, besides, neither in Chili nor in La Plata was there a dearth of ambitious generals who were ready to follow his own example for their own benefit. In the end the growing distrust of the Colombian Congress recalled him from the south, and his unconditional obedience to their behest was, perhaps, the best defence he could offer.

In Venezuela a strong party, with Paez at its head, had, ever since 1826, urged the separation of that country from the Colombian Republic. Indeed, the secession had almost become an accomplished fact when Bolivar yielded, and by all kinds of concessions succeeded in inducing his old comrades in arms once more to recognise his authority and that of the Colombian Congress. In the meantime an exactly similar movement took place in Peru, where, as in Bolivia, the Colombians had, from the beginning, been extremely unpopular.

As soon as the National party in that state saw itself freed from the menacing presence of the dictator, it rose in revolt, abolished the government which Bolivar had established at Lima, and invited Bolivia to join it. The latter state responded to the invitation in a qualified manner by rising against Sucre and forcing him to resign. The Peruvians, however, proceeded even further; they caused pronunciamentos to be issued at Guayaquil and other places in Ecuador. Under the pretext of protecting the latter against oppression, the Peruvian dictator Lamar declared war against Colombia. Here, however, Sucre again saved the honour of the Colombian arms, and by his victory at Tarqui brought about a revolution against Lamar in Peru. The new government, though insisting, like so many of its predecessors, on the independence of Peru, nevertheless concluded peace on easy terms with its neighbour states.

Peru's Revolt Against the Liberator

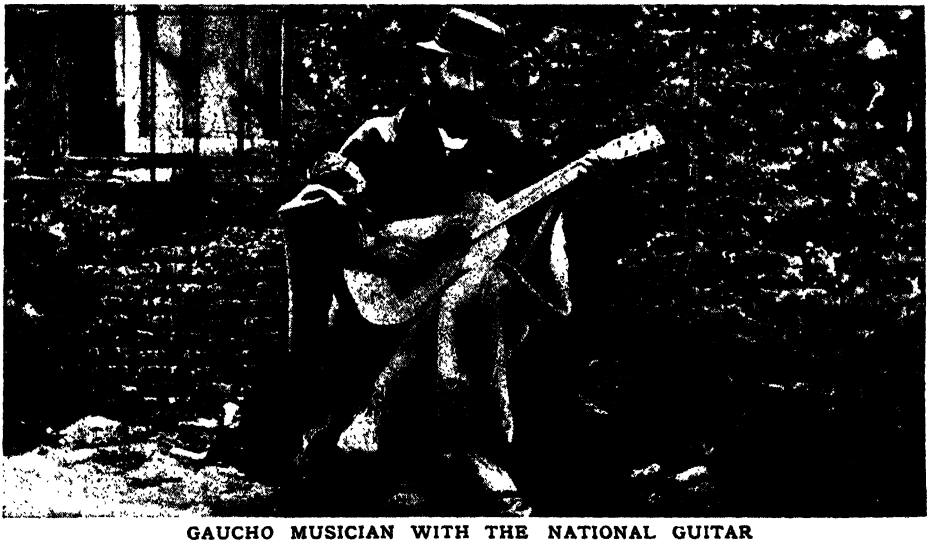
Even at this time Bolivar had constantly to battle against a strong current of opposition which aimed at his deposition and the abolition of his dictatorship. After he had four times abdicated his government, in order only at the next moment to resume it with the most unlimited powers, his enemies determined to get rid of him by unconstitutional methods. After several unsuccessful attempts at revolution, a military rising took place on September 25th, 1828, at Bogota, having for its object the assassination of Bolivar. His almost miraculous escape, however, so utterly threw into confusion the plans of the conspirators that they were easily conquered, and once again Bolivar's cleverness induced him to seek for reconciliation with the vanquished rather than for vengeance upon his enemies. He was, however, unable completely to disarm the party which, in the constant renewal of the extraordinary powers of his regime, saw a serious danger to liberty. At last, having once more in the congress of 1830 had recourse to the often-tried trick of a resignation, he had the painful experience of seeing it accepted, accompanied by all imaginable marks of esteem for his great exertions on behalf of liberty, while a successor was appointed in the person of Joaquin Mosquera. After somewhat prolonged hesitation Bolivar decided to submit to the decision of the congress. Having for some time been in ill health, he at length left the country in which he considered himself to have been treated with ingratitude, and died at Santa Marta on December 17th in the same year.

Death of the Great Bolivar

The Colombian Republic had come to an end even before his death. Venezuela shortly afterwards repeated the attempt to sever its connection with Colombia, and in 1830 these efforts assumed a new direction directly in opposition to the policy of Bolivar. Nor was the abdication of the latter able to stop the movement, for Paez and his following exercised

A TYPICAL GAUCHO, SHOWING HORSE PECULIAR TO THE REPUBLIC

THE GAUCHOS AT HOME: VIEW OUTSIDE A RANCH



GAUCHO MUSICIAN WITH THE NATIONAL GUITAR

GAUCHO TYPES OF THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC

unlimited control over the legislative assembly. All attempts to resist the new order of things were suppressed without much bloodshed, and before the close of the year Venezuela, within the range of the old general captaincy of Caracas, declared itself an independent republic. The same thing happened in Bolivia, with this difference, that that state upheld with gratitude the memory of its liberator and offered him an asylum when he laid down his offices in Colombia; an offer which he refused, as also the invitation to assume once more the government, sent to him after a successful revolution against the régime of Mosquera. In the following year, 1831, the very name of Colombia disappeared; the provinces which still adhered to the government of Bogota constituted themselves into the Republic of New Granada, and, under a Conservative constitution, handled vigorously by a series of energetic presidents, enjoyed until 1857 a fairly undisturbed—indeed almost peaceful—development.

Republic of New Granada

Here also, however, the unfortunate civil war between the Central and Federal parties afterwards broke out afresh, and the cause of the latter party, which was more than usually justified by the extraordinary differences in the geographical features of the separate provinces, was in the end successful. Under the name of the United States of Colombia they adopted, in 1861, a constitution planned on exactly the same lines as that of the United States of North America. Since then the country has, under more peaceful conditions, been able to devote itself largely to the development and the opening up of its many industrial resources.

Venezuela underwent a similar development. During the first twenty years José Antonio Paez, either in the capacity of president (1830–1838, 1839–1842), as dictator (1846), or merely as adviser of the parties in power, virtually directed the destinies of the state for whose liberation he, next to Bolivar, had done the most. His vigorous government assured peaceful times to the republic. Here too, however, a federal constitution on the North American pattern gained an increasing number of supporters, although such a constitution could hardly be said to have arisen out of natural conditions, but had become the watchword of the Liberal party more from a love of imitating North American political institutions. Venezuela belongs to those states of Spanish America which have been least able to establish themselves on a solid basis. After a civil war extending over several years, in which Paez also once more—1861–1863—took up arms in defence of the unity of the republic, the provinces, in 1864, formed themselves into the Federal Republic of "the United States of Venezuela." In spite of this, civil commotions broke out over and over again; and it was not until the almost dictatorial régime of Antonio Guzman Blanco (1870–1877, 1879–1884, and 1886–1887) that the republic enjoyed a temporary peace.

During recent years the Argentine Republic has succeeded in restoring the confidence in its financial stability which at one time sank to a very low ebb. Venezuela has succeeded, on the other hand, in attracting the public attention of Europe by her lighthearted disregard of obligations, financial and other; especially under her recently ejected president, Castro. In 1896 her claims in a boundary dispute with Great Britain led to an arbitration under which the British views were practically confirmed. At a later date President Castro's attitude brought about a visit of German and British warships acting in concert, with some loss of dignity to both those Powers and some histrionics in connection with the Monroe Doctrine on the part of the United States. Subsequently, however, the president's vagaries resulted in his ejection from the country, and Venezuela once more relapsed into comparative quiescence.

President's Vagaries Lead to Ejection

PLAZA MAYO, BUENOS AYRES, WITH GOVERNMENT HOUSE AND STATUE OF LIBERTY

But Venezuela was again disturbed in 1913 by an attempt of ex-President Castro to effect a counter-revolution. The complete failure of this movement left General Juan Vicente Gomez in undisturbed possession of the Presidency, which he had attained by a coup d'etat in 1908 after Castro's ejection. Generally the close of the first decade of the twentieth century saw an increasing stability of government in all the republics of South America, though Peru was troubled in 1914 by a recrudescence of the old revolutionary methods of changing the personnel of government, and Uruguay, even in that year had not succeeded in ending the long-existent faction strife of rival political parties. On the other hand, it is greatly to the credit of Uruguay that popular elementary education has so considerably increased within its borders in recent years. The lack of education, necessarily accompanied by a large amount of illiteracy, has been, on the whole, the weakest spot in civilisation throughout South America; and even those countries where education is compulsory by law have made no very serious attempt to enforce the law or to provide adequate school buildings and competent teachers in rural districts. Republican institutions and manhood suffrage have not yet guaranteed in South America an educated democracy, or freedom from an occasional political dictatorship. It is well, however, to record the disappearance of international warfare between the countries of South America, and in especial, the better relations established between Chili and Peru. The declaration of independence of Colombia on the part of Panama in 1903 naturally brought soreness to the former, but was formally endorsed by a treaty between the two states in 1909, when Panama agreed to pay Colombia £500,000 as its share of the public debt. In spite of increased commercial activities, and the many signs of material progress—noticeably the greater length of railway in working order and under construction—population throughout South America has advanced but slowly in recent years, and in some countries is stagnant or decreasing. True, official census returns are not compiled with European or North American exactness and government estimates alone are in most cases the basis of comparison; but these estimates may be taken as approximately trustworthy. Thus, the Argentine Republic in 1907 had a population of 6,210,000, and in 1913 6,673,781. Bolivia in 1906 had 2,180,710 and in 1912 2,200,000. In Chile and Uruguay government estimates show an actual decline. The former from 3,871,000 in 1907 to 3,505,317 in 1912, the latter from 1,111,758 in 1908 to 1,094,688 in 1912. Colombia and Paraguay boast a marked increase — Colombia from 4,100,000 in 1908 to 5,472,604 in 1912, and Paraguay from 631,347 in 1905 to 800,000 in 1911. Venezuela has also increased from 2,602,492 in 1909 to 2,743,847 in 1914. Peru and Ecuador are content to remain unchanged according to the returns of their respective Governments.

More Schools Needed

Stagnant Population

The population of Peru was still estimated in 1914 at 4,500,000 as it was in 1908, and Ecuador in 1914 at 1,500,000 as in 1908. In both cases the figures are probably too high. The other returns give Peru in 1912 at 3,530,000 and Ecuador in the same year at 1,300,000. The outstanding fact is that South America, with its vast natural resources and favourable climatic conditions, is still enormously under-populated, and is capable of maintaining an increase of numbers far beyond ordinary calculation. With the exception of Peru, where the revolutionary methods in politics, formerly popular throughout the South American republics, were still practised as late as 1914, the history of South America in the early years of the twentieth century is a record of steady development in the art of civil government, and of growing attachment to European civilisation of the French fashion. The wealthy South American looks to Paris for his model—not to London, Madrid, or Berlin—and it is Paris that is visited. How far this French influence explains the lack of growth in population cannot be answered with any certainty, but that it affords some explanation is at least a probability. The Roman Catholic religion remains the accepted faith of all Christians—save for a tiny minority of Protestants, mostly foreign residents—in each of the South American republics and enjoys varying degrees of state support. But toleration is freely extended to Protestants, and freethought is avowed by many who profess the ideals of the French Republic.

Influence of France

THE FRENCH ARMY UNDER MARSHAL BAZAINE ENTERING THE CITY OF MEXICO IN 1863

Napoleon III., for the ostensible purpose of obtaining satisfaction for wrongs and injustices done to the foreign population of Mexico, despatched troops under Bazaine to the republic in 1863. He had originally enlisted the co-operation of England and Spain in his enterprise, but the two latter Powers, finding that his real object was not to obtain indemnification for suffered losses, but to overthrow the existing government with a view to replacing it by a monarchy under the protection of France, promptly withdrew their support from the scheme.

From the painting by Beaugé at Versailles

MEXICO AND ITS REVOLUTIONS

THE TRAGIC HISTORY OF MAXIMILIAN

DURING the whole period of the South American wars of liberation Mexico stood aside and pursued its own road. After the overthrow of Hidalgo and his adherents Spanish rule seemed once more established, and even the introduction and re-abolition of the democratic constitution of 1812 passed off without incident. Naturally, the events which were passing all around in states allied by race could not entirely fail to react upon the mind of the population; but the desire for freedom and independence was not strong enough to aim at the subversion of the existing order of things. The revolutionary impulse in this country took its start from an entirely different quarter.

Mexico in the Throes of Revolution

The viceroy had bestowed his confidence in a special degree upon the principal lieutenant, Iturbide, who, though a Mexican by birth, had not only distinguished himself by his energy and zeal, but also by his cruelty in the struggle against the forces of Hidalgo. Iturbide, however, abused the trust reposed in him. He engaged in secret schemes with the Creole leaders and the scattered partisans of Hidalgo, and, though ostensibly he took the field against one of the latter, he caused the promulgation in the little town of Iguala of a military pronunciamento the point of which was directed against Spanish rule. In the programme of a constitution which he drew up Mexico was declared independent, and a constitutional assembly was held in prospect. The country, however, was declared a monarchy in anticipation, the throne of which was to be offered to Ferdinand VII. and the other princes of his house.

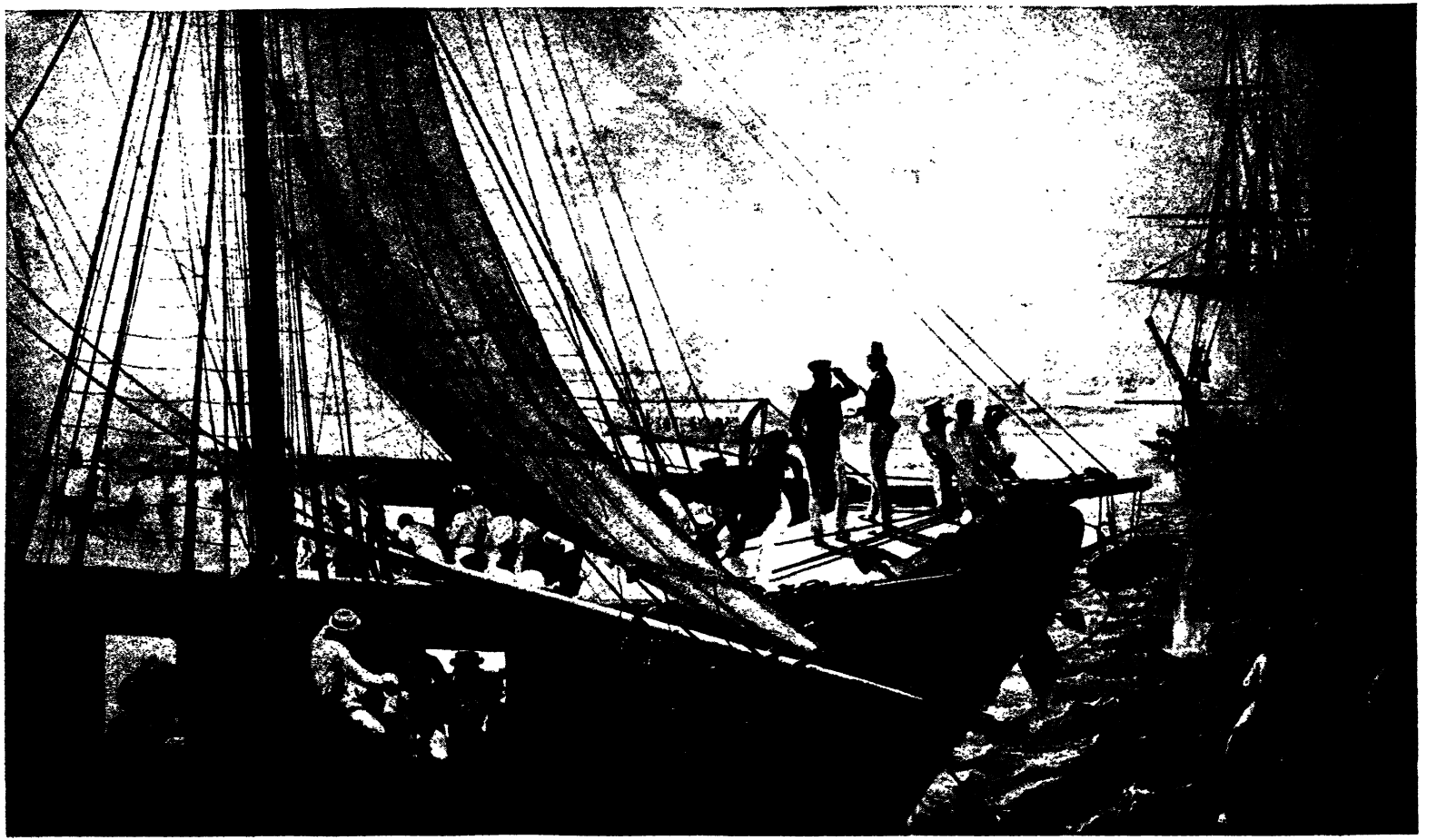
Iturbide's following increased with astonishing rapidity, so that the viceroy and the Spanish party soon saw themselves confined to the capital. At that moment the arrival of a viceroy appointed by a Liberal Spanish Government terminated the revolution without bloodshed. The new regent accepted Iturbide's plan almost in its entirety, and returned to Spain in person in order to exert himself in its behalf at the court of Ferdinand VII. Had one of the king's brothers decided at that time to go over to Mexico, that state would in all probability have been preserved to the Bourbon dynasty.

Republic Proclaimed in Mexico

The rejection of the Iguala plan, on the other hand, pushed its originators farther along on the road to revolution. Since the provisional arrangement threatened in the end to become dangerous to all parties, Iturbide allowed himself to be proclaimed emperor of Mexico by his adherents in May, 1822, in order in this manner to save his constitutional edifice. His following, however, was neither large enough nor his past career sufficiently stainless to force the country to accept his rule. Hostile pronunciamentos were promulgated in the most widely different provinces, and as early as March, 1823, the emperor was obliged to seek refuge on board an English ship.

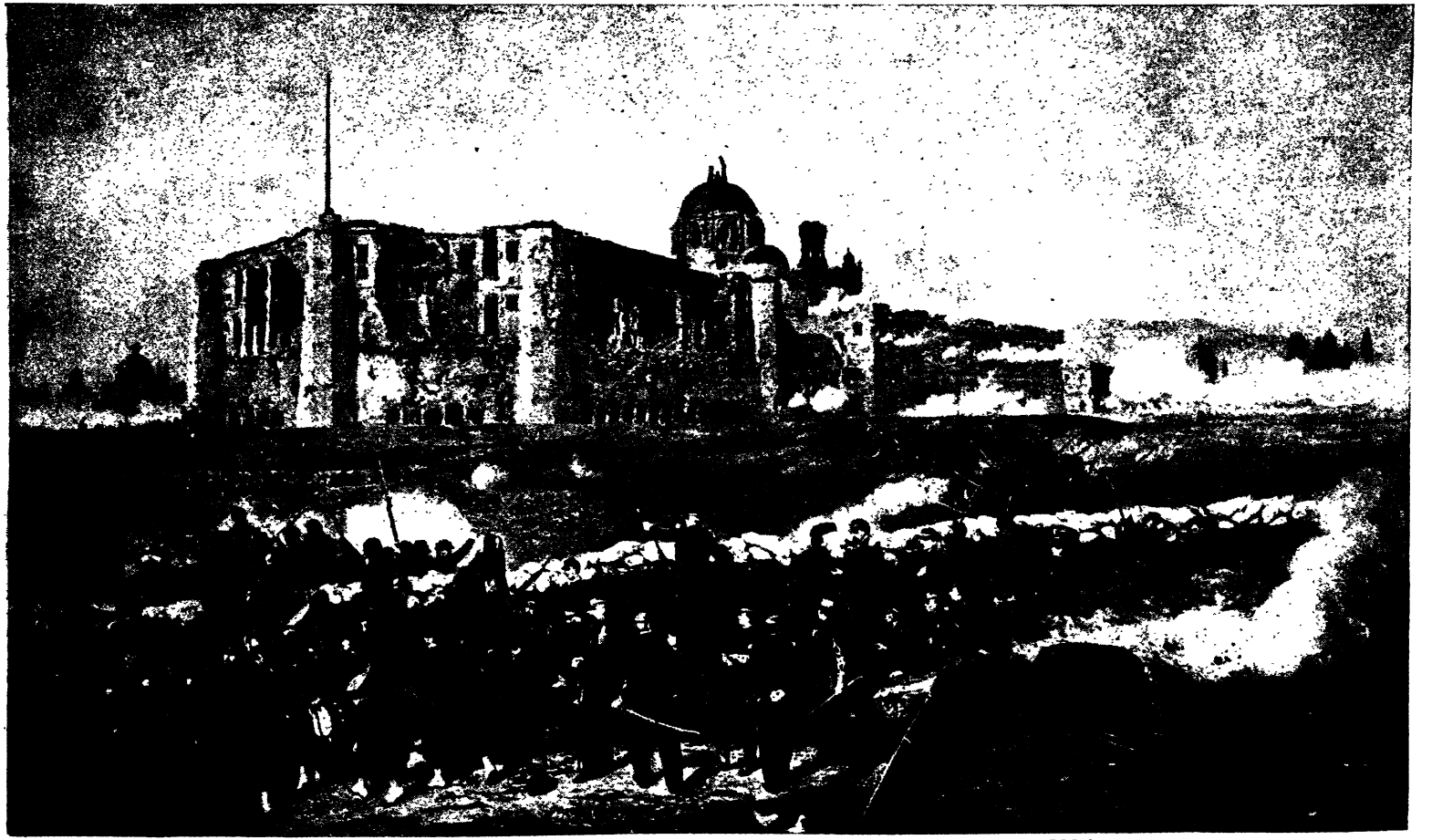
Thereupon Mexico, too, was proclaimed a republic. It was, however, a republic merely in name, while a succession of more or less fortunate military pretenders were fighting for Iturbide's inheritance. The most prominent figure in this struggle was General Antonio Lopez de Santa Ana—Santana—who had already taken a conspicuous part in the overthrow of the emperor, and afterwards appointed and deposed presidents at his own free will and pleasure until finally he himself accepted the chief office in the state, which he was destined more than once to lose and to recover. He is, however, undeniably entitled to the credit of having adhered in his internal administration to a strong policy of centralisation, as opposed to the federal doctrine which had sprung up out of a blind zeal for imitating the North American constitution, a zeal which was entirely unjustified from both geographical and historical considerations; while in his

Santa Ana the Great Figure of the Struggle



THE CAPTURE OF THE HARBOUR OF SAN JUAN DE ULUA BY THE FRENCH IN 1838

Mexico, finding herself both on the verge of bankruptcy and in a state of revolution, sought to recover her financial position by laying hands on the property of foreigners, thus violating treaty rights. This led to the interference of France. The above picture shows an incident in the initial stages of the war that followed, when, on November 27th, 1838, a French man-of-war took possession of the harbour of San Juan de Ulua. The war ended with the parties in power agreeing to make no further encroachment upon the property of foreigners.



THE FRENCH TROOPS IN MEXICO: CAPTURE OF THE TOWN OF PUEBLA

A long and bitter struggle followed the entry of the French into Mexico. With a force of 30,000 men Puebla was captured, but only at the expense of many hundreds of lives. Then Mexico opened its gates to the conquerors, thus paving the way for the proclamation of the Archduke Maximilian of Austria as emperor. A series of internal wars marks the history of the republic for the next two years, a condition of affairs which culminated in the evacuation by the French of the country, the downfall of Napoleon, and the execution of Maximilian.

From the painting by A. Beaugé at Versailles

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foreign policy he deserves recognition for having manfully and repeatedly, at the risk of his own personal safety, defended the honour and integrity of the country.

Mexico, however, was drawn into international complications to a greater extent than the other Spanish-American republics. As late as 1829 the Spaniards had made an attempt to reconquer the country, but had been defeated by Santa Ana and forced to capitulate. The rising which occurred in Texas in 1836 was primarily an internal matter, since at that time the borders of Mexico still embraced the Far West of North America.

Mexico Declares War on the United States

Santa Ana in his attempt to bring the province back to its obedience was defeated on April 20th, 1836, and taken prisoner, as a result of which the Separatists gained the upper hand. Under the presidency of Houston, an American, Texas formed an independent republic which from its origin linked its fortunes closely with the United States, and in 1845 was, on its own application, actually received into the Union. Mexico was not prepared to accept this rebuff calmly; it declared war against the United States and entrusted Santa Ana with the chief command. The Mexican Republic, torn by internal factions and on the verge of financial ruin, was, however, no match for the States. The invasion of the northern provinces by the United States troops met with no serious opposition, nor were the Mexicans able to prevent the landing of the enemy's forces at Vera Cruz.

It is true that Santa Ana repeatedly opposed their advance, but he suffered one defeat after another, and finally fled to Jamaica at the very time when the troops of the Union were dictating the terms of peace to their opponents in their own capital. By this treaty Mexico surrendered its claims to Texas and all its northern Pacific provinces against an indemnity of three million pounds. In 1853 Santa Ana was once more summoned to undertake, as dictator, the management and restoration to order of the exhausted state—a task which he took in hand with his wonted energy; but he was hardly likely to restore internal order, seeing that since December 17th, 1853, he had openly been aiming at securing himself in a position of permanent authority. Accordingly, in 1855, his fall was brought about by fresh pronunciamentos. Thereupon Mexico was again plunged into a state of revolution which once more drew down upon the unfortunate country the interference of foreign Powers. The prolonged condition of lawlessness had brought the state to the verge of bankruptcy, and, as may be easily conceived, during the period of financial stress the parties in power had not infrequently laid hands on the property of foreigners, in violation of treaty rights. As early as 1838 similar proceedings had led to a war with France, which had temporarily taken possession of the harbour of San Juan de Ulua. In 1861 President Carlo Benito Juarez, after long party struggles, had managed to secure for himself the supreme authority, though by no means without opposition.

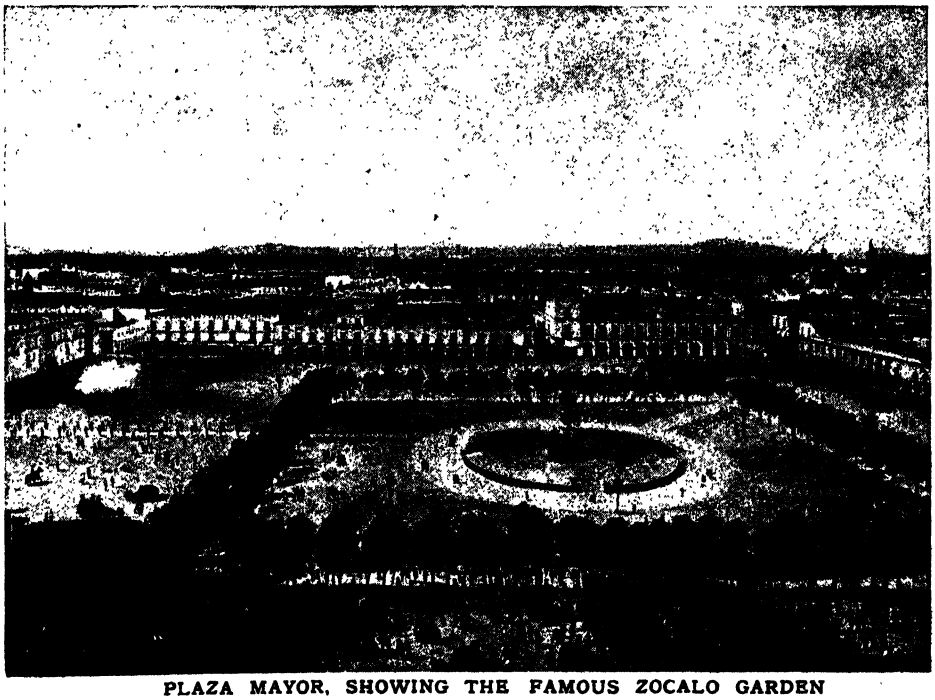
The Fall of Santa Ana

When he once more began to make illegal encroachments upon the property of foreigners, Napoleon III., who by the glory of foreign exploits was endeavouring to make people forget the unconstitutional origin of his imperial rule, seized this opportunity and proposed to England and Spain to vindicate the rights of their subjects in Mexico by a common expedition against that country. The proposal was accepted in the first instance by both parties; and an army composed of contingents from all three states occupied Vera Cruz and advanced to Orizaba. But first England and afterwards Spain withdrew from the enterprise as soon as the allies saw that France was by no means actuated merely by a desire to obtain indemnification for suffered losses, but was in reality aiming at the overthrow of the existing government with the view of replacing it by a monarchy under its own protection.

French Victories in Mexico

Deceived by the whispered insinuations of Mexican fugitives, the French believed that the people would flock to them *en masse* and accompany them in triumph to their capital. Instead of this, they received at Puebla so hot a reception that they were only too glad again to reach and hold their former quarters at Orizaba. Nor was the expeditionary force able to resume its advance until it had been reinforced to 30,000 men. After a bitter struggle for the possession of Puebla, which ended with the capitulation of the Mexican garrison, Mexico also opened its gates to the conqueror. With this the object of the expedition seemed achieved. A junta, rapidly summoned, appointed a

THE ALAMEDA, MEXICO'S BEAUTIFUL PUBLIC GARDEN



PLAZA MAYOR, SHOWING THE FAMOUS ZOCALO GARDEN

IN THE CITY OF MEXICO, THE HANDSOMEST CAPITAL OF AMERICA

provisional government which a few days afterwards laid before the congress the plan of a constitution creating a monarchy under the name of an empire. The proposal was accepted by an overwhelming majority—indeed, almost unanimously. The candidate selected by Napoleon, of whose acceptance he had assured himself previous to taking any action, was the Archduke Maximilian of Austria. Hence, when a deputation of the provisional government proceeded to Miramare to offer the archduke the imperial crown of Mexico, the latter readily accepted the new dignity. In April, 1864, in the harbour of Trieste, he went on board the Novara, which was to convey him to Vera Cruz. The voyage was quickly accomplished, and the people greeted their new sovereign with frank and open-hearted joy. On his entry into Mexico the party of opposition, at whose head was ex-President Benito Juarez, seemed practically vanquished.

Its importance, however, revived and increased with astonishing rapidity in consequence of the internal difficulties which the new imperial government was destined to encounter. From the very beginning Maximilian was not his own master. By his contracts with Napoleon III. he was indeed assured of the assistance of the French troops; but in the person of their commander-in-chief, Marshal Bazaine, he was associated with a power over which he exercised only the most limited control. Bazaine was almost a sort of supplementary or accessory king in Mexico, and his powers in this capacity increased in proportion as the mutual confidence between the emperor and the marshal disappeared. The contracts, moreover, showed that the interference of the French in favour of Maximilian was by no means as unselfish as it had appeared to be. The financial demands made upon the country were extremely oppressive and unjustifiable in so far as, under the pressure of French policy, an unworthy speculation for the exploitation of Mexico was carried on with demands of a highly questionable nature. These in themselves were factors foreboding little good to Maximilian's authority. He himself fully recognised that the protection of a foreign Power would alienate from him the sympathies of an important party in the country. He therefore not only endeavoured to withdraw himself as much as possible from French influence, but also made efforts to keep himself above the parties which divided the country into two hostile camps. The people, however, were not at this time ripe for such a high-minded policy.

GENERAL VIEW OF RIO DE JANEIRO IN THE YEAR 1835

While the Conservative party, which had raised Maximilian to the throne, found itself deceived in its expectations, the Liberals looked upon his conciliatory attitude as a confession of weakness, and soon began to take fresh courage, the more so as they had found a support which

IN THE HEART OF THE CITY: THE FIFTEENTH OF NOVEMBER SQUARE

PANORAMIC VIEW SHOWING THE MOST WONDERFUL BAY IN THE WORLD

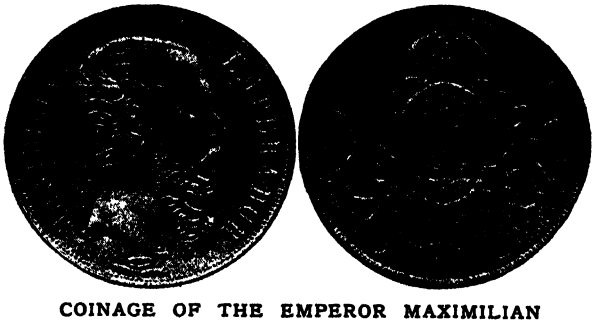
SCENES IN RIO DE JANEIRO, THE CAPITAL OF THE REPUBLIC OF BRAZIL

THE LAST MOMENTS OF THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN, JUNE 19TH, 1867

The last great tragedy in the history of Mexico occurred on June 19th, 1867. Maximilian, who two years before had been proclaimed emperor by Napoleon III., found himself called upon to defend his empire against the standard of revolt raised by the deposed President Juarez. While defending Queretaro with troops of 8,000 men, he was, on the night of May 19th, betrayed by General Lopez. The above picture shows the ill-starred emperor's last moments; he has breakfasted and taken the sacrament, and is preparing to accompany the two officers to the place of execution.

From the painting by Jean Paul Laurens

promised a much surer protection than France was capable of offering to their opponents. French interference was confessedly directed against the United States, the enormous expansion and rapid rise of which filled the monarchs of Europe with anxious apprehension. Napoleon thought he had seized upon a specially favourable moment for interfering at a time when the war of secession kept the United States busily occupied with their own internal affairs. The rapid and complete victory of the northern states, however, left their hands free, and tended only to make them assume a more vigorous attitude in regard to the Mexican question. They indeed still looked upon Juarez as the sole legal authority in Mexico at a time when the latter, on his own absolute decision, had prolonged the term of his expired presidency, and was actually wandering as an exile on the extreme confines of the country. To Napoleon the prospect that the French support of Maximilian might give to the United States a pretext for invading Northern Mexico seemed extremely annoying. Instead, however, of openly avowing the situation and endeavouring to the best of his power to bring about a solution in some other way, Napoleon made the non-fulfilment of its financial obligations by the Mexican Government the miserable pretext for simply sacrificing Maximilian after leaving him for a long time faltering between hope and fear.

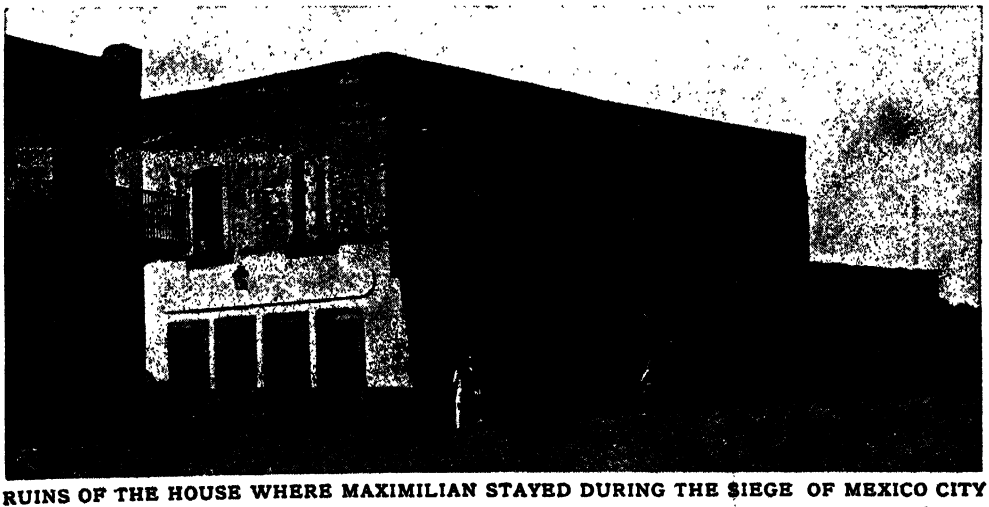


COINAGE OF THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN

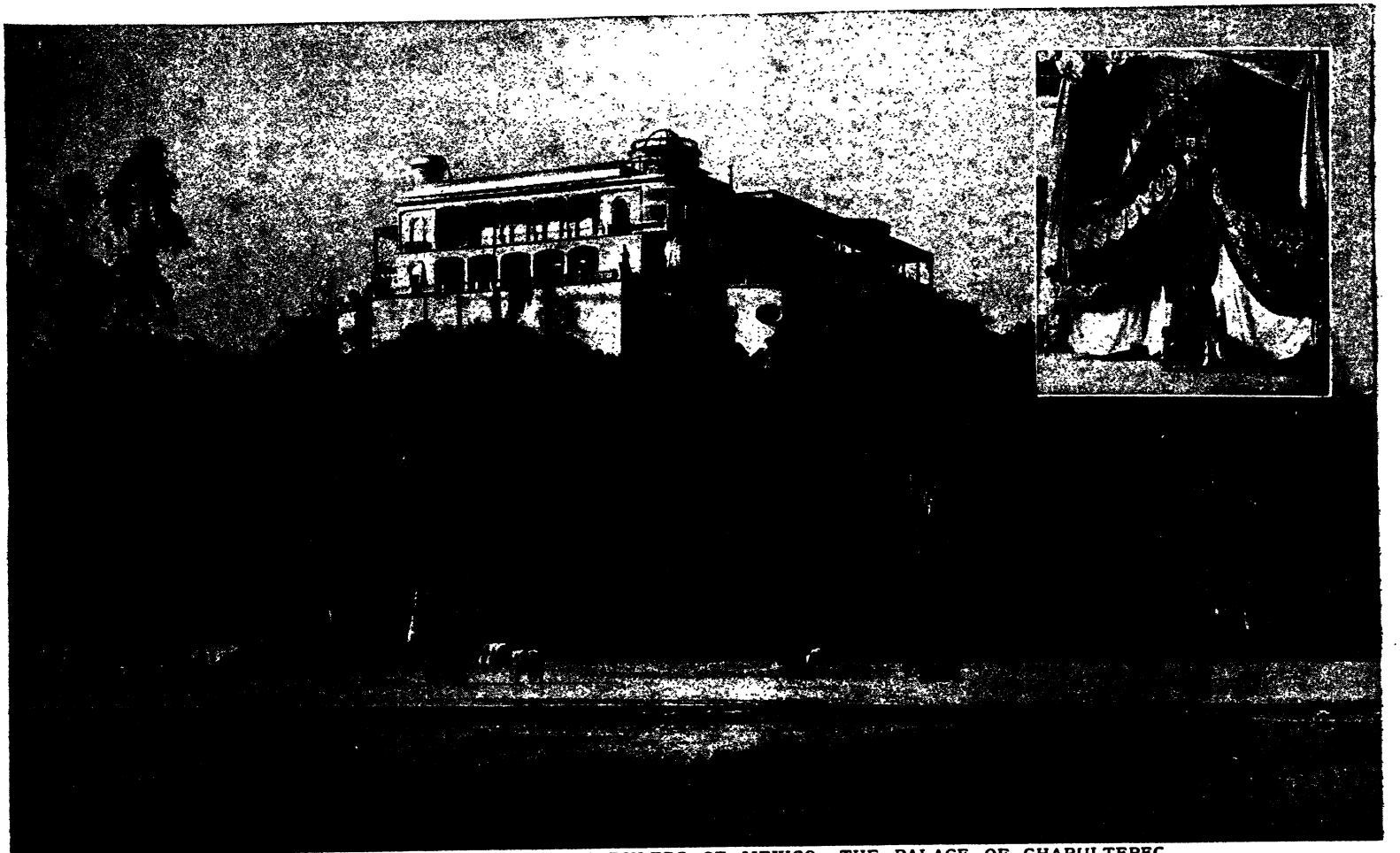
Maximilian, it is true, had not shown himself equal to the task of controlling the extraordinarily difficult condition of Mexican affairs. His wavering attitude between the Mexican parties and his irresolute policy in regard to France had done much to impair the stability of his throne. To add to these troubles his health gave way, and he was also afflicted by the unfortunate condition of his wife, Charlotte, who had become insane while making vain efforts in Paris and Rome to further her husband's cause. At the time when the French troops began to be withdrawn from Mexico he seemed to have resolved on abdicating. All of a sudden, however, he returned and placed himself at the head of the feeble army which was making painful efforts to maintain his rule. But it was too late. Betrayed by his own generals at Queretaro about the middle of May, after a short informal trial he, in company with the last of his faithful adherents, was shot by the Republicans on June 19th, 1867.

CHARLOTTE, EX-EMPRESS OF MEXICO
The sister of Leopold, King of the Belgians, and the wife of the Emperor Maximilian, she shared with the latter his troubled reign in Mexico. Her husband's tragic fate so affected her that her reason gave way under the grief and excitement, but she is still alive.

Juarez had now an easy task. Once more in possession of power, he showed himself, as a politician, much better adapted for the work than his predecessors. Under the form of a republic, Mexico, since 1866, has been virtually subjected to the dictatorship of two men—Benito Juarez (1867–1872) and Porfirio Diaz (1877–1881, and from 1884 to 1911). From the first pronunciamentos and revolutions have undoubtedly been as frequent among the orders of the day in that country as in the rest of Spanish America. Nevertheless, through the enlightened despotism of these two men, the country recovered much that had been lost during the period of continuous revolutions. In alliance with its Spanish sister republics, it has made slow but certain and unmistakable progress on the road to true republican liberty. When Iturbide, in 1821, brought the Spanish dominion in Mexico to a sudden end, the movement in favour of independence also spread to the general captaincy



RUINS OF THE HOUSE WHERE MAXIMILIAN STAYED DURING THE SIEGE OF MEXICO CITY



THE HISTORIC RESIDENCE OF THE RULERS OF MEXICO: THE PALACE OF CHAPULTEPEC

Towering on a rocky hill and surrounded by a magnificent grove of cypresses, the palace of Chapultepec dates from 1783-85, and occupies the site where once stood the palace of the mighty Montezuma. For long it was the residence of the Mexican rulers, but of recent years it has been devoted to the housing of some of the executive departments of the government, including the official offices of the president. The inset picture shows the throne from which the ill-fated Emperor Maximilian directed his brief but momentous rule over Mexico.

of Guatemala, which embraced the states north of the Isthmus of Panama as far as the boundaries of the kingdom of New Spain. Here, though the revolution, so far as separation from Spain was concerned, was accomplished without bloodshed, civil war at once broke out between the two parties of the Serviles and the Liberals.

The former began, in opposition to the constitutional assembly, to carry through the union of Central America with the empire of Iturbide. This, however, involved them in the fall of the latter, which followed soon after, and destroyed their influence in the country, the separate divisions of which now took up the management of their own affairs under the guidance of the Liberals and became the small republics of Central America. Even this, however, did not entirely destroy the feeling of their kinship. Only Chiapa severed its connection with its old allies and attached itself to the Mexican republic. Guatemala, Honduras, San Salvador, Nicaragua and Costa Rica, on the other hand, formed themselves, April 1st, 1823, into a federal union which in 1825 chose its first president in the person of General Acre. This, however, was the signal for the beginning of an incessant civil war which, while professedly defending the cause of federal or central principles, was in reality merely a struggle of self-seeking party-leaders for the possession of power.

The States of Central America

Continuous attempts have been made, either by diplomatic methods or by resort to arms, to revive a confederation of all or some of the old states of Central America. While, however, these complications have in many cases seriously interrupted the steady progress of the republics concerned, the advantages which their union was to have produced have not been attained. It has never yet been possible to discover a form of government providing safeguards against the subjection of the weaker members of the union by the stronger states. For this reason, hitherto, every attempt at combination has shortly afterwards been followed by a revolution tending towards decentralisation.

The last attempt in this direction, the "Republica Mayor de Centro-America," created in 1896–97, although it left complete internal autonomy to the separate states, came to an end after a brief existence in 1898. The collapse of the throne of Maximilian marked the triumph of republican principles over the whole of the American continent except Brazil. The threat of a French invasion under Junot in 1808 had, indeed, induced the Portuguese royal family to transfer the seat of government to Rio de Janeiro; but this was considered merely a temporary precautionary measure which was to make no change in the political relations between the mother country and the colonies. Circumstances, however, rendered the continuance of this state of affairs impossible. The revolutionary wave which passed over the Pyrenean state after the expulsion of Napoleon, the struggle for independence which was proceeding in the surrounding sister states, could not fail to exercise a strong influence on Brazilian affairs. As early as 1815, Brazil was raised to the dignity of a kingdom, an event which could not otherwise than considerably advance the efforts which were directed towards a separation from Portugal. Again, however, the issue was brought about by the condition of affairs in Portugal, and not by the situation in Brazil.

Triumph of Republican Principles

The movement in favour of a parliamentary form of government, which was set on foot in 1820 by Riego in Spain, spread also to the kingdom of Portugal, and thence across to Brazil. King John VI. was completely taken by surprise; and as his successor to the throne, Dom Pedro, placed himself at the head of the Liberal party, the latter easily attained its object—namely, the promise of a separate parliamentary constitution for Brazil. However, though the Liberals in the colony felt themselves conjointly responsible with those of Portugal, they were soon to learn that the Cortes of the mother country had ends in view quite different from those corresponding with their desires; for the latter asked for no less than the return of the court to Lisbon and the restoration of the Portuguese dominion in Brazil. The first of these objects was actually attained; John VI. returned to Lisbon, and Dom Pedro, who had renounced his succession in favour of his brothers and sisters, stayed behind in the first instance at Rio de Janeiro as viceroy.

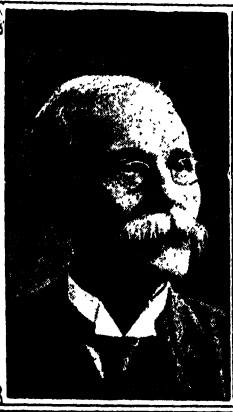
Brazil's Struggles for Independence

The more manifest it became that the Cortes was aiming at again reducing Brazil to the condition of a province, the looser became the tie which united the colony to the mother country. At last

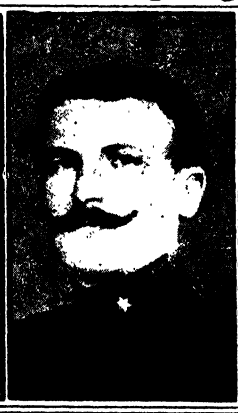
nothing was left to Dom Pedro himself but to tear the bond, and, on September 7th, 1822, to proclaim the complete independence of Brazil, which, a month later, was declared an empire.

Up to this point Dom Pedro, carried along by the national movement, had remained in accord with the large majority of his people. In the disputes, however, which in the following years arose in regard to questions of internal and foreign policy, this agreement began to be more and more disturbed. Finally, when the populace endeavoured to intimidate him by raising commotions, as it had done successfully and with his co-operation under John VI., he resigned in 1831 in favour of his son, and soon afterwards ended his days at Lisbon. Nor was Pedro II. destined to die in his empire. Even during the time of his minority the adherents of a federal-republican party had attracted considerable notice amid the passionate struggles of party warfare. Their influence naturally fell again into the background during the time that Pedro II., who had been declared of full age before the proper time, was administering with great tact a remarkably liberal government. But even at that time the country did not enjoy a perfect or permanent peace. The province of Sao Paulo especially seemed to be an inextinguishable hotbed hearth of constantly renewed republican agitations. The victorious campaign against Paraguay, though it raised the prestige of the country abroad, on the other hand involved it in serious financial difficulties, which were still further increased by the expenses arising out of the abolition of slavery, which had been resolved upon in 1871. The discussions connected with the passing of this measure filled up the political life of Brazil for years, and have also exercised a determining influence on the last remodelling of the constitution of the country. After Dom Pedro had long endeavoured, with the aid of Conservative Ministries, to solve the slavery question in such a way as to preserve all interests as far as possible, he found himself obliged, in 1888, to call in a Liberal Ministry which, immediately after its accession to office, declared for the unconditional abolition of slavery. By this measure it drove so large a portion of the population into the ranks of the Opposition that the latter was able, on November 15th, 1889, to organise a revolution to which the capital surrendered without an attempt at resistance. The combined Conservative and Federalist parties thereupon forced Dom Pedro to abdicate, and set up the republic of the United States of Brazil.

DOM PEDRO, EMPEROR OF BRAZIL AND KING OF PORTUGAL, AND HIS CONSORT
The invasion of Portugal by the French drove the royal family to Brazil. When Brazil gained its independence in 1822, Dom Pedro became emperor as Pedro I. But internal discontent causing his abdication in 1831 in favour of his son, he returned to Portugal, to find that the crown had been usurped by his brother, Dom Miguel, whereupon Dom Pedro issued a decree in favour of his daughter, with complete success. He died in 1834.

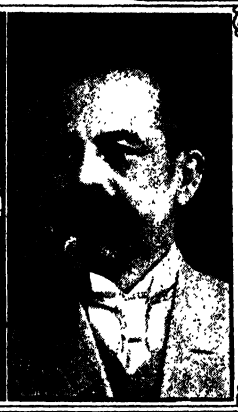


Manuel A. Guerrero, Panama



General Miguel R. Davila, Honduras

General Antoine Simon, Haiti



Don Cleto G. Viguez, Costa Rica

Manuel Estrada-Cabrera, Guatemala

General Porfirio Diaz, Mexico

General José Miguel Gomez, Cuba

General Fernando Figueroa, Salvador

Rafael Reyes, Colombia

José Santos Zelaya, Nicaragua

General Ramón Cáceres, Dominica

MEN WHO HAVE RULED AS PRESIDENTS IN CENTRAL AMERICA

The revolution of 1889 in Brazil was followed in 1891 by the inauguration of a new Constitution. Henceforth the old provinces were to form twenty-one self-governing states, the Federal Government retaining in its hands the maintenance of order, the currency, all fiscal matters and national defence. Executive authority was placed in the President's office, and the President was to be elected every four years by direct popular vote. To the National Congress, consisting of Senate and Chamber of Deputies, all legislative authority was entrusted. Manhood suffrage—soldiers and other classes of men excepted—was made the rule as in the rest of South America. Commercial development, the influx of foreign capital, the extension of railways, and very considerable immigration—mainly from Portugal, Spain, and Italy—have been notable in Brazil in recent years. To the increase of population from 20,000,000 in 1908 to 23,070,969 in 1913 immigration has very distinctly contributed. Although the Republican Government of Brazil has been less liable to revolution than in certain other South American countries, it has neither established any compulsory system of national education nor persuaded the people to make the best use of democratic institutions. Illiteracy, in fact, is too prevalent to permit the existence of a particularly intelligent or public spirited electorate.

Progress in Brazil

Mexico has known but little internal peace since the movement against President Diaz succeeded in driving him from power and from the country in 1911. General Madero, who succeeded to the Presidency on November 6th, 1911, proved himself unable to govern the country, and unwisely tried to dispense with the official services of General Victoriano Huerta, whose military and organising capacities had been amply recognised by Porfirio Diaz. Three times did Madero dismiss and recall General Huerta to military command, and on the third recall, in February 1913, it was obvious that President Madero could not retain authority. Civil war had then been raging in Mexico City and the neighbourhood for some days, and more than 3,000 lives had been lost. The insurgents were led by General Felix Diaz, who had become possessed of the fleeting popularity enjoyed by Madero. General Huerta recognising the hopeless plight of President Madero, and aware of the utter incompetence that had marked his short term of office, decided to join forces with Felix Diaz, and had no difficulty in persuading the Government troops under his command to transfer their allegiance.

Civil War in Mexico

In executing this change of front General Huerta's policy was entirely approved by the foreign residents and by the United States Ambassador; from these, indeed, had come an earnest request that he would establish peace in the only way possible, that was by compelling General Madero to resign.

No sooner had General Huerta withdrawn his support than Madero was arrested on a charge of "treason" to the republic. A few days later, on February 23rd, 1913, Madero and Pino Suarez, the ex-Vice-President, were put to death without being brought to trial. No evidence of responsibility for this murder has been offered against General Huerta, but his guilt was at once assumed by certain people both in Mexico and the United States. Huerta had already proclaimed himself President according to the Mexican Constitution, and his accession was approved by General Felix Diaz, on the understanding that an election of President should take place within six months' time. No such election took place, and the country was involved in civil war from February 1913, General Huerta ruling as a military dictator. The United States Government regarded the condition of affairs in Mexico with grave disapproval after Madero's death, and though General Huerta's Presidency was recognised by Great Britain in May, and by Germany in June, 1913, President Wilson declared that the terms of recognition by the United States involved an immediate armistice, a free election of the President of the Mexican Republic, and an undertaking by General Huerta that he would not stand for election. These terms could not, of course, be accepted by the Mexican Government, and the strained relations between the two countries culminated in hostilities in May, 1914.

General Huerta, Dictator

Arbitration was shortly afterwards offered by the governments of Brazil, Chili, and Peru, and accepted by Mexico and the United States.

END OF VOLUME XIV.

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